OXFORD

PINDAR'S POETRY, PATRONS & FESTIVALS

From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire



EDITED BY Simon Hornblower & Catherine Morgan

Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals

This page intentionally left blank

Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals

From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire

Edited by
Simon Hornblower and
Catherine Morgan

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Oxford University Press 2007

Translations from the Loeb edition of Pindar reprinted by permission
of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from
PINDAR: VOL. I OLYMPIAN AND PYTHIAN ODES and
VOL. II NEMEAN ODES, ISTHMIAN ODES AND FRAGMENTS
translated by William H. Race, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,
Copyright © 1997 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
The Loeb Classical Library is a registered trademark of the
President and Fellows of Harvard College®

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2006

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham, Wiltshire

ISBN: 978-0-19-929672-9

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

CONTENTS

Notes on Contributors vii
List of Illustrations ix
Abbreviations xiii
Map: The Mediterranean World of Pindar xv

1. *Introduction* 1
Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan

Part 1 45

2. *The Origins of the Festivals, especially Delphi and the Pythia* 47
John Davies

3. *Origins of the Olympics* 71
Stephen Instone

4. *Pindar, Athletes, and the Early Greek Statue Habit* 83
R. R. R. Smith

5. *Fame, Memorial, and Choral Poetry: The Origins of Epinikian Poetry—an Historical Study* 141
Rosalind Thomas

6. *Epinikian Eidography* 167
N. J. Lowe

7. *Pindar's Poetry as Poetry: A Literary Commentary on* Olympian *12* 177
Michael Silk

8. *Pindar, Place, and Performance* 199
Christopher Carey

PART 2 211

9. *Debating Patronage: The Cases of Argos and Corinth* 213
CATHERINE MORGAN

10. *Elite Mobility in the West* 265
CARLA M. ANTONACCIO

11. *'Dolphins in the Sea' (*Isthmian *9. 7): Pindar and the Aeginetans* 287
SIMON HORNBLOWER

12. *Thessalian Aristocracy and Society in the Age of Epinikian* 309
MARIA STAMATOPOULOU

PART 3 343

13. *The Entire House is Full of Crowns: Hellenistic* Agōnes *and the Commemoration of Victory* 345
RIET VAN BREMEN

14. *'Kapetōleia Olympia': Roman Emperors and Greek* Agōnes 377
TONY SPAWFORTH

15. *Conclusion: The Prestige of the Games*
MARY DOUGLAS 391

Bibliography 409
Index locorum 447
General Index 461

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Carla M. Antonaccio is Professor of Classical Studies at Duke University in North Carolina. Previously she taught at Wesleyan University. She works on early Greek history, ritual, and material culture, and has published extensively on Greek hero and ancestor cult. Her most recent work focuses on early Greek colonization in the Western Mediterranean, especially in Sicily. She is co-director of the excavations at Morgantina on Sicily, working in and publishing the seventh- to fifth-century settlement.

Riet van Bremen teaches Ancient History at University College London. She is the author of *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman periods* (1996). Her research interests include the epigraphy and history of Asia Minor. She has recently worked and published on Hellenistic Caria. and is preparing a study of the sanctuaries at Lagina and Panamara.

Christopher Carey has taught at St Andrews, University of Minnesota, Carleton College, and Royal Holloway and is currently Professor of Greek at University College London. He has published on Greek lyric poetry, Greek oratory and law, Greek tragedy and comedy.

Emeritus Professor John Davies FBA was Rathbone Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology at the University of Liverpool from 1977 till 2003. He has edited two journals (*JHS* and *Archaeological Reports*) and three books, and is the author of *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971), *Democracy and Classical Greece* (1978; 2nd edn. 1993), of *Wealth and the Power of Wealth* (1981), and of many articles and chapters on Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek history, especially their economic, cultic, and administrative aspects.

Mary Douglas, DBE was born in Italy in 1921. She taught in the Anthropology Department of University College London 1951–77, and then in the USA until retirement in 1988; she is now an Honorary Research Fellow at UCL. The enduring research influence after training in Social Anthropology in Oxford in the late 1940s and early 1950s was fieldwork among the Lele people in the Congo, but civil wars ruled out field research there. *Purity and Danger* (1966), which was a reflection on concepts of defilement and taboo, was followed with various exercises in the comparison of cultures. For the last twenty years she has concentrated on the anthropology of the Bible.

Simon Hornblower is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at University College London. His most recent book is *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry*. He has written the chapter on 'Greek lyric and the politics and sociology of archaic and classical Greek communities' in the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*. He is now working on the final volume of a historical and literary commentary on Thucydides for Oxford University Press (vols. i and ii, 1991 and 1996).

Stephen Instone teaches at University College London, where he is an Honorary Research Fellow. He has published on both Pindar and Greek athletics, and is the author of *Pindar: Selected Odes, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (1996). He is currently working on a new Oxford University Press World's Classics edition of Pindar's epinikia, and on a reader of Greek personal religion.

N. J. Lowe is Senior Lecturer in Classics at Royal Holloway, University of London, and author of *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative* (2000). His research interests include Greek and Roman comedy, formalist literary theory, and the reception of antiquity in the nineteenth century. He is currently writing a book on the construction of ancient Greece in modern fiction.

Catherine Morgan is Professor of Classical Archaeology at King's College London. Her main research is in the archaeology and early history of the Peloponnese and western Greece, with special focus on sanctuaries. She is currently co-director (for the British School at Athens) of fieldwork at Stavros, northern Ithaka, jointly conducted with the 6th Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Her recent publications include *Isthmia* VIII (1999) and *Early Greek States beyond the Polis* (2003).

Michael Silk is Professor of Classical and Comparative Literature at King's College London. Recent publications include *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy* (2000) and *Homer: The Iliad* (2nd edn. 2004). He is currently writing a book on poetic language, to be published by Oxford University Press.

R. R. R. Smith is currently Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at Oxford University. His main research is in the visual cultures of the Greek and Roman worlds, with special focus on the use and significance of statues. He is co-director of New York University's excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria, and his most recent book is *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias* (forthcoming).

Tony Spawforth is Professor of Ancient History at Newcastle University. His books include *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (2nd edn. 2002), co-written with Paul Cartledge; *The Complete Greek Temples* (2006); and *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*, an edited collection to be published by Cambridge University Press. He is currently working on a book which explores the Roman reshaping of Greek identity, 1st cent. BC–3rd cent. AD.

Maria Stamatopoulou is Lecturer in Archaeology at Lincoln College, Oxford. She specializes in the archaeology of Thessaly. She is preparing her D. Phil. thesis on Thessalian funerary practices in the fifth to first centuries BC for publication and is also working on the publication of the Archaeological Society of Athens' excavations in the cemeteries of Demetrias and Pharsalos. She is co-editor (with Marina Yeroulanou) of *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece* (2002) and *Art and Archaeology in the Cyclades* (2005).

Rosalind Thomas is Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History at Balliol College, Oxford. She is the author of *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (1989), *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (1992), and *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (2000).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Mediterranean World of Pindar xv

1. Grave kouros of Aristodikos. Athens, NM 3938. Photo: Museum 85
2. Riace B. Bronze statue. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Photo: Hirmer 85
3. Foundry Cup. Berlin, Staatlichemuseen 2294. After Fürtwangler and Reichhold (1904–32) pl. 135 93
4. Olympia. Plan of Altis. After Curtius and Adler (1882) pl. III 96
5. Olympia. Model of Altis, view from south-west. After Ashmole and Yalouris (1967) fig. 6 96
6. Inscribed base for statue of Kyniskos of Mantinea. After *IvO* 149 98
7. Inscribed base for statue of Pythokles of Elis. After *IvO* 162–3 98
8. Bronze statue fragments from Olympia. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. 72/3595 (G. Hellner) 104
9. Bronze statue fragment from Olympia. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. 74/1123 (G. Hellner) 104
10. Bronze statue fragment from Olympia. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. Olympia 941 (H. Wagner) 104
11. Bronze statue fragment from Olympia. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. 72/3607 (G. Hellner) 104
12. Marble torso from athletic statue. Delos Museum A 4277. Photo: École française d'Athènes, Neg. inv. 46691 (P. Collet) 106
13. Marble torso from athletic statue. Delos Museum A 4275. Photo: École française d'Athènes, Neg. inv. 46690 (P. Collet) 106
14. Pubis fragment from large kouros. Samos P 143. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. 1984/615 (G. Hellner) 113
15. Torso fragment from youthful male statue. Athens, Acropolis Museum 6478. Photo: DAIAthen, Neg. 1975/543 113
16. Pubic hair styling, sixth and early fifth century. Drawing: R. R. R. Smith 114
17. Athlete with right hand raised in prayer. Art market, Smyrna. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.10). Photo: Museum, Neg. 152615 B 117
18. Athlete pouring libation. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 31888. Photo: Hirmer, Archive 601.3159 117
19. Amelung Athlete. Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Museo dell'Arte Classica, Gipsoteca, 269. Photo: ICCD 80105, courtesy Marcello Barbanera 119
20. Hoplitodromos. Athenian red-figured amphora, attributed to the 'Berlin Painter'. Paris, Louvre G 214. After Hauser (1887) p. 100 119

21. Hoplitodromos: bronze statuette. Tübingen, Universitätssammlung. Photo: Museum, Neg. 196.74 119
22. Youth throwing discus. Obverse of silver tridrachm of Kos. Photo: Hirmer, Archive 14.0639V 121
23. Athlete with discus in raised hand. Bronze statuette. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.87). Photo: Museum, Neg. 148961 B 121
24. Ludovisi diskobolos. Rome, Museo Nazionale 8639 (Ludovisi collection). Photo: DAI Rome, Neg. 37.1052 122
25. Detail of Fig. 24. Head. Photo: DAI Rome, Neg. 37.1059 122
26. Head of same type as Ludovisi diskobolos. Vatican, Galleria Geografica 28866. After Lippold (1956) III.2, pl. 201 122
27. Gelon's chariot monument at Olympia. Three surviving inscribed blocks from base. After *IvO* 143 125
28. Foundation of chariot monument from Olympia. After Eckstein (1969) 58, fig. 13 125
29. Sicilian chariot coin. Obverse of silver tetradrachm of Syracuse. Photo: Hirmer, Archive 11.0082V 127
30. Delphi charioteer. Delphi Museum 3484, 3520, 3540. Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Neg. 134.387 127
31. Detail of Fig. 30. Head. After Chamoux (1955) pl. XVI.2 127
32. Delphi chariot monument. Fragment of horse's tail. Delphi Museum 3541. After Chamoux (1955) pl. V.2 128
33. Delphi chariot monument. Two rear legs of horse(s). Delphi Museum 3485 and 3538. After Chamoux (1955) pl. III.1 128
34. Delphi chariot monument. Reconstruction by R. Hampe. After Brunn and Bruckmann (1902–43) 786–90 129
35. Delphi chariot monument. After Rolley (1990) 293, fig. 7 129
36. Motya, plan. After Moscati (1988) p. 189 131
37–8. Motya charioteer. Marsala, Museo Archeologico. After Bonacasa and Buttita (1988) pls. 3–4 132
39. Detail of Fig. 37. Head. After Bonacasa and Buttita (1988) pl. 7.1 132
40. Restored base (chariot group) and inscription for Pronapes of Athens: Athenian Acropolis. Reproduced from Raubitschek (1949), no. 174, by courtesy of the Antony E. Raubitschek family and the Archaeological Institute of America 153
41. Inscribed capital for pillar dedication by Alkmaionides son of Alkmaion. Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek (1949), no. 317). Illustration by courtesy of the Antony E. Raubitschek family and the Archaeological Institute of America 155
42. Grave marker for Damotimos of Troezen (originally carrying a tripod). Illustration by courtesy of the Jeffery Archive, University of Oxford 164

43. (a) and (b) The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, *c.*500 BC and *c.*400 BC. Reproduced by courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations 241
44. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. Photo: C. Morgan 242
45. Plan of Corinth *c.*400 BC. Reproduced by courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations 245
46. Isthmia, sanctuary of Poseidon *c.*400BC. Reproduced by courtesy of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia 248
47. The Early Stadium at Isthmia. Photo: C. Morgan 248
48. Argos: the Classical and Hellenistic Agora. Reproduced by courtesy of the École française d'Athènes 252
49. The theatre at Argos. Photo: C. Morgan 252
50. The Argive Heraion. Reproduced by courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 253
51. The Argive Heraion. Photo: C. Morgan 253
52. The sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. University of California, Berkeley, Nemea excavation archives, no. PD 95.5 258
53. The Temple of Zeus at Nemea. Photo: C. Morgan 258
54. The central Mediterranean. Reproduced by courtesy of NASA.http://visibleearth.nasa.gov 266
55. The treasury terrace at Olympia. Plan: C. Antonaccio 269
56. Dedications at Delphi. Plan: C. Antonaccio 275
57. Thessaly. Map: C. L. Hayward 314
58. Part of an acroterion from the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope. Photo: DAIAthen Thessalien 87. W. Wrede 322
59. Part of raking sima from the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope. Photo: DAIAthen Thessalien 86. W. Wrede 322
60. Part of a frieze from Dendra. Photo: DAIAthen Thessalien 91. W. Wrede 322
61. Grave stele from Krannon: Larisa Archaeological Museum. 842. Photo: DAIAthen Thessalien 264. E.-M. Czako 325
62. Head of a youth from Meliboia: Volos Archaeological Museum *Λ* 532. Photo DAIAthen Thessalien 121. H. Wagner 325
63. Grave stele from Rhodia Tyrnavou: Larisa Archaeological Museum 78/74. Photo DAIAthen 87/131. E. Gehnen 325
64. Grave stele from Sophades: Volos Archaeological Museum BE 2696. Photo DAIAthen 87/133. E. Gehnen 326
65. Torso of an Athena statue from the acropolis of Pherai: Volos Archaeological Museum *Λ* 738. Photo: DAIAthen 87/123. E. Gehnen 326
66. Fragmentary torso of an athlete from Larisa: Larisa Archaeological Museum *Λ* 88. Photo: DAIAthen 1987/115. E. Gehnen 326

67. Clay female protome from Pharsala: Volos Archaeological Museum M4520. Photo EFA L5147, 6. F. Croissant 326

68. Clay female head from the Sanctuary of Enodia and Zeus Thaulios at Pherai. Photo: DAIAthen Thessalien 129. W. Wrede 328

69. Bronze hydria from Pelinna in the National Archaeological Museum NM18232. Photo: Museum 328

70. View of the Verdelis Tomb. Photo: Peter Marzolff 329

71. (a) and (b) Bronze hydria in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13792. Photo: Museum 334

72. Silver Drachm of Larisa: Ashmolean Museum SNG Ashmolean 3849. Photo: Museum 336

73. Silver drachm of Larisa, Ashmolean Museum SNG Ashmolean 3872. Photo: Museum 336

74. Bronze coin from Chalkis. Picard (1979) no. 94. Reproduced by courtesy of Numismatik Lanz (with the assistance of Denis Knoepfler) 356

ABBREVIATIONS

B.	Bacchylides
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique*
CAH IV	J. Boardman, N. L. G. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV. *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c.525–479 B.C.*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1998)
CAH V	D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, J. K. Davies, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, V. *The Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1992)
CAH VI	D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI. *The Fourth Century B.C.*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1994)
CEG	P. A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina epigraphica Graeca: saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr.* (Berlin, 1983)
CID	*Corpus des inscriptions delphiques*, ed. G. Rougemont *et al.* (Paris, 1977–)
CILA	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, ed. A. Böckh, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1828–77)
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[6], 3 vols. (Berlin, 1952)
Drachmann I, II, III	A. B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–27; repr. 1997)
Eretria	*Eretria: A Guide to the Ancient City* (Fribourg, 2004)
Έργο των Εφορειών	*Το Έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ. στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της*(1990–1998). *1η Επιστημονική Συνάντηση. Βόλος, Μάιος 1998* (Volos, 1998)
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes* (Paris, 1909–)
FGE	D. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 15 vols. (Leiden, 1923–58)
Guide de Delphes	*Guide de Delphes: Le Musée* (Paris, 1991)
I.	Isthmian ode
IDidyma	A. Rehm and R. Harder, *Didyma*, 2. *Die Inschriften* (Berlin, 1958)
IEG[2]	M. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1992)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGR	*Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, and P. Jouget (Paris, 1906–27)
ILS	*Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916)
IvO	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds.), *Olympia Ergebnisse*, V. *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin, 1896)
Larisa	*Πρακτικά του Α΄ Ιστορικού-Αρχαιολογικού Συμποσίου Λάρισα—Παρελθόν και Μέλλον. 26–28 Απριλίου* 1985 (Larisa, 1985)
LfgrE	B. Snell (ed.), *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen, 1979–)
LGPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1997–2005 and continuing)

LSJ	H. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones, *Greek–English Lexikon*, 9th edn. (Oxford, 1940, with suppl. 1996)
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1988)
Μνημεία	*Μνημεία της Μαγνησίας. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου Ανάδειξη του διαχρονικού μνημειακού πλούτου του Βόλου και της ευρύτερης περιοχής*,' *Βόλος 11–13 Μαου 2001* (Volos, 2002)
N.	Nemean ode
O.	Olympian ode
OCD[3]	S. Hornblower and A. J. S. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1996)
OMS	*see* Robert
P.	Pythian ode
Περιφέρεια	*Η περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Α*' *διεπιστημονικό συμπόσιο Λαμία, 25–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994* (Lamia, 1999)
Pi.	Pindar
PLG[4]	T. Bergk (ed.), *Poetae lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig, 1878–82)
PMG	D. Page, *Poetae melici graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
Pos.	Poseidippos
Pros. Ptol.	W. Peremans *et al. Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (Louvain, 1950–)
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie d. Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893–1980)
Rhodes–Osborne	P. J. Rhodes, and R. Osborne (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323* (Oxford, 2003)
Robert, *OMS*	L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–90)
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (1923–)
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, and O. Hoffmann (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
SLG	*Supplementum lyricis graecis*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1974)
SNG Ashmolean	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, vol. v. *Ashmolean Museum: Part* IV. *Paeonia–Thessaly* (London, 1981)
Suppl. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum hellenisticum* (Berlin, 1981)
Syll.[3]	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 vols., 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1914–24)
TGF	A. Nauck, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1889)
Θεσσαλία A, B	*Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας 1975–1990. Αποτελέσματα και προόπτικες*, vols. A, B (Athens, 1994)
Thessaly	*Games and Sports in Ancient Thessaly* (Volos, 2004)
Walbank, *Pol.*	F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–79)



Map. The Mediterranean world of Pindar

This page intentionally left blank

ONE

Introduction

Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan

About five hundred years ago, there was a heavy snowfall one winter in Florence. Piero de' Medici, heir to the great Lorenzo, made Michelangelo build what was surely the best snowman the world has ever seen. This story is told by Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists*. In some ways, much ancient Greek epinikian poetry may seem to resemble Michelangelo's snowman: great art, but ephemeral. It is inconceivable that the only praise poems composed for victors in the games in the sixth and fifth centuries BC were the forty-four by Pindar and the dozen of so by Bacchylides which happen to survive. For one thing, these poets had distinguished predecessors in the genre (Ibykos and Simonides) and we have only small fragments of their poems. For another, Pindar was active for some fifty-four years from *c.*500 to 446 BC, the years between *Pythian* 10 and *Pythian* 8, so that if he wrote no more than one praise poem a year, then we have lost at least ten such poems. The true number is surely far greater than that. Many will have been sung ephemerally, at the time of the victory only, and perhaps had no afterlife at all.[1]

This book tries to reconstruct the snowman that is epinikian poetry.[2] It has its origins in a University of London research seminar held in autumn 2002, on Pindar and the athletic festivals which he celebrated in his epinikian odes. In recent years, Pindar has been at the heart of a wide range of studies in cultural history, on topics as diverse as colonization, perceptions of statuary, specific social values, or responses to democracy.[3] Even closer attention has been paid to Greek athletics and the sanctuaries at which major agonistic festivals were held, especially in the period surrounding the Athens Olympics in 2004.[4] In most cases, however, the values promoted by Pindar have been presented in a rather general fashion, with less attention paid to variation in his approaches to different

[1] But for re-performance see Carey (this volume).

[2] For the term, and the genre, see Lowe (this volume).

[3] A random selection of publications on such topics might include: Kurke (1991) and (1998); Steiner (2001), chs. 4, 5, noting also O'Sullivan (2003); Hubbard (2001).

[4] See e.g. Miller (2004); Spivey (2004); Stampolidis and Tassoulas (2004); Valavanis (2004); Young (2004); Phillips and Pritchard (2003) (the well-timed publication of a conference held in advance of the Sydney Olympics).

patrons, events, and communities. Equally, while most such studies are almost by definition interdisciplinary, only rarely have they done more than build on perceived or received norms in individual disciplines.

The aims of the London seminar were slightly different. We too sought to combine the evidence and interpretations of modern literary, historical, and archaeological scholarship, but we also encouraged contributors to develop the questions arising and the insights so gained to re-evaluate their own subject areas. R. R. R. Smith's appraisal of the nature and role of victory statuary in the context of the early fifth-century 'sculptural revolution' is a striking case, as is Rosalind Thomas' discussion of the roots of epinikian in choral poetry and other forms of written and oral commemoration. Second, in exploring the geographical and social range of Pindar's work, we encouraged contributors to focus on the particular circumstances of patrons and communities. Was Pindar all things to all men? Did commissions hold the same significance everywhere? Would Pindar's language and the experience of a performance have resonated in the same way across the Greek world?

The result is a book in three closely connected sections. In Part 1, contributors consider what constituted commemoration of athletic success, and the different forms of evidence that we use to reconstruct it. The physical and myth-historical context of events at the two senior sanctuaries involved in the *periodos*, Olympia and Delphi, are discussed by Stephen Instone and J. K. Davies respectively. The changing nature of oral, written, and visual commemoration is addressed by Rosalind Thomas and R. R. R. Smith, and Nick Lowe examines the ancient (especially Alexandrian) perceptions which underpin received ideas of genre, and which have in turn shaped our corpus of Pindaric epinikia (both via their influence on transmission and survival and via their impact on modern approaches to individual poems). The nature and impact of Pindar's language and experience of performance are among the questions raised in Michael Silk's close reading of one short ode, *O.* 12, composed for a Sicilian victor who came originally from Crete. Part 1 concludes with a discussion of performance by Chris Carey. In Part 2, some of the regions most prominent in Pindar are examined in detail, considering, for example, the local significance of patronage, and Pindar's use of particular myth-historical imagery. Cathy Morgan's chapter on the north-eastern Peloponnese also serves to introduce debates surrounding patronage further pursued in Carla Antonaccio's discussion of Sicily, Simon Hornblower's chapter on Aegina, and Maria Stamatopoulou on Thessaly (perhaps the least often considered region represented in the Pindaric corpus).[5] These regions have been chosen for the range of circumstances and issues which they present, but other examples also merit close study. Cyrene, which we discuss

[5] Although the subject of a special exhibition in Volos Museum in 2004: see *Thessaly*.

ourselves later in this Introduction (Section 3), has been intensively studied by modern scholars, but it is to be hoped that detailed work on the specific circumstances of Boiotia, Euboia, and Attica, mentioned more briefly below, will be undertaken in the near future. In Part 3, Riet van Bremen and Tony Spawforth look forward to the Hellenistic and Roman ages, and consider the continuing power of the *agōn* and traditional modes of commemoration.

The book concludes with comparative reflections by an anthropologist, Mary Douglas. As well as giving the final paper herself, she attended the whole of the rest of the series and, at our request, made comments as an 'outsider', that is from an anthropological point of view, after individual papers. Some of these reflections find their way into her chapter, which has deliberately retained some of the interrogative feel of her seminar contributions, as she questioned her own preconceptions and enriched our discussion by advancing themes which had particular resonance from a comparative perspective. The result is thus both a contribution in its own right and a kind of summing-up of the seminar and the book. She observed to us after it was all over that we ought now to have a second term and a second series of papers, from a comparative and more openly anthropological point of view. We saw what she meant, but felt that this was a task best pursued by others as a follow-up to this present book.

Certain general themes emerged from the discussion which followed each meeting in the seminar series. These can be traced to varying degrees in the work of individual contributors, but in this Introduction we will take the opportunity to present them in greater detail, and to fill some of the inevitable gaps (or at least indicate their existence as directions for future research).

We should begin with a brief explanation. The term 'Archaic' in the book's title does not imply a belief that Pindar was an Archaic poet. On the contrary, we think it important always to bear in mind that, although he may have been active for the first two decades of the fifth century BC, he was essentially a Classical poet; that is, he was a contemporary of the fifth-century world of the Athenian Empire which has, however, left so little trace in his epinikian odes, and he overlapped with the great Attic tragedians. Thus it is quite uncertain whether the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus (produced in 458 BC) pre-dates or post-dates, could have influenced or on the other hand have been influenced by, Pindar's *P.* 11, the 'little Oresteia'.[6] But Rosalind Thomas's chapter does talk about the sixth-century epinikian precursors of Pindar, and the book title reflects this starting-point.

Finally, it is a premise of this book that the understanding of epinikian poetry can be enriched by a study of the historical context in which it was composed.[7] In the early 1960s, E. L. Bundy insisted, in two influential essays, on the formal

[6] Hornblower (2004) 163 and n. 127, with references.
[7] See also Hornblower (forthcoming).

elements which Pindar's epinikian poems have in common—praise for the *laudandus* and material, including but not confined to myths, which functions as a foil to the praise.[8] Without denying the validity of this approach, we seek rather to emphasize the differences between poems, especially those for patrons from different regions. We do this without wishing to return to the unfashionable biographical approach of Wilamowitz,[9] though in defence of Wilamowitz we note that, in his onomastic interests and awareness, he was ahead of his time, and made some brilliant and subsequently neglected combinations (see p. 38 below for the example of Aioladas).

1. ELITES

One does not have to read far in the modern literature on Pindar before coming across the word 'elite'. It is used on numerous occasions by the contributors to the present book, but its meaning is not easy to agree on, nor is there much help to be found in social science literature. Marvick's definition in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* holds elites to be 'incumbents', those who are collectively the influential figures in a society.[10] Intuitively it seems obvious that those who commissioned Pindar, and whose victories he celebrated, must have been influential in this sense. Testing it is not always easy, however. The autocrats of Sicily and Cyrene apart, there is little direct prosopographical overlap between victors in Pindar and Bacchylides and persons known from other literary and epigraphic sources to have been politically prominent. Only with Aegina is direct comparison possible because Herodotus is unusually informative about internal politics there, and because we find some of the same names and families occurring both in epinikian poetry and political history (see Chapter 11 below). There is also a prominent Theban medizer called Asopodoros in Herodotus (9. 69) who may, or may not, be the father of the Herodotus who is celebrated by Pindar (*I*. 1. 34).

Yet the definition of elites as incumbents leaves many important questions unanswered. It tells us nothing of the nature of incumbency in any political community, of the means and cultural-political referents used to assert or display one's right to power, nor of the longevity in power of individuals or families. It is, for example, commonly and reasonably argued that Sicilian tyrants were prominent patrons of prestigious Greek poets precisely because they sought to sustain their perceived right to rule by subscribing to the values of Greek elites, and their ability to command the products—and usually the presence—of their finest literary exponents. In the same vein, patronage of southern authors and

[8] Bundy (1986), originally 1962.
[9] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922).
[10] Marvick (1995) 237.

artists by the rulers of Macedon, and their demonstration of Hellenic identity (for example by participation in the Olympic games),[11] may be linked to their attempts to extend the scope of their personal or family prestige. There are undoubtedly parallels (if less dramatic) in the old, non-colonial, Greek world (as Cathy Morgan argues in the case of Corinth). It is clear that athletics and certain athletic-related objects embodied values of useful currency in a range of Greek or Hellenizing societies. Consider, for example, the number and contexts of Panathenaic amphorae outside the old Greek world—in the Bosphoran kingdom, or southern Italy. In the latter case, finds in certain late sixth–early fifth-century monumental Tarentine tombs may imply a claim to status via all that athletics stood for, rather than the marking of actual victories. The four Panathenaic amphorae which stood outside the sarcophagus in the four corners of the Via Genova tomb in Taras are a case in point.[12] But such currency is deployed in context, and the suggestion that the act of commissioning a poet like Pindar, and the reception of the end result, would have the same significance and impact across the Greek world should therefore be argued rather than assumed.

To what extent did Pindar recognize differences in the local constitutions according to which his patrons held power? By his comments at *P.* 2. 86–8 of *c.*470 ('and under every regime the straight-talking man excels: / in a tyranny, when the boisterous people rule, / or when the wise watch over the city'), Pindar shows himself aware of democracy, monarchy, and oligarchy as distinctive constitutions. However, references to the organization of specific societies are generally rare, and appear in the context of praise of a ruler *qua* ruler. *P.* 10. 69–72, lauding the oligarchic rule of the Aleuads of Larisa, is an interesting exception, not least because of the fact that Thorax of Larisa had commissioned the ode to celebrate not his own achievement but that of a boy diaulist,[13] Hippokleas of Pelinna, thus demanding distinctive praise both of the victor and of his patron. In other instances, political realities pass unremarked. This is not peculiar to Pindar, but is equally (if not more) true of his younger contemporary, Bacchylides. Nowhere is it clearer than in Bacchylides' treatment of Keos, his home island, as one entity at a time when it was home to no fewer than four poleis (squeezed into an area of some 131 square km).[14] Archaeological knowledge of these poleis centres on Koressia thanks to the Kea Survey, which

[11] See Herodotus 5. 22 on the early 5th-cent. Alexander I: Hall (2002) 154–6; Hall (2001) sets this story within the longer-term discourse about Macedonian identity. Interest in the symbols of athletic victory (even if not the actual achievement itself) is further indicated by the presence of Panathenaic amphorae at a number of Macedonian sites from the early 5th cent. onwards: Tiverios (2000) 36–7.

[12] Vdovichenko (1999). Taras: for a summary see Lippolis (2004) 46–50, noting especially the opposed arguments of Lo Porto (1967) and Valenza Mele (1991).

[13] The diaulos (on which see Instone (this volume) 78 f.) was about 400 m, twice the length of the stadium or race-track.

[14] Echoed by Pindar, *Paian* 4: see Hornblower (2004) 120–3, 129.

covered the city's entire territory and part of that of Ioulis (Bacchylides' probable home town), although both Karthaia and Poiessa have also been surveyed and publication is awaited.[15] There is no evidence that any one city was dominant: indeed, the second half of the sixth–early fifth century was a period of general prosperity across the island. Again, we know most about the city centre of Koressia, which issued its own coinage in the sixth century, and underwent considerable expansion during this period, with a small late sixth-century temple on the Ag. Triadha acropolis and a late Archaic first city wall.[16] While we know less of the other centres, there is sufficient evidence to indicate a broadly similar pattern of development: Karthaia too expanded markedly in the sixth century, with late Archaic temples to Athena and Apollo,[17] and by the end of the sixth century, all four cities have produced evidence of architectural sculpture and temple architecture of similar style.[18] Bacchylides could hardly have been unaware of local identities and rivalries, nor of circumstances under which the island was treated as a whole (as part of the Athenian Empire, for example), but in his praise of Kean victors he focuses entirely on the latter at the expense of the former.

It is perhaps unsurprising that scholarly discussion of Archaic and Classical Greek elites has been directed more towards more accessible (and at first sight more helpful) horizontal lines of communication, emphasizing the social level at which interaction took place between elites, and the practical and metaphorical language of rule. A much-studied feature of Greek society has been the set of institutions by which individuals, who had at their disposal the wealth for travel and for gift-exchange, maintained contact with Greeks in distant cities. Proxeny, ritualized friendship (*xenia*), intermarriage, kinship diplomacy, *isopoliteia* (exchange of citizenship between communities), commercially motivated maritime interconnectivity—all these institutions and practices mitigated polis-particularism and found expression in long-distance reciprocity between well-off persons, families, and whole communities.[19] Nor was this a monopoly of obvious sailors and islanders like Aeginetans or Rhodians. Few parts of Greece were far from the sea (and those most so, such as central Arkadia,[20] often had ecologies which left them particularly dependent on long-distance connections). As Maria Stamatopoulou shows in her chapter, *xenia* relationships and activity at

[15] Mendoni (1998); see also Mendoni (1994) for a review of rural organization and land use on the basis of survey data.

[16] Whitelaw and Davis (1991).

[17] Papanikolaou (1998*a* and *b*); Touloupa (1998).

[18] Sculpture: Trianti (1998). Temple architecture: Kanellopoulos (1996) part 3.

[19] Walbank (1978); Herman (1987); Mitchell (1997); Jones (1999); Horden and Purcell (2000); Zelnick-Abramovitz (2004).

[20] Roy (1999).

Panhellenic sanctuaries were just as much to the taste of Thessalian aristocrats (too often considered to be introverted and old-fashioned), whereas the long seaboard of the Pagasitic Gulf was accessible to most cities in eastern Thessaly and housed the major ports of Iolkos and Pagasai. Equally, it is easy to underestimate the role of land transport: in the Peloponnese, for example, an extensive road network was well established by Pindar's time, and its importance is clear from Thucydides' emphasis (1. 13. 5) on Corinth's distinctive strength, poised on maritime and land routes (a point further discussed by Cathy Morgan in connection with the festival network of the north-eastern Peloponnese).[21]

As for ties between whole communities, the award in 410 BC of a formal *en bloc* grant of 'benefaction and citizenship' by Antandros in the Troad to far-off Syracuse, in thanks for services rendered, is a striking, early example of a characteristically Hellenistic phenomenon (Xen. *Hell*. 1. 1. 26). Similarly, it may seem surprising to read in Herodotus (8. 75. 1) that the Thespians were 'taking in citizens at that time' (i.e. 480)—again, the flavour is Hellenistic, but that may just show how little we know about Greek receptivity to outsiders. The surprising point is the offer of citizenship to those taken in, but it must be emphasized that the range of solutions to population problems attested elsewhere includes strategies close to this. The foundation record of Ozolian Lokris (*c*.525–500), found near Naupaktos,[22] gave the Lokrians the right to decide, under pressure of war, to bring in at least 200 fighting men as additional settlers (*epiwoikoi*). Admittedly there is no explicit indication of the nature of citizen rights bestowed (if any), but presumably there were sufficient rewards attached to settlement to offer some inducement to fight. In the colonial world, discussion has focused around the import of citizen and non-citizen males to address problems of *oligandria*, shortage of men, a phenomenon attested at many sites, including Cyrene and Metapontum (where Carter argues that an endemic problem became especially acute from the second half of the fifth century onwards).[23] While much of our information comes from the colonial world, there is no reason to assume that old Greek cities were immune to such problems—quite apart from the more positive matter of grants and awards made by friendly rulers elsewhere. In the mid-fourth century the non-Greek but Hellenizing dynasts Mausolus and his sister-wife Artemisia of Caria, not too fussy about the normal Greek conventions for this sort of thing, perpetrated a startling constitutional solecism[24] by conferring proxeny (normally a grant made to an individual) on an entire

[21] Pikoulas (1995).

[22] ML no. 13.

[23] Mitchell (2000) 86–7, 94–5. Carter (1998) 153–5. We are grateful to Gillian Shepherd for discussion of a problem which, if gender and age representation in western Greek and indigenous cemeteries in the west can be relied upon, had been endemic since the 8th cent.

[24] For good remarks on this see Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 544.

community (Knossos on Crete).[25] The decree in question charmingly begins 'it seemed good to Mausolus and Artemisia', just like a two-person polis.[26]

Networks of the sort so created and celebrated are one main theme of this book. The people who participated in them constitute an elite along the lines of Wade-Gery's 'international aristocracy'. To give two well-known examples, the elite status of two fifth-century Olympic victors Alcibiades of Athens and Lichas of Sparta is indubitable, but in both cases it may have had more to do with the prestige conferred by their international connections, via proxeny and intermarriage, than with their political position at home. Both men were viewed with intense suspicion by their local peers, although it is reasonable to suggest that the venom directed towards Alcibiades in particular had to do with the legitimacy of his 'un-Athenian' claims in the international, elite currency of athletic victory (which had been perfectly respectable at Athens too within very recent memory).[27] Indeed, the ambiguity of late fifth-century Athenian attitudes is evident in the traditions focused on Alcibiades' chariot victories in particular. For our purposes, it matters little whether Andocides' *Against Alcibiades* (Andocides 4) was a rhetorical exercise[28] or a real speech: the use made of Alcibiades' entry of seven teams in the Olympic chariot race in 416 speaks for itself. It is even more striking to compare Euripides' epinikian ode, if it is his,[29] celebrating the three placements gained from these entries (first, second, and, according to Euripides, third),[30] with the attitudes which Euripides expresses for a home audience in *Autolykos* (fr. 282), where he curses the whole race of athletes as useless to the city in time of war.

Home status and status abroad (the vertical and horizontal lines of elite identity) were not always in tension, but could be mutually strengthening. In the west, for instance, elite status at home and amongst fellow rulers might be reinforced by dedications and victories at Delphi and Olympia. In her chapter below, Carla Antonaccio considers the long history of western engagement with Olympia as establishing a secure and widely accepted context for the expression of elite status by the time of the battle of Himera. As Hanna Philipp has shown,[31] many and varied strands combined to make Olympia an attractive place for western participants, and Olympic victories the most prominent in Pindar's western epinikia (see also Morgan below). Geography alone is not enough, as a brief glance at the much more limited western element in the votive and oracular record of Dodona shows. Even though the oracle at Dodona had achieved some renown by the fifth century and the sanctuary was attracting western interest as noted by Pindar, there is no evidence to indicate that it was consulted by western

[25] Crampa (1972) no. 40. [26] Davies (1993) 244. [27] Hornblower (2004) 258–61.
[28] Rhodes (1994) 91. [29] Against authenticity, see Lowe (this volume) 176.
[30] Bergk, *PLG*[4] II. 266. [31] Philipp (1992); see also Di Vita (2004) on Sicily.

elites, let alone on matters of state.[32] In considering the appeal of Olympia, one might cite such factors as the warrior character of Olympian Zeus, the Peloponnesian origins of some colonies and specifically, Iamid involvement in the foundation of Syracuse (Herodotus 5. 44–5), the volume of weapons dedications and the broadly agonistic character of activity here.

Yet the aftermath of the battle of Himera (the landmark Greek defeat of the Carthaginians in 480 BC) was a very particular period of reflection and commemoration which drew on a heritage of connections with Olympia, and of which Pindar's odes formed part.[33] In Sicily itself, visible manifestations of power were concentrated in the major cities; the construction of the monumental Temple of Victory at Himera, the Athenaion of Gelon at Ortygia, and the Olympieion of Theron at Akragas (Agrigento) were high points in the development of the distinctive Sicilian architecture style. At Olympia, the form of commemorative offering (especially arms and armour) accords with a traditional kind of dedication at this particular site. But as both Guy Rougemont and Anne Jacquemin emphasize,[34] focusing on this particular moment also helps to make sense of a burst of predominantly Sicilian[35] activity at Delphi during the late sixth and the first half of the fifth century, both in terms of the volume of dedications and of their form, favouring statuary and other monuments (notably tripods). Behind this phenomenon is the coincidence of major victories to west and east in 480 BC, at Himera and Salamis (put by one ancient tradition on the same day). Before the Greek victory, Gelon had reserved his options: Herodotus (7. 163. 2) recounts how in 481, he sent Kadmos of Kos with three galleys and a large sum of money to Delphi to await the outcome of the war, with the instruction to promise earth and water to Xerxes should he defeat the Greeks. The Greek victory, however, gave Gelon the perfect opportunity to proclaim parallels between the two triumphs of Hellenism, and to celebrate his victories in the same location and in the same way as Greek commemorations of the defeat of the Persians. Thus, the Deinomenid tripod monuments were juxtaposed with the Salamis Apollo and the Plataian serpent column which featured a tripod of the same form.

[32] Vokotopoulou (1992), noting bronze offerings of Magna Grecian manufacture. As she notes, the oracular tablets from Dodona rarely mention the origin of the consultor, but among those which do or which relate in any way to the west, fourteen name western consultors or subjects, and the following four fall within the period 510–450, with the fifth dating to the end of the 5th cent. The numbers follow Vokotopoulou's catalogue: (2) IM (Ioannina Museum) 957, 'Regin[oi]'; (3) IM 1099, 'Reginoi'?, probably an official request; (4) IM 768, 'if . . . Hipponion' (probably 'if I sail towards Hipponion'); (6) no inv., 'would it be better to do these things by going to Sybaris'; (11) IM 122, concerning Herakleia, in a matter of emigration (unclear which Herakleia is concerned). This list suggests some ties to the area of the Gulf of Taranto, closest to Epirus, but no wider consultation. This should not be taken to imply that Pindar was uninterested in Zeus of Dodona: for discussion of the relevant hymn or paian fragments, see most recently, and with past bibliography, Hornblower (2004) 175–6.

[33] Mertens, intervention following Phillip (1992) at pp. 57–9.

[34] Rougemont (1992); Jacquemin (1992).

[35] On the major dedications of the Sicilian tyrants at Delphi, see Amandry (1987) 81–93.

Here too, Pindar's celebration of the Deinomenids as defenders of liberty and Hellenism (most clearly in *P.* 1 of 470, in the comparison with Salamis and Plataia at lines 75–80) has a direct material parallel. The concentration on dedication at Olympia and Delphi is reinforced by the celebration in epinikia primarily of Olympic, but also Pythian victories almost to the exclusion of all else. Discussion of Pindar, however, introduces a further layer of comparison, in the rivalry in dedications between the Deinomenid brothers Hieron and Gelon. Gelon defeated the barbarian enemy at Himera, whereas Hieron searched him out at Cumae; Gelon remodelled Syracuse whereas Hieron founded Aetna; Gelon dedicated a simple quadriga at Olympia, whereas Hieron commissioned Pindar, Bacchylides, and Aeschylus, and dedicated a quadriga with two flanking horses at Olympia. As Claude Rolley has suggested, it is possible that Hieron intended to make a second, similar dedication at Delphi.[36] The restored chariot group of Polyzalos recalls Pausanias' description (6. 12. 1) of Hieron's dedication to celebrate his triple victory at Olympia, made after his death by one of his sons. Rolley therefore speculates that Polyzalos' dedication at Delphi was also a pious duty on Hieron's behalf (which would bring its date to 470–465). Inevitably, attention focuses on these most spectacular Sicilian dedications, but it is worth noting that other western cities added commemorations of their own victories over barbarians at this time.[37] The Tarentines, for example, offered two groups at Delphi to commemorate victories over the Messapians / Iapygians, one (*c.*470) by Hageladas in the lower sanctuary which depicted female captives and horses, and a second (*c.*460) by Onatas in the upper, altar, area, showing Taras and the general Phalanthos with a captive.[38] In Greek eyes, these elites earned that name above all by their championing of Hellenism against its supposed enemies. But there were twists: in the same Greek eyes, the Messapians could, by a different sort of victory, be represented as Greeks after all (Hdt. 7. 170 for a curious myth of Cretan origins).

2. THE COLONIAL MILIEU

It is clear that the origins of epinikian poetry cannot be found in any perceived threat from democracy to some sort of 'old order' of aristocracy. Rosalind Thomas' chapter puts this beyond question. The theory does not work for several reasons: it is too narrowly conceived in terms of Athens, which was in any case not a city primarily associated with the epinikian genre (on the generic choices of the big classical cities, see the discussion by Nick Lowe), and it tacitly assumes too late a date for the beginnings of epinikian poetry.

[36] Rolley (1990). [37] See generally Rougemont (1992) 161–5.
[38] Jacquemin (1992) 197–8; Rougemont (1992) 161–2.

We would do better to look to the colonial world. So far, the earliest known practitioner of epinikian poetry is Ibykos of Rhegion in south Italy, and this geographical location is perhaps a clue. Colonies exalted the powerful military men who had made them or helped to make them, in the teeth of often ferocious indigenous opposition, and oikist or founder-cult is a religious expression of this justified admiration. Equally, praise poetry exalts the individual, though it finds a means to do so while simultaneously glorifying the community from which he comes. The categories of oikist and athlete interestingly overlap, and this makes it attractive to suppose that sung praise of individuals originated in the wild west.[39]

The origins of their commissioners apart, an extraordinary number of the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides touch on colonial themes somewhere or other, if only by a fleeting reference. Thus, for example, *N*. 11. 36–7 seems, briefly and obliquely, to imply prehistoric Theban settlement on Aiolian Tenedos far away in the north-east Aegean opposite Troy (see also below for Thebes and the 'colonization' of the Peloponnese). This is true not only of poems for victors from actual colonial cities like Cyrene or the cities of Sicily and South Italy,[40] but of poems celebrating places not normally associated to any significant extent in this period with colonization. This is not to imply that Argos and the cities of the Argolid (notably Asine and Mycenae) were not implicated in the overall process of colonization, especially with the origins of cults (Bacchylides 11 (10) makes this plain, and similar arguments have recently been made for the cult of Hera)[41]—merely that Argos was not a metropolis. Equally, the qualification ('in this period') is important. Argos would one day be claimed as metropolis by some very surprising places (e.g. Aspendos in Pamphylia)[42] but that was in the early Hellenistic period, when it was politically expedient to claim descent from the city which had long been regarded as the metropolis of the contemporary Planetarchs,[43] the Macedonian kings.[44] This sort of myth-making is the equivalent of earlier Greek assertions of affectionate sibling-hood: Aegina and Thebe were twin sisters and daughters of the river-god Asopos according to the Theban poet Pindar when he wants to stress in sentimental civic fashion his closeness to a victor from Aegina (*Isthmian* 8. 16a, cf. Hdt. 5. 79 and Thuc. 3. 64. 3). Aspendos similarly becomes a sort of Hellenistic sister of the Macedonian royal

[39] Redfield (2003*a*) 95 for excellent remarks in a study of Lokri as Greek metropolis and Italian daughter-city.

[40] See Dougherty (1994) 42–3 for the use made by epinikian poetry of foundation legends.

[41] See e.g. Giangiulio (2002); Osanna (2002).

[42] *SEG* 34. 282. See also the poem discussed by van Bremen, below, p. 347 (Diotimos of Sidon). This too plays with the idea of ultimately Argive descent: Agenor, first king of Sidon, was son of Phoronis, king of Argos.

[43] Th. Papangelis is ahead of us in using the modern Greek term for the President of the United States in an ancient context: in an article in *To Vima* for 8 Aug. 2004 he used it of the emperor Nero.

[44] See Hdt. 5. 22 and Thuc. 5. 80.

line. The sibling relationship is the mythical recourse when both places were long-established and enjoyed rough parity of esteem, so that neither could pretend to be the other's colony or mother-city. In the fifth century, the Macedonian kings themselves were just beginning to assert their Temenid descent, by means including victory, or acquisition of the trappings of victory, at the Argive Heraia (see Cathy Morgan's chapter below). It was not worth asserting sisterhood with them, and thus Argos does not really feature much as a metropolis at that time.[45] It is therefore unexpected that Pindar talks (*N*. 10. 5) of the 'cities which Argos established in Egypt'. Again, Bacchylides Ode 1 and Pindar's *Paian* 4 take us back to the days of the Minoan settlement of Keos, a curiously Dorian pedigree for an island which for Thucydides was definitely Ionian (7. 57. 4). Examples could easily be multiplied.

Yet Pindar is not a predictable writer, and even where a city has a 'colonial' aspect, he can reverse our expectations. There is, for instance, no hint at all in *O*. 13, for Xenophon of Corinth, that the victor's home city was once a great colonizing power (mother-city of Syracuse, Kerkyra, Potidaia, etc.). Ancestral Corinthians are rather depicted as warlike upholders of justice at home and abroad, brave warriors whose city was a just and safe haven (*O*. 13. 49–63). Likewise, Rhodes was a co-founder of Sicilian Gela (Thuc. 6. 4. 3; the other founder was Crete), but in the complex narrative of *O*. 7, the poet prefers to concentrate on how Rhodes itself was founded in the mythical period. Pindar sometimes hints at colonizing traditions which are more varied and co-operative than the single-founder traditions which have come down to us in, for instance, Thucydides. Thus *O*. 6 suggests (at line 6) that an Arkadian was fellow-founder of Syracuse, a city normally treated in our traditions as a purely Corinthian colony. There may be truth in this: Gela (above) was certainly not the only mixed colony in Sicily.

The actual noun ἀποικία is reserved by Pindar in his surviving output for one great colonizing process, that of the Peloponnese in general and of Lakedaimon (Sparta) in particular:

> λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
> ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ,
> fame shines for him [Hiero of Syracuse]
> in the colony of brave men founded by Lydian Pelops

that is, in the Peloponnese at large (*O*. 1. 24). And Thebes, in the form Thebe (i.e. the eponymous nymph),

[45] ML 42, an agreement between two Cretan cities, may be an exception in that it seems to imply shared colonial descent from Argos.

Δωρίδ' ἀποικίαν οὔνεκεν ὀρθῷ
ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ
Λακεδαιμονίων

established
on firm footing the Dorian colony
of the Lakedaimonians. (*I* 7. 12–14)

3. THE CASE OF CYRENE

Let us look at a fine example of a colonial city which unites some themes we have so far identified as important: oikist cult, athletic and equestrian success, and a colonial past inaugurated by Apollo *ἀρχαγέτας*, 'Apollo the colony founder' (*P*. 5. 60; for the cult title see Thuc. 6. 3. 1). It is a city not covered by a separate chapter in the present book: Cyrene in North Africa. There is epigraphic evidence to suggest that family tradition in Cyrene was indeed tenacious: snobbish claims of descent from the founding royal family continued to be made into the Roman period. A grave inscription dating from perhaps the first or second centuries AD[46] records a genealogy going back to a Battos son of Aladdeir. These last two names evoke the world of Pindar and Herodotus: *P*. 5. 93 describes the hero-tomb of Battos the founder, and Herodotus not only describes in detail and with variant versions the founding of Cyrene by Battos in 630 BC, but also mentions at one point the Libyan name Alazeir=Aladdeir (4. 150–64). But there are only eight ancestors of Klearchos, who is the first on the list, the last in chronological sequence, and the presumed occupant of the grave. This line of descent cannot be stretched back to the fifth century BC. So this must be an aristocratic attempt, in the later Hellenistic period, to assert continuity from the founding era.[47] Here is the Greek text of the genealogy:

Κλέαρχος
Κλεάρχω
Κλέαρχος
4 *Κλεάρχω*
Κλέαρχος
Παρευβάτα
Παρευβάτας
8 *Φιλοξένων*

[46] *SGDI* 4859.

[47] See Masson (1974) esp. 270, for this genealogy as part of an aristocratic family tradition which cannot be pushed back to even the last royal Battos (IV). The inscription, whose letter-forms are certainly Imperial, could be a later re-carving of a genealogy which really did go back, or purport to go back, to the royal line, but in that case the youngest Klearchos could not be the occupant of the tomb but would be Hellenistic, and the motive for the carving and erection of the list would be hard to see. Thomas (1989) 159 n. 9 interestingly suggests 'nor can the chronology be calculated literally (as does Masson 1974)'. She wants the line to go back somehow to a royal Battos.

Φιλόξενος
Καλλίππων
Κάλλιππος
12 Ἀλεξιμάχων
Ἀλεξίμαχο[ς]
Αλάδδειρο[ς]
Αλάδδειρ
16 Β[ά]τ[τ]ω

That is: Klearchos son of Klearchos, Klearchos son of Klearchos, Klearchos son of Pareubates, Pareubates son of Philoxenos, Philoxenos son of Kallippos, Kallippos son of Aleximachos, Aleximachos son of Aladdeir, Aladdeir son of Battos. There are other Hellenistic examples of such genealogizing. It is likely that the curious inscription about Oinopion's founding of Chios represents some sort of claim by a family or families to an antiquity going back to the oikist,[48] and at Dodona Agathon son of Echephylos boasts, in a more explicitly genealogical claim, that his family have been proxenoi of the Molossians for thirty generations from the time of Kassandra.[49] Pindar is full of genealogies and awareness of ancestors on both sides, but it would be a mistake to think that this sort of 'aristocratic' attitude died out with him.

We have seen that the noun ἀποικία is found twice only in Pindar, of the Peloponnese invasion. The verb ἀποικέω is found just once in Pindar, where he uses it of another strong and paradigmatic example of colonization, that of Thera the mother-city of Cyrene:

> ἔν ποτε Καλλίσταν ἀπῴκησαν χρόνῳ
> νᾶσον,
>
> in time they settled on the island formerly called
> Kalliste ['the Fairest', i.e. Thera, cf. Hdt. 4. 147. 5]. (*P.* 4. 258–9)

The founder of Cyrene elicits from Pindar one of the clearest statements of oikist cult that has come down to us in classical Greek literature (see below on religion). But this is only part of an extraordinary picture: *P.* 5 (with its companion, *P.* 4) contains some of the most detailed topographical references in the epinikian corpus to a patron city and the sanctuary at which the victory was won.

[48] Condoléon (1949) (with J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1950): no. 162); Thomas (1989) 159 n. 9. Note that the inscription includes a negative assertion about a wife who did not come over with Oinopion. Such 'presentation through negation', as narratologists call it, often hints at another version which is being controverted, but we have no idea what this might have been. The mythical names of Oinopion's companions are demonstrably connected with places on Chios. The Chians were ancestor-conscious to what may have been an exceptional degree: cf. the well-known Heropythos pedigree from the 5th cent. BC but reaching back to Kyprios in the time of what Wade-Gery calls the Hellenic Conquest of the island: Wade-Gery (1952) 8–9 and fig. 1 opposite p. 8.

[49] Fraser (2003) offers a brilliant discussion of *IG* IX. 1^2 4. 1750.

By 462, when Arkesilas IV won his chariot victory at Olympia, Cyrene had a very unusual and visually striking city centre (at *P.* 4. 8, Pindar graphically describes the white stone ridge on which the city is set as ἀργινόεντι μαστῷ). Archaeological research at Cyrene and in the Cyrenaica confirms the familarity with place which underlies Pindar's dual concern to convey the splendours of the Battiad capital to the outside world, and to present to the local audience at the odes' performance(s) the international status of their capital and the Delphic context of Arkesilas' achievement. The funerary monument to Battos which Pindar reports at *P.* 5. 93 ('And there, at the end of the agora, he has lain apart since his death') had been a place of public cult since the first quarter of the sixth century, established outside the 'oikos of Opheles' (a minor god of healing and prosperity) as part of an aggrandizement of the agora which began in the first quarter of the century following the arrival of new colonists. Further expansion occurred at the end of the century with an enlargement of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and monumental buildings (such as the Hestiatorion) increased in number from the early fifth century: since relatively few government buildings would have been required under the monarchy, most of those seen by Pindar were probably shrines.[50]

The agora, graphically celebrated by Pindar (*P.* 5. 89–100),[51] is a strong candidate for the place of performance of *P.* 4 and 5. Pindar mentions the cult of Apollo on several occasions and Apollo Karneia at *P.* 5. 80, leading to the suggestion that the odes were performed during this festival.[52] The shrine of Apollo by the acropolis, although quite small until *c.*440, received considerable architectural investment: an oikos temple with a monumental altar dates to the mid-sixth century, a second temple with an Ionian-style altar followed at the end of the century, and then an exedra was built between the two temples in the early fifth, probably to house a cult of the Dioskouroi. The earliest phase of the Greek theatre dates just after 500: its location at the far west end of the sanctuary area reinforces the widespread link between Apollo and theatrical performance. The Gardens of Aphrodite (*P.* 5. 24), at the far east end beyond the Apollo shrine, already covered a large area in Pindar's time and had elaborate sculpture ornament: they too are an often-cited candidate for the place of performance of Arkesilas' odes.[53] Finally, the extramural shrine of Demeter and Kore,

[50] Bacchielli (1985) 10; Bonacasa and Ensoli (2000) 59–62, 120–3. Preliminary findings from recent Italian excavations in Archaic levels ('Imported Greek pottery in Archaic Cyrene: The excavations in the "Casa del Propileo"') were presented by Ivan D'Angelo at the 28th British Museum Classical Colloquium (*The Naukratis Phenomenon: Greek Diversity in Egypt*), Dec. 2004. CM is grateful to Dr D'Angelo and to Prof. Ida Baldassare for stimulating discussion of certain aspects of the urban layout seen by Pindar, which must have been quite new at the time.

[51] Chamoux (1953) 173, 176–8.

[52] Race (1997) 298; Krummen (1990) 98–151.

[53] Bonacasa and Ensoli (2000) 105–8.

the location of the Thesmophoria, was certainly in existence in Pindar's time, albeit modest until after 440.[54] In addition to the physical setting, with which Pindar shows considerable familiarity, we should note evidence of athletic interest in the Cyrenaica in the form of a small cluster of Panathenaic amphorae of the last quarter of the sixth century and the first quarter of the fifth (with a second, larger peak in the late fifth–fourth centuries).[55] A marble athlete statue of the mid-fifth century may perhaps have been commissioned for a new Gymnasium, although it is impossible to test this hypothesis.[56] The detail in Pindar's description of Cyrene is matched by the care with which he places Arkesilas' achievement at Delphi. Hence, at *P.* 5. 34–42, the dedication of the trappings from the victorious chariot is located physically (and morally, indicating prestige) 'beside the statue hewn from a single trunk which the bow-bearing Cretans set up in the chamber on Parnassos' (40–2).[57]

Why such attention to physical setting? A number of commentators (including François Chamoux and Barbara Mitchell) have rightly emphasized that Arkesilas' victory and the ensuing odes (whoever their commissioner[s]) occurred at a time of monarchical crisis and were clearly designed to reassert the ruler's status and Greek credentials locally and internationally. In 462 the young Arkesilas IV had not long assumed the Cyrenean throne. The death of Battos IV and the end of Persian support had encouraged a revolt which Arkesilas was forced to put down firmly, sentencing his opponents to death or exile.[58] According to the surviving reports and fragments of Theotimos' history of Cyrene,[59] Arkesilas adopted a double stratagem to restore his position in the face of aristocratic opposition—installing new settlers at Euesperides, and promoting by Panhellenic victories his own prestige and that of the city as powerful and independent. Indeed, the charioteer initially sent to Delphi in 462, Euphemos, was on a recruiting mission for Euesperides; the importance of his mission is indicated by the fact that on his death he was succeeded by Arkesilas' own brother-in-law, Karrhotos. The context of the commission seems plain enough, although one must accept, with François Chamoux, that much of what we know of the later stages of the monarchy derives from Pindar and, especially, the Pindaric scholia—a problem familiar elsewhere as J. K. Davies emphasizes in the case of Delphi.[60] On one level, this context echoes the purpose of tyrannical commissions in Sicily and southern Italy, but on another, the smaller number and closer chronological focus of the Cyrene odes, as well as their peculiarly detailed tie to physical setting, imply a sharper, more impassioned plea to both local and international audiences.

[54] Bonacasa and Ensoli (2000) 180. [55] Elrashedy (2002) 150–1.
[56] Bonacasa and Ensoli (2000) 197, with facing plate.
[57] See also Rusnak (2001) 60, and in general on Pindar's responses to art and architecture, 57–67.
[58] Drachmann II. 92. [59] *FGrH* 470 FF 1 and 2.
[60] Chamoux (1953) 169–201; Mitchell (2000) 93–100. Davies (this volume) 47–8.

The commission was certainly a coup for Arkesilas, since in 462 Pindar must have been some 56 years of age and at the height of his fame.

P. 4 and 5, which celebrate the same victory, operate as a pair. *P.* 4 deals with Cyrene's founder mythology set primarily outside the city, whereas *P.* 5 deals, as we have seen, with the civic and Delphic context. There are clear and telling differences between this package and the earlier *P.* 9 which celebrates Telesikrates' victory in the hoplite race in the 28th Pythiad. At the time of this victory, Telesikrates was honoured with the conventional helmeted victory statue; eight years later, in 466, he returned to win the stadion in the 30th Pythiad. Chamoux, among others,[61] interprets the future tense of *P.* 9. 73–5, 'Cyrene will welcome him', to mean that Telesikrates had yet to be received back home when the ode was performed, and that the performance probably took place at Thebes. In support of this argument is the extended reference to Theban cults and festivals at lines 79–89a. But Chamoux's claim[62] that *P.* 9 is not strongly Cyrenean in character seems exaggerated. Admittedly, the nature of the association is different, without close reference to cults and places, but the main narrative concerns the city's foundation, and the reference at lines 102–3 to local games, ἄεθλοι ἐπιχώριοι, makes direct association and comparison with Telesikrates' Olympic victories, and thus elevates Cyrenean contests. The connection is far from negligible, but it is patently very different in tone, content, and expression from *P.* 4 and 5, which have a real link to the city as a physical entity and to its political history.

4. COLONIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CONCEPTS

As the case of Cyrene illustrates, notions of colonialism in Pindar operate in a series of interlocking ways, which to varying extents either bind or distinguish the cities of colonial patrons in relation to their old Greek counterparts. First, there is the genre of epinikian itself, which, as we have suggested, may have western colonial origins. Second, the commissions of Bacchylides and Pindar can be explained historically, without reverting to the sort of biographical approach against which Bundy was reacting (see above pp. 3–4). Thus it seems that particular attention was paid to victory—specifically at the oldest and most prestigious of the festivals of the *periodos*, namely Delphi and Olympia—at moments of crisis in authority, when association with 'Greekness' was politically expedient. This may have been most starkly expressed in the case of Cyrene, where both participation and celebration were focused around a particular set of local political circumstances. But it is also true of Sicily and Magna Graecia,

[61] Chamoux (1953) 169–70, *contra* Race (1997) 338. [62] Chamoux (1953) 171–2.

where the early fifth century was a period of considerable instability and external threat. In discussing issues such as ethnic distinctions and the practical vulnerability of western settlements, attention has often focused on the early years of colonies. Yet such matters became more, not less, complex over time.[63] A steady flow of imported goods served to enhance a variety of Greek and native statuses and identities in changing circumstances. At Metapontum, for example, the division of the chora around *c.*500 radically changed the context in which the old colonial families maintained their wealth and position. Both this and solutions to the problem of *oligandria* in turn had an impact on the practical and ideological perception of Greek–local relations, the latter exemplified in the case of Metapontum by depictions in vase-painting and by a renewed fashion for colonial versions of indigenous jewellery.[64] In short, by the time that Pindar and Bacchylides were commissioned, the discourse of colonization had taken a significant new turn.

But this is not to imply a diminished role for the third aspect of our equation, the mythology surrounding migrations and colonial origins. In the late sixth and early fifth century, colonization, a contested concept[65] but in essence the mechanism by which Greeks made new lives away from their original homes, either in haphazard and individual migration, or in oikist-led groups from more than one city, was an extremely potent form of collective memory in the old and new world alike. Indeed, it was an ongoing process developing, by the fourth century at least, into state-organized ventures of a 'Roman' type: hence, for example, the Athenian colony sent to the Adriatic in the time of Alexander the Great, with definite and stated commercial aims,[66] or the Syracusan colony sent to Black Corcyra, with its provisions about inalienability of land.[67] This governing concept of colonization is, we argue, basic to the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides and must be examined more closely in relation to that poetry. It is far from a one-way traffic: while the original movement of peoples and traditions may have been from east to west, the reverse flow of colonial imagery and ideas in epinikian poetry brought western achievement onto centre stage just as effectively as the statue dedications at Delphi discussed above.

Given this background, it is perhaps surprising to find myths of autochthony represented in Pindar's epinikia. Indeed, the sheer connectedness of the Archaic and early Classical Mediterranean left claims of autochthony generally weak by virtue of their inability to play any useful role in articulating the associations and nuanced distinctions which defined different groups and forms of contact. Two instances, from neighbouring Lokris and Boiotia, are striking. In *O.* 9 (35–46) for

[63] Carter (1998) 196–8, 810–15. [64] Morgan (1997*a*). [65] Osborne (1996) and (1998).
[66] Rhodes–Osborne no. 100, esp. lines 217–20.
[67] *Syll.*[3] 141 with Fraser (1993) for the Syracusan connection, established onomastically.

Epharmostos of Opous, Deukalion and Pyrrha descend from Mt. Parnassos to create from stones the race of men who then settled Protogeneia (Opous). Argument still surrounds the respective involvement of Opountian and Epiknemidian Lokroi in the foundation of Epizephyrian Lokroi, leaving open the possibility that Opous could have made more of the colonial connection. Instead, we find here a myth of autochthony, but constructed in terms which echo discourses of origin evident in the western world also.[68] A sharper contrast, expressing local distinctiveness in straightforward terms of autochthony, is found in Pindar's treatment of his home-town, Thebes, where on four separate occasions he refers to the origin of the Theban aristocracy in the Spartoi, who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos (*P.* 9. 82; *I.* 1. 30, 7. 10; fr. 29). Traditions tying Thebes to colonial activity were no weaker than those adduced in the case of Argos noted above (and certainly more contemporary)[69]—the decision to depart from the dominant discourse of colonialism evident throughout the epinikian corpus must therefore have been deliberate.

5. PINDAR ON MYTH AND RELIGION

Much is taken for granted by the contributors to this book (including the editors in their own chapters) about Greek religion and Pindar's attitude to it. It will, we hope, be helpful to make some or all of this explicit now: to set out the respects in which Pindar is evidence for normal religious beliefs, but also to say where he departs from what we now perceive, and/or is presented to us by contemporary sources, as orthodoxy. We have to notice what Pindar says, but also what he does not say. For instance, we shall see below that Pindar does not say much about the 'Olympic truce', and this is a warning against modern over-interpretation of this very limited institution. That said, we have to acknowledge straight away the near-invisibility in Pindar of one central pair of concepts in Greek religion, pollution and purification.[70] The cauldron from which Pelops is pulled by Klotho, one of the Fates, is firmly said to be *καθαρός* (*O.* 1. 26), and this can be interpreted as part of Pindar's general repudiation of the story that Pelops was boiled in it and partially eaten (a gross potential pollution; see below p. 21). On the other hand, Apollo in *P.* 3. 43–4 exposes himself to serious pollution when he snatches the baby Asklepios from the corpse of his mother. On this Parker

[68] Hornblower (2004) 168–70, 313–14.

[69] Malkin (1994) 100–4.

[70] Parker (1983) 16: pollution fears in Pindar are 'as inconspicuous as in Homer'. For Ixion and the pollution of homicide of close kin (*P.* 2. 31–2) see Blickman (1986) 197.

remarks: 'the poet who wrote this lived, none the less, in a city that kept temples and tombs well separated'.[71]

For some central features of Greek religion, Pindar provides evidence in practically every poem and every stanza, so that it would be lost labour to cite everything relevant. He is, with Homer, a basic text for the nature of Greek polytheism, and for the ways in which the gods interact.[72] Religious festivals are—naturally—everywhere in Pindar; they are timeless facts of life, regardless of their real antiquity. If we have to single out just one poem it might be *O.* 10 on the origins of the Olympic games:

> ἀείδετο δὲ πὰν τέμενος τερπναῖσι θαλίαις
> and all the sanctuary rang with singing amid festive joy. (76)

And we shall look shortly at the elaborate description of a Theban polis festival at the end of *I.* 4 (see also Stephen Instone's chapter below).

For some modern authorities, Greek religion is not much more than polis religion of the kind here described.[73] There is some truth in this: even the autocrats of North Africa and Sicily did not dismantle polis structures, including the civic festivals at which much epinikian poetry was performed (see Carey, this volume). And there was a large polis element even in the Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia.[74] Yet poleis need not have been independent entities but were often contained within *ethnē*, and we may wish to insist that there was an important supra- or extra-polis element here at the same time, also documented by Pindar. The Theban clan of the Kleonymidai rejoice to spend wealth on horses, 'competing with all Hellenes [lit. "Panhellenes"]', Πανελλάνεσσι δ' ἐριζόμενοι (*I.* 4. 29).

Not all Greek religion was the polis-religion for which Pindar provides such good evidence. Apart from the Panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals just mentioned, an important, but until recently neglected, form of Greek religion was that shared by poleis (although not yet federal in the formal sense).[75] Pindar in *O.* 7 invokes 'Zeus, you who rule Atabyrion's | slopes' (ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ,

[71] Parker (1983) 67.

[72] Howie (1989), an excellent general study of Greek polytheism, draws heavily on Pindar for its insights. See also Detienne and Vernant (1978) ch. 7 for a particular structuralist case-study which brilliantly examines the way in which Athena and Poseidon interact in Pi. O. 13 (see below, p. 23).

[73] Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992) has for its title *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*; the French title was *La Religion grecque*. The choice, for the translation, of the longer title is explained by the translator, Paul Cartledge, as follows (p. xv): he says that one of the book's main aims is 'to convince us by constant demonstrations and vehemently insistent repetition that the proper context for evaluating Greek religion is not the individual immortal soul . . . but rather the city, the peculiar civic corporation that the Greeks labelled *polis*. Hence the title chosen for this translation.'

[74] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 297.

[75] Parker (1998) 15, discussing also the central Mesa sanctuary on Lesbos, which similarly seems to have functioned as a 'federal' sanctuary, that is, it served all the communities of the island. Morgan (2003) ch. 3.

νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου μεδέων, 87–8). The cult of Zeus Atabyrios[76] was pan-Rhodian[77] (like that of Athena Lindia).[78] From Mt. Atabyrion you can in good weather[79] see the mountains of Crete, and this is reflected in the story of the origin of the cult: Althaimenes the son of Katreus of Crete fled, Oedipus-like, to avoid fulfilling an oracle which said he would kill his father, which of course he eventually did by mistake. He went to Rhodes (landing at a place which he called Kretinia), climbed Mt. Atabyrion, found he could make out Crete on the horizon, and 'calling to mind the gods of his fathers', founded there an altar of Zeus Atabyrios (Apollodoros 3. 2. 1, cf. Diod. 5. 59).[80] Now Cretans and Rhodians, as we have seen, joined in founding Gela and then Akragas in Sicily, and the cult of Atabyrios was exported there. Polybius says of Sicilian Akragas that 'on its summit stand the temples of Athena and Zeus Atabyrios as in Rhodes (*καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις*), for since Akragas was founded by the Rhodians, this god naturally bears the same title as in Rhodes'.[81] This sort of colonial interconnectivity would have appealed to Pindar, just as, when praising Ergoteles of Sicilian Himera in *O.* 12, he registers the victor's Cretan origins. As for Zeus Atabyrios, if the settlers who went to Sicily from Rhodes were from all three of the island's cities, Lindos, Ialysus, and chalky Kameiros, it would be natural for them to pool their religion in a pan-Rhodian cult.

We turn now to the content of Greek religion. Pindar's attitude to the content of myth is fastidious and respectful. On the myth of the partial eating of Pelops he protests

> *ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαρ-*
> *γον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι·*
>
> But for my part, I cannot call any of the blessed gods
> a glutton [cannibal]—I stand back. (*O.* 1. 52)

[76] For the exiguous remains of what must have been the temple see Tozer (1890) 220–1.

[77] Laumonier (1958) 677 ff.; Cordano (1974) 181; Parker (1996) 31; Bresson (2000) 37–8. The cult spread to the peraia (the Rhodian-controlled Asiatic mainland opposite) as well: Debord and Varinlioglu (2001) 129–30, no. 26 (altar dedicated to Zeus Atabyrios, from Pisye).

[78] Momigliano (1975).

[79] See Tozer (1890) 221, recording a climb up Mt. Attavyrio in spring 1886. He gets to the top and says: 'beyond the southern extremity of Rhodes the long broken outline of Carpathos was visible; but the Cretan mountains, which in clear weather are within view, were now concealed. During our ascent we saw three fine snow-clad summits at three separate points on the mainland of Lycia, and also the coast of Syme and the coast beyond it; but these were obscured by gathering mist before we reached the top. The interest of the view detained us longer than was prudent . . .'. So they got back to the monastery with difficulty, and finally by moonlight, and then heard 'violent thunder and lightning raging on the summit, and the hail and wind battered the shutters of our dwelling'. This is not absolutely conclusive evidence, but he must have been told by the locals that Crete was normally visible.

[80] Van Gelder (1900) 31 was sceptical about the association of the Atabyrian cult with Crete.

[81] Pol. 9. 27. 7, cf. *FGrH* 566 Timaios F 39.

On the other hand, he draws a sceptical and Thucydidean distinction, and is perhaps the first to do so, between myth and true *logos* (reason?):

> ἦ θαύματα πολλά, καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν
> φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον
> δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι
>
> Yes wonders are many, but then too, I think, in men's talk
> stories are embellished beyond the true account
> and deceive by means of elaborate lies. (*O.* 1. 28–9)[82]

And we shall see below that, despite his reverent attitude to 'the blessed gods' he was prepared to justify the violence of Herakles in a way that some think looks forward to Euripides or the Athenians of Thucydides' Melian Dialogue.

Pindar can make clever use of myth to make a contemporary point: a three-line fragment (nos. 156 and 157) mentions Silenus, and the second part of this has him saying to the musician Olympos 'O wretched creature of the day, you babble nonsense when boasting to me of money'. This is a contribution to an argument about money and whether or not its invention was an evil.[83] In the myth, Silenus is captured by Midas and then returned to the wild. In gratitude for this, Dionysos grants that everything Midas touches shall be turned to gold, which means that Midas cannot eat. In other words money/gold, and greed for it, are evils. Did Pindar's poem address this theme? He knew how to turn the argument in more than one direction: in *O.* 2, he spoke with ostensible approval of 'wealth embellished with virtues' (πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος) as 'the truest light for a man' (ἐτυμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φέγγος, lines 53, 55–6).[84]

This is all relatively subtle and sophisticated. In many respects, however, Pindar speaks for Olympian religion in its accepted form, and indeed is a prime source for it; he has become a kind of court of appeal in arguments between historians of Greek religion. His language is elevated, his sentence-structure difficult and complex, but the underlying doctrines are relatively simple and devout. 'Relatively' simple because it is not enough to say that Pindar piously treats one god or the other: modern work, especially of the structuralist school, insists that Greek religion was polytheistic and is best grasped in terms of pairings. Pindar's poetry attests this more sophisticated phenomenon and indeed his ode for Xenophon of Corinth (*O.* 13) has been used as a paradigm for the structuralist paired approach. Bellerophon wanted to yoke the winged horse Pegasos. Then

> οἱ χρυσάμπυκα κούρα χαλινόν
> Πάλλας ἤνεγκ', ἐξ ὀνείρου δ' αὐτίκα
> ἦν ὕπαρ, φώνασε δ'· Εὖδεις Αἰολίδα βασιλεῦ;

[82] Richardson (1985) for Pindar's priority here. [83] Seaford (2004) 307.
[84] For Pindar and Bacchylides on money see Hornblower (2004) 256–8.

ἄγε φίλτρον τόδ' ἵππειον δέκευ,
καὶ Δαμαίῳ νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργάεντα πατρὶ δεῖξον."

the maiden Pallas [Athena] brought him the bridle
with the golden bands when his dream suddenly became
reality and she spoke, 'Are you asleep, prince of Aiolos' race?
Come, take this horse charm and, sacrificing a white bull,
show it to your father, the Horse-tamer [Poseidon]. (*O.* 13. 65–9)

Detienne and Vernant show that, and how, the roles of Athena and Poseidon here are complementary.[85]

One distinction, traditional in modern scholarship but nonetheless contested, is that between chthonian and Olympian gods.[86] There is no dispute that 'chthonian gods' was a general term for the—almost always unnamed—gods of the underworld (who are clearly referred to at *P.* 4. 159: μᾶνιν χθονίων, 'the anger of those in the underworld'). It also seems clear that certain gods could be called 'chthonian' or not depending on the ritual context: Hermes is an example, but there are others. But what of the supposedly fundamental Olympian/chthonian distinction? Pindar offers no support for it and that is itself a powerful argument for thinking that it mattered less to ancient Greeks than to modern interpreters. At first sight, his acceptance of the distinction might seem to be implied by his description of the double status of Herakles as a 'hero-god', ἥρως θεός (*N.* 3. 22), if this is taken alongside Herodotus' remark on Herakles' status. Herodotus says 'I think those Greeks are most correct who have two shrines of Herakles, and to the one they make sacrifice as to an immortal, as to an Olympian, and to the other they perform funerary offerings as to a hero', ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι (2. 44). Guthrie, citing the Pindar passage alongside the Herodotean, saw this as 'a combination of Olympian with chthonian worship'.[87] The Herodotus passage is, however, best interpreted simply as offering a distinction between 'immortal' and 'hero'. And we shall see that Pindar elsewhere suggests that whereas Herakles' sons received hero-cult, he himself was honoured unequivocally as a god.

A related argument concerns heroes and the sort of sacrifice they receive: was it always chthonian (however we interpret this deeply problematic concept),[88] and were sacrifices to heroes always completely burnt, 'holocaust'?.[89] The problem is

[85] Detienne and Vernant (1978) 187–213; cf. also Vernant (1983) 127–74 on Hestia and Hermes. For the visual association of Athena and Poseidon at Corinth, notably on the votive plaques from Penteskouphia: Geagan (1970) 44–6.

[86] Scullion (1994).

[87] Guthrie (1954) 238.

[88] For a review of scholarship and issues arising, see Ekroth (2002) 310–25.

[89] Ekroth (2002), reviewing previous scholarship; Currie (2005). Feeney (1998) 111 contrasts Roman ideas about the borderline (contested) between gods, men, and heroes, as illustrated by the opening of Horace, *Odes* 1. 12, with Horace's model, namely the opening of *O.* 2 ('what god, what hero, what man shall we celebrate?'). Feeney treats Pindar's evidence as clear and unproblematic. This is, sadly, no longer so.

an old one and is far from resolved. Many years ago, Arthur Darby Nock remarked and listed the exceptions (mainly Attic) to the rule that hero-sacrifice was holocaust and not eaten.[90] The point is important. Without the ritual distinction between gods and heroes there is apparently little left but the (to us) vague, though still important, difference that heroes tend to be more local than gods.[91] Nock's case now seems overstated, and it is clear that *thysia*—featuring consumption by worshippers—played a more important and widespread role than he allowed (as Ekroth has recently argued). Yet there are too many gaps and uncertainties in the evidence to permit us safely to reject Nock's case in its entirety.[92] In some form or other, the ritual argument must stand, and there are certainly specific pieces of evidence which directly support it. The sacred law from Sicilian Selinus, published in 1993, for example, several times distinguishes between sacrifice 'as to the heroes' and 'as to the gods'.[93]

Pindar is important here too. *Isthmian* 4, for Melissos of Thebes, closes with a very specific description of celebrations; this specificity has led Eveline Krummen to argue that the poem was performed at a particular festival of Herakles at Thebes (and see also below).[94] For present purposes it is the detail of the ritual which matters, because it indicates clearly two kinds of sacrifice: worship of Herakles as a god, and of his sons as heroes.[95] Alkmene's son [Herakles] 'went to Olympos' (*Οὔλυμπόνδ' ἔβα*, line 54b) and received a 'feast': *δαῖτα* (line 61). But his sons get 'burnt offerings' (holocaust, the word at line 63 is *ἔμπυρα*), and the sacrifice for them takes place after dark ('at sunset', *ἐν δυθμαῖσιν*, line 65).

If we broaden the discussion out, it emerges unmistakably that Pindar knows of three important categories of heroized human beings: oikists, athletes, and doctors. For the hero cult of city-founders, Pindar provides a much-cited and highly specific testimonium concerning Battos, oikist of Cyrene:

> *ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών.*
> *μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα*
> *ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.*
>
> and there, at the end of the agora, he has lain apart since his death.
> He was blessed while he dwelt among men,
> and afterwards a hero worshipped by his people. (*P.* 5. 93–5)

[90] Nock (1972) (a reprint of an article first published in 1944 in the *Harvard Theological Review*).

[91] This is not to imply that they were of purely local significance, however, nor that they could always be appropriated by single poleis: see e.g. Hall (1999).

[92] See Currie's (2003) review of the revisionist case presented by Ekroth (2002), and summarized by her at 302–41. Scullion (2000) rightly insists on the importance of the Selinus text in this connection.

[93] Jameson *et al.* (1993) 14–15.

[94] Krummen (1990) 41–75; and see Carey here below.

[95] Currie (2003) 239.

Archaeological evidence for this shrine, and for Pindar's unusually precise attention to the physical form of the city of Cyrene, has already been noted.

Athletes too were heroized in reality,[96] but Pindar (in his last poem, for Aristomenes of Aegina) warns them not to claim immortality:

> ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
> ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
> λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών.
>
> Creatures of a day! What is someone? What is no one?
> A dream of a shadow
> is man. But whenever Zeus-given brightness comes,
> a shining light rests upon men and a gentle life. (*P.* 8. 95–7)

There is a more explicit warning in another ode for an Aeginetan:

> μὴ μάτευε Ζεὺς γένεσθαι· πάντ' ἔχεις,
> εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν.
> θνατὰ θνατοῖσι πρέπει.
>
> Do not vainly seek to become Zeus. You have all there is,
> if a share of those blessings should come to you.
> Mortal things befit mortals. (*I.* 5. 14–16)

We shall see (below, on Theagenes of Thasos), that athletes might be thought to have posthumous healing powers. Pindar knows of the link between healing and heroes; here is his invocation of the patron saint of all doctors:

> Ἀσκλαπιόν,
> Ἥροα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων,
>
> Asklepios,
> hero and protector from diseases of all sorts. (*P.* 3. 6–7)

There is obvious and important overlap between these three categories.[97] Of oikists, lawgivers (not an obviously Pindaric category), and athletes, Redfield remarks 'these people have all in one way or another been separated from society and not reintegrated; after death the power so demonstrated becomes a continuing element of community life'.[98] The connection between lawgivers and the divine is clear not only in the divine sanction attached to much written law, but in the (temporarily) enhanced authority of the lawgiver himself which, at the point when he undertakes his commission, is conceptually similar to that of a deity.[99] While Redfield does not mention doctors, the connection between ἰατρική and μαντική has been widely observed,[100] and we should note the

[96] Fontenrose (1968); Currie (2002) for Euthymos of Lokri.
[97] For athlete-oikists see Hornblower (2004) 184–5, 235–6.
[98] Redfield (2003*a*) 95. [99] Morgan (2003) 78.
[100] For discussions of the wider background see, for example, Lloyd (1979) chs. 1 and 2; Parker (1983) chs. 7 and 8.

healing properties of the dead athlete-hero Theagenes of Thasos. Fontenrose has suggested that he was 'especially valued as a healing deity like Amphiaraos or Asklepios',[101] although the direct comparison is surely simplistic since, as Parker notes, the relationship between existing healing heroes and newly established cults of healing deities during the fifth century was complex, with the two drawing upon overlapping but distinct clienteles and strands of scientific and religious knowledge and practice.[102]

The two central rituals of Greek religion are sacrifice and divination. Sacrifice has already been considered in connection with the cults of Olympians and heroes. Military divination may be seen as a sub-category of sacrifice in the sense that the animal which was slaughtered immediately before the battle (the *σφάγια*) was brought forward by the *mantis* or seer (see here Thuc. 6. 69. 2; Xen. *Anab*. 6. 5. 21). Pindar surely knows about this phenomenon and alludes to it in his own oblique way: the earth swallows up the seer Amphiaraos (one of the Seven against Thebes) and Adrastos says

> "*ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς*
> *ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ*
> *δουρὶ μάρνασθαι*",
>
> "I dearly miss the eye of my army,
> good both as a seer and at fighting
> with the spear". (*O*. 6. 17–18)

Of non-military types of divination, consultation of omniscient Delphic Apollo was the most prestigious as Pindar well knows (although there is an inevitable circularity in the argument given the prominence of colonial commissions in the Pindaric corpus and the role of Delphi in the west, as noted above). Cheiron the centaur says with teasing incredulity to Apollo, who has just asked the lineage of the nymph Cyrene :

> *κύριον ὃς πάντων τέλος*
> *οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους·*
> *ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἠρινὰ φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει, χὠπόσαι*
> *ἐν θαλάσσᾳ καὶ ποταμοῖς ψάμαθοι*
> *κύμασιν ῥιπαῖς τ' ἀνέμων κλονέονται*
>
> And yet you know
> the appointed end of all things and all the ways to them,
> and how many leaves the earth puts forth in spring,
> and how many grains of sand in the sea and rivers
> are beaten by the waves and blasts of wind. (*P*. 9. 44–8)

[101] So, in a classic study, Fontenrose (1968) 76 and n. 4. [102] Parker (1996) 175–85.

Delphic Apollo features most often in Pindar in connection with colonization:

ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
θῆρας αἰνῷ φόβῳ,
ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυράνας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν,

It was Apollo the colony-founder (*archagetas*) [cf. Thuc. 6. 3. 1 for the title]
who gave over the beasts to panic,
so that he might not fail to fulfil his oracles for the steward of Cyrene. (*P.* 5. 60–2)

Again:

τὸν μὲν πολυχρύσῳ ποτ' ἐν δώματι
Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν
Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα χρόνῳ
ὑστέρῳ, νάεσσι πολεῖς ἀγαγὲν Νεί-
-λοιο προς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα,

And when at a later time he enters the temple at Pytho,
within his house filled with gold
Phoebus [Apollo] will admonish him through oracles
to convey many people in ships
to the fertile domain of Kronos' son on the Nile. (*P.* 4. 53–6)

Some rituals of ancient Greek religion are judged important by modern inquirers, but are not straightforwardly describable in Greek language or categories. A good example is initiatory ritual, so-called *rites de passage*—an expression which dates back no earlier than the beginning of the twentieth century.[103] Naturally, Pindar, who writes for young male athletes about to embark or newly embarked on full manhood, often alludes, directly or indirectly, to the rituals marking their in-between status, and their imminent or recent induction into full social maturity. References to mythical themes such as the teacher Cheiron and the palaestra-hero Herakles, and relevant real-life themes such as marriage, are all of them poetically fruitful ways of exploring these concerns. It has been suggested that Pindar's odes for young men from Aegina are particularly full of allusions to coming-of-age.[104] He does not actually use the word 'ephebe' anywhere, although this in-between state has been much studied as a paradigmatic type of transition: boy to man, adolescent to warrior. But it has been noticed that, for instance, Jason in *Pythian* 4 is an archetypal ephebe, with his long hair and his single sandal.[105] His appearance, with its feminine aspects, is

[103] Dodd and Faraone (2003) generally marks something of a reaction against a tendency to see rites of passage everywhere; see esp. Faraone's own contribution: Dodd and Faraone (2003). But see the judicious remarks of the concluding essay by James Redfield (Redfield 2003*b*).

[104] See Burnett (2005) with p. 294 below, for the prominence of initiatory themes in the odes for young men from Aegina (but this is not quite peculiar to the Aeginetan odes).

[105] For references, see Hornblower (2004) 29 and 87–9.

the antithesis of that of the integrated properly equipped citizen-soldier, and thus conforms to the regular initiatory pattern by which an individual is prepared for a given state by emphasis on its opposite.

Religious doctrine is harder to document. It has been well said that personified abstractions are for Pindar a substitute for a systematic theology.[106] Examples are:

> *Φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας*
> *ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ,*
>
> kindly Peace (*Hesychia*), O maker of greatest cities
> and daughter of Justice (*Dike*), (*P.* 8. 1–2)

> *Θέμις θυγάτηρ τέ οἱ σώτειρα λέλογχεν*
> *μεγαλόδοξος Εὐνομία*
>
> *Themis* (Right) and her glorious daughter, Saving Order (*Eunomia*) (*O.* 9. 15–16)[107]

Afterlife beliefs in Pindar are normally conventional: Hades is black, hateful, and the end.

> *μελαντειχέα νῦν δόμον*
> *Φερσεφόνας ἔλθ', Ἄχοι, πατρὶ κλυτὰν φέροισ' ἀγγελίαν,*
> *Κλεόδαμον ὅφρ' ἰδοῖσ', υἱὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι οἱ νέαν*
> *κόλποις παρ' εὐδόξοις Πίσας*
> *ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν.*
>
> To the black-walled house of Persephone go now, Echo, carrying the glorious news to his father, so that when you see Kleodamos you can say that his son has crowned his youthful hair in the famous valley of Pisa [Olympia] with winged wreaths from the games that bring renown. (*O.* 14. 20–4)

It is, therefore, possible to send messages to the underworld,[108] and so to bring joy to one's ancestors, who are represented as taking interest and pride in the achievements of their living descendants. Two Thucydidean speakers hint at a similar belief: Archidamos, king of Sparta, and Alcibiades (2. 11. 9 and 6. 16. 1), who are both made to say that ancestors have glory conferred on them by the deeds of the living.[109] This is interesting because normally Thucydides and his speakers avoid all hint of an afterlife. A special kind of message to the underworld is a binding curse, and Faraone sees a hint of the agonistic variety of such curses in Pindar's *Olympian* 1 (line 76), where Pelops begs Poseidon *πέδασον ἔγχος*

[106] Davies (1997*b*).

[107] Cf. Thummer (1957), who also to a large extent treats Pindaric religion as a series of personifications; Stafford (2000).

[108] Segal (1985).

[109] Hornblower (2004) 88 and n. 10 (SH remarks that he forgot the book 2 passage, although Dover cites it).

Οἰνομάου χάλκεον, 'hold back the bronze spear of Oinomaos'.[110] But Eidinow[111] hesitates to follow this because the verb used (*πεδάω*) is not one found in curse material.

Immortality is conferred on humans by poetry only:

> ἁ δ' ἀρετὰ κλεινᾶις ἀοιδᾶις
> χρόνια τέλεθει,
> excellence endures in glorious songs for a long time. (*P.* 3. 114–15)

Yet there is also highly unconventional material apparently related to Orphism:

> but those with the courage to have lived three times in either realm, while keeping their souls free from all unjust deeds, travel the road of Zeus to the tower of Kronos, where ocean breezes blow round the Isle of the Blessed (*μακάρων νâσον*), and flowers of gold are ablaze, some from radiant trees on land, while the water nurtures others; with these they weave garlands for their hands and crowns for their heads, in obedience to the just counsels of Rhadamanthys (*O.* 2. 68–75, and compare *O.* 3. 41, 'they preserve the rites (*τελεταί*) of the blessed gods').

Both poems are for Theron of Akragas, a fact which gains considerable significance when one considers the widespread distribution of Orphic material in many parts of southern Italy.[112] These finds prove beyond doubt the link between Dionysos (Bacchos) and Orphism, so that Pindar's mention of Dionysos as Semele's 'ivy-bearing son' (*παῖς ὁ κισσοφόρος O.* 2. 27) takes on new importance. By contrast, the fragmentary *thrēnos* (lament) fr. 133, for an unknown patron, may not be Orphic at all: [113]

> but for those from whom Persephone accepts requital for the ancient grief, *παλαιοῦ πένθεος* [for the killing of her son Dionysos, who is more normally son of Semele and Zeus], in the ninth year she returns their souls to the upper sunlight.

The sentiments are echoed in a *thrēnos* for Hippokrates of Athens (fr. 137), later seen by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3. 3. 17) in Eleusinian terms: 'blessed (*ὄλβιος*) is he who sees them and goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life and knows its Zeus-given beginning'.

There is nothing to suggest that Pindar is here representing anything other than the views of his patrons. If, however, we choose to assume that he personally subscribed to Orphism, then we are forced to consider the possibility that in later life he became more sceptical. One fragment (169), which was already known to Herodotus and of which we now have more on papyrus, has been thought to imply this:

[110] Faraone (1991) 11. [111] Eidinow (forthcoming).
[112] Pugliese Carratelli (1993). See generally Hornblower (2004) 89–91.
[113] Lloyd-Jones (1990) 80–109 and Parker (1995); but see now Holzhauser (2004).

Nomos (law), king of all, of mortals and immortals, guides them as it justifies the utmost violence with a sovereign hand. I bring as witness the deeds of Herakles, for he drove Geryon's cattle to the Cyclopean portal of Eurystheus without punishment or payment . . .

It is interesting here to compare *N*. 9. 15 (even though the translation is not agreed): 'the stronger man puts an end to what was just before' [or: 'puts an end to a former dispute']. Overall, however, chronology presents the greatest difficulty with this view of the *Nomos* poem, since the fragmentary poems are the hardest of all to date. Quite apart from the difficulty of disentangling Pindar's personal beliefs from those of his patrons, the idea of progress from untroubled belief to cynicism rests on circular assumptions about the dating of poems.[114]

6. THE 'OLYMPIC' TRUCE AND OTHER SACRED TRUCES

Many modern assumptions about early Greek athletics have somehow acquired the status of customary or conventional law. The 'Olympic truce' is a notable example, and it is worth pursuing in detail to illustrate how close reading of Pindar can be revealing as much for what he does not say as what he does say. Big claims have been made for the institution of the truce, often as part of a plea (commonly made around the time of each modern Games) that there should be a period of world peace. Yet as David Young has recently re-emphasized,[115] the Olympic truce was never a period of cessation of all wars and military hostilities, but at most a prohibition on invasion of Olympia itself and on stopping anyone on the way to or from the sanctuary and the games (see below). While not the sole villain in this case, the International Olympic Committee, as Young argues, has certainly made fine propaganda of this pious misreading of the sources—not without irony given that both the 1980 American boycott of the Moscow Olympics and the subsequent (1984) Soviet retaliation in Los Angeles would have breached the real terms of the ancient truce.

Nonetheless, this misreading reappears with every modern Games, and nothing is more certain than that it will do so in connection with the Beijing Olympics in 2008. Thus most recently, Nigel Spivey writes that there was 'a sixteen-day cessation of hostilities all around Greece while the festival was convened', though he goes on to say that the violent events of 364 (the 'battle in the Altis' at Olympia, Xen. *Hell*. 7. 4. 28–32) made an 'absolute mockery' of this tradition.[116] Reviewing Spivey, and chiding him for being so scathing about the truce, Oliver

[114] Hornblower (2004) 65–6. Simon Hornblower will argue elsewhere that this poem was written for a Macedonian prince.

[115] Young (2004) 124–5 (citing with approval Lämmer (1982–3), see below).

[116] Spivey (2004) 190.

Taplin goes even further in asserting the supposed tradition: 'the fact remains that there was a period of universal peace, however brief, throughout the much-conflicted Greek world for nearly every one of the more than 100 Olympic festivals that were held before the Romans came'.[117] The truth was stated tersely by Gomme fifty years ago (to go no further back):[118] 'there was, by the way, no general truce in wartime during the Pythia or any other festival, only an agreed safe-conduct for those taking part in it (and even this was not certain, to judge from the first clause of the year's truce, 4. 118. 1–2)'.[119] An excellent full-length study by Manfred Lämmer in 1982[120] ought to have demolished the myth completely, but the desire to believe is very strong.

Pindar was well placed to know the exact truth about the truce, and one should look hard at what he does—or rather does not—say. Referring to the Akragantine charioteer Nikomachos, he says:

> ὅν τε καὶ κάρυκες ὠ-
> ρᾶν ἀνέγνον, σπονδοφόροι Κρονίδα Ζηνὸς Ἀλεῖοι
> whom the heralds of the seasons also recognized,
> the Elean truce-bearers of Kronos' son Zeus. (*I*. 2. 23)

That is all he says anywhere about the Olympic institution.[121] Neither here nor in any of the fourteen Olympian odes is there anything about universal peace throughout the Greek world during the weeks of the festival. This is a significant silence of a general sort.[122] One important, but small and local, qualification

[117] Taplin (2004).

[118] Gomme (1956) 629 (explicitly endorsed by Hornblower (1991–6) ii. 422). See, however, below with n. 125 for a small but necessary qualification to this basically correct statement.

[119] This clause, from the armistice of 423 BC, guaranteed access to the sanctuary and oracle of Delphi; the peace of Nikias contains a broader clause covering all the (four) 'common shrines' and specifying the religious activities so guaranteed: 5. 18. 2.

[120] Lämmer (1982–3), cited with apparent approval by Spivey (2004) 261 although the formulation in his text (the tradition of 'cessation of hostilities all round Greece') is almost exactly the position which Lämmer demolished. See Lämmer (1982–3) 51: 'Dieser *temporäre Schutz der Festteilnehmer* war der eigentliche und vielbeschworene, aber gleichzeitig so oft missverstandene "Gottesfriede" [*his italics*]' i.e. 'this *temporary protection of participants* was the real 'sacred peace', so often sworn to, but at the same time so often misunderstood'. For the correct view see already Finley and Pleket (1976) 98–9, who insist that the truce never stopped a war: 'what the Olympic truce was meant to do, and succeeded in doing, was to prevent wars from disrupting the Games, above all by insuring safe-conduct for the thousands, and soon tens of thousands, who wished to travel to Olympia and then back home. Hence only open warfare by or against the Eleans was *forbidden* [*their italics*] during the truce . . . '. Golden (1998) 17 agrees. See further below, n. 128.

[121] On the word σπονδοφόροι (technical or not?) see Popp (1957) 128 n. 167. The word is used in the Olympia inscription *Syll*.[3] 1021 = *IvO* 64, line 7, but that is rather late (24 BC).

[122] Raubitschek is cited by Lämmer (1982–3) 81 n. 106 for a letter making the correct point that our oldest main sources for the early history of the Olympic games, Pindar and Herodotus, do not mention Olympia as a symbol of Panhellenic kinship and unity. The first source to do that is Aristophanes, *Lys*. 1128–34 in 411 BC. Isocrates 4. 43 (380 BC) writes in similar Panhellenic vein about the Olympic games ('after concluding truces with each other and putting an end to any current hostilities, we come together in one place'). See Lämmer (1982–3) on these and similar aspirational passages, which are without historical value for the 5th cent.

should be made.[123] Strabo (8. 3. 33) implies that only in Elis itself were hostilities banned—and this was the polis which administered the Olympian sanctuary, festival, and games. This ban is a complete explanation of Thucydides' only reference to the Olympic truce.[124] At 5. 49. 1, he recounts how the Spartans allegedly committed hostile acts against two places which the Eleans regarded as Elean ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ('in the Olympic time of libations').[125] It is, however, important to see Elis and Olympia in a wider context. The Olympic festival has tended to monopolize attention, partly because it was the most prestigious ancient sanctuary and festival, and partly because of the modern history of the Olympic games; there are no modern Nemean or Isthmian games.[126] Yet as is clear from Pindar's reference (*N*. 3. 2) to 'the Nemean sacred month' (ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι), the inviolability of Olympia at the time of its great festival was only one example of a common phenomenon. The other three Panhellenic festivals had similar truces.[127] *I*. 2. 23 concerns the Nemean festival, we have already noticed Gomme's comment on the Pythia, and Thucydides (8. 9. 1 tells us that in 412 the Corinthians did not want to join a naval expedition until they had celebrated the Isthmian games, which were held at that time, οὐ προυθυμήθησαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἴσθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διεορτάσωσιν. The Spartan King Agis was quite happy to allow them not to break the Isthmian truce, and to make the expedition 'his own', Ἄγις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑτοῖμος ἦν ἐκείνους μὲν μὴ λύειν δὴ τὰς σπονδάς, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι. Thucydides then (10. 1) reports the announcement at Athens (of the Isthmian truce, though he merely says ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ, 'for they had been announced, where the subject is "the Isthmia", neuter plural, i.e. the games) and says that the Athenians sent sacred ambassadors, ἐθεώρουν. Here the reference to "not breaking the Isthmian truce" implies a mere recognition that the Corinthians, as the actual organizers of the games and festival, could not be expected to carry on hostilities while it was in force.[128] To return to Olympia and the alleged offence

[123] *HCT* (Gomme revised by Andrewes) is for once quite inadequate here, with no comment on this aspect of the truce at all. The point ought to have been made either here (on 5. 49) or perhaps on 5. 1 (the Pythia), for which see above and n. 118.

[124] We shall see below that he does also refer (8. 9) to the Isthmian truce.

[125] Thucydides also uses the word ἐκεχειρία, para. 2, literally a 'hands-off time', which therefore cannot differ much in sense (so correctly Popp (1957) 128 n. 167). For the word see generally Lämmer (1982–3) 49. Phlegon (*FGrH* 257 F 1 (3)) says that Apollo at Delphi ordained the original Olympian ἐκεχειρία.

[126] The Greek poet Sikelianos, with the help of his American wife's money, resurrected a kind of Pythian festival at Delphi in the early 20th cent., but this was essentially a cultural not an athletic event, and the 'Pythian truce' was not part of it. Equally, the staging of ancient-style events in the stadium at Nemea is a (very informative) kind of experimental archaeology, but not to be compared with the Olympic revival; for brief notes, see Miller (2004) 42; Miller (2001) 18, 27, 28, 57.

[127] Lämmer (1982–3) 53–4.

[128] Here Goodhart's old commentary on book 8 (Goodhart (1893) 16) is more help than Andrewes (1981) 22. We quote Goodhart in full because he could not be improved on: 'The sacred truce during the games bound the state that was actually conducting them, and ensured a safe conduct to all who came to

committed by the Spartans, the rule against attacks on Elis itself is surely nothing more than an extension or expression of the commonly invoked (and equally often violated) principle that it was specially wrong to attack a city when it was having a festival or sacred month, tempting as this might have been.

We will return to this question presently. It is, however, worth pursuing the issue of a universal peace a little further, by asking what it would actually have meant in practice and whether there is any trace of it in the sources. We shall confine ourselves to the Olympic festival. Thucydides provides us with very detailed military narratives for several Olympic years, but with no sign of any cessation of hostilities in the Olympic period (July/August).[129] Let us look at 428, 424, and 416. The games and festival of 428 occurred in the middle of the prolonged siege of Mytilene (a state of war, as Thucydides explicitly calls it at 3. 5. 1). Some Mytileneans, who must have taken advantage of the Olympic truce, that is, the safe-conduct to make the journey to Olympia (though Thucydides does not explicitly say so), used the games as a platform for an attack on the Athenians and an appeal for help from other Greeks (3. 9–14). In their speech they appealed to Zeus Olympios in a general way (3. 14), but they nowhere complained that the siege, to which their home city was at that very moment being subjected, violated the Olympic truce. That this was an available rhetorical move for Thucydidean speakers is clear from the Plataian complaint (at 3. 56. 2) that the Thebans had attacked them in a sacred month. Likewise, in 416 the siege of Melos began before July[130] and went on right into the winter (Thucydides 5. 116). One might reasonably doubt the practical meaning of a 'peace' from which such sieges were excluded—and a period of 'universal peace' would make equal nonsense of the detailed military narrative of the summer of 424 in book 4.

Patently, the notion of a universal Olympic truce is unsustainable. Yet the implications of the wider principle of inviolability of festivals is a subtly different question in the particular case of the *periodos*, where elite individuals assembled over exceptional distances. Far from 'making a mockery' of a tradition of peace, as Spivey claims, we suggest that the 'battle in the Altis' of 364 was an outburst of the violence that was never far from the surface. This is not merely a comment on the ideological and practical place of military conduct in Archaic and early Classical elite values, highly relevant as this is (the link between warfare and athletics has often been made, and recurs in several contributions to this volume).[131] The later sixth and early fifth centuries saw a peak of arms and armour dedications at the

take part in them, or to be spectators, but did not prevent hostilities being carried on by other states in other parts of Greece'.

[129] The point is made, without going into detail, by Harris (1964) 155–6, cited by Lämmer (1982–3) 54 and n. 54.

[130] ML 77 shows payments for the Melos expedition in the accounting year 417/6.

[131] Morgan (2001), with bibliography.

major Panhellenic sanctuaries, celebrating victories with the spoils of war where possible. The result was a statement of war as a lifestyle and a source of wealth, as well as an inviting arsenal. Hence, perhaps, the deliberate damage (sometimes regarded as 'killing') of offensive weapons evident at Olympia, Delphi, and on the Athenian Acropolis among other sites. The variety and strength of prohibitions that protected sanctuaries and festivals surely reflects the scale of the risk.[132]

This in turn raises questions of changes in the nature and complexity of sanctuary networks in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, the intensity and geographical extent of the elite movement involved, and what was at stake as a result, balancing risk, prestige, and material profit. It is generally true that Pindar conveys an impression of timelessness in his handling of religious practice, myth, and belief; there is no discussion of change and innovation, and no sense that any of what he describes may be recent developments. Cathy Morgan addresses this problem in discussion of *N*. 10, which celebrates a new or radically reformed festival in the Argive Heraia. Yet this is also true of the long-established sanctuaries, such as Olympia, and their festivals. Pindar's silence in this respect means that we must rely on material and epigraphical sources to restore the dynamism of the religious context within which he worked, as well as the physical settings known to him and in which his work may have been performed. As Ulrich Sinn has argued,[133] the Olympia of Pindar's time was a sanctuary undergoing rapid physical and political development. Major changes in the 470s included the completion of the Temple of Zeus, the pedimental iconography of which conveys a stark warning against internecine conflict in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. Olympia had long been a local shrine for Eleans (although not, as sometimes argued, their political centre), but its role in relation to the newly synoikized and expanding Elean state probably grew more complex through the fifth century. Indeed, the epigraphical record shows Zeus active in guaranteeing laws and treaties from states even further afield, including Magna Graecia, and the sanctuary authorities setting down regulations for the conduct of a wide range of festival-related activities.[134] Likewise, as we have already noted and as is discussed by Carla Antonaccio in her chapter, the nature of Olympia's role as intermediary with the west changed markedly in the fifth century. Little of this could be detected from the contents of Pindar's epinikia.

Nonetheless, for many regions, Pindar remains one of the most important—if not the only—sources of information about the existence of particular festivals or sanctuaries at this time. His home-region of Boiotia is a case in point. Even a brief glance at Albert Schachter's monumental study of the cults of Boiotia shows that without Pindar and such archaeological work as has been undertaken, we would

[132] Jackson (1983); Morgan (2001) 24–7.
[133] Sinn (1994) esp. 596–7.
[134] Morgan (2003) 75–6, 80.

have almost no contemporary information.[135] Yet much of this detail comes from poems other than epinikia, which unfortunately tend to be more fragmentary—when they survive at all.

7. A TEST-CASE: PAGONDAS AND THE AIOLADAI

But fragmentary need not mean socially uninformative. We now examine a test-case, a remarkable Theban family known from just such a fragmentary poem.[136] The family is that of Pagondas son of Aioladas, and the poem is Pindar's daphnephorikon (fr. 94b Sn.–M). The Aioladai, as we may call them, well illustrate the participation of elite families in three related spheres: military, athletic, and cultic. They form a nice central Greek equivalent to the Peloponnesian, specifically Stymphalian, family of Aineias. That family can be traced with reasonable confidence from the time of the chorodidaskalos mentioned near the end of Pindar, *O.* 6 in the years around 470 BC (line 88), through the soldiers named in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*, to the author of the mid-fourth-century BC treatise *How to survive under siege*.[137]

The starting-point for the study of the Aioladai is the long-known Theban boiotarch Pagondas son of Aioladas who commands the Boiotian army against the Athenians at the battle of Delion in 424 BC (Thucydides 4. 91). His Theban colleague is Arianthidas son of Lysimachidas, who almost certainly features on Lysander's monument for another great Athenian defeat, Aigospotamoi, fought two decades later (ML 95d, after 405); and Thucydides says there are nine boiotarchs present from other cities. But it is Pagondas who takes the initiative in persuading the Boiotians (including his fellow-boiotarchs?)[138] to fight, and it is he who is given a fine, historically specific, speech of encouragement (4. 92). We are lucky that Thucydides records these two men's patronymics; contrast the Theban boiotarch Skirphondas—name but no patronymic—who was a casualty of the Mykalessos incident (7. 30. 3).

It is an even bigger stroke of luck that since 1904 we possess two poems of Pindar which celebrate the family of Aioladas, and that one of them, probably

[135] Schachter (1981–94), which can now be updated via the site summaries in Hansen (2004*a*). A case in point is the Tomb of the Alkaidai, the sons of Herakles and Megara, at Thebes, for which Pindar is the only source (*I.* 4. 63–4): Schachter i. 11. Certain sanctuaries to which Pindar refers have been well documented archaeologically: see, for example, the shrine of the hero Ptoios 2 km east of the acropolis of Akriphaia, with its tripod dedications from *c.*525, and a large quantity of charioteer and rider figurines (Schachter iii. 11–21). Many others have yet to be located: thus Pindar (fr. 286) refers to a sanctuary of Delian Apollo which was probably near the coast somewhere between Oropos and Aulis (Schachter i. 44–7).

[136] Kurke (forthcoming) is an excellent study of the poem.

[137] Hornblower (2004) 182–6.

[138] See Hornblower (1996) nn. on 4. 92. 1 and 93. 1.

a daphnephorikon,[139] announces 'I shall hymn the all-glorious house of Aioladas and of his son Pagondas' (fr. 94b, lines 9–10). It thus provides us with exactly the same name and patronymic as Thucydides. The other, shorter, fragment (94a) includes a prayer to 'the children of Kronos to extend success upon Aioladas and his race for unbroken time'. We shall see that this extravagant prayer was granted—at any rate for three and a half centuries, if we accept some prosopographic conjectures at each end of the period. The longer Pindar fragment names the daphnephoros as Agasikles, presumably son of Pagondas. We shall suggest that he had an elder brother Aioladas, bearer of one of the two main family names, and that this man was the father of the boiotarch.

The temptation to identify Pindar's Pagondas son of Aioladas with the Thucydidean general has always been strong.[140] They are surely members of the same family. The difficulty is that Pindar's Pagondas, father of the daphnephoros Agasikles, is already a mature man, and he can have commanded at Delion only if we place the poem near the end of Pindar's working life in about 446. Gomme[141] calculated that Pagondas the general would have been over 60 at the time of Delion.[142] He regarded this as 'not impossible'. It is certainly possible,[143] but it is a tight fit, and it forces a very late dating for the poem ('in Pindar's last period': Wilamowitz). How old were boiotarchs normally? We have very little specific information, given that we do not know when such famous boiotarchs as Epaminondas or Pelopidas were born, but note that if Arianthidas was still active in 405 (above), this might suggest that in 424 he was relatively youthful, perhaps no more than 40, and perhaps Pagondas was the same sort of age. If, however, we posit not one father–son pair but two pairs (Aioladas I, Pagondas I, Aioladas II, Pagondas II), we get a much more comfortable

[139] See Lehnus (1984) 77, arguing against Schachter, who, however, did not quite deny that it was a daphnephoric hymn. He said (1981: 85) that he found it impossible to decide if it is or not, and he adds that it has more in common with epinikia than with what one might expect of a daphnephoric hymn, because it honours the family rather than the god. He could have strengthened his 'epinikian' point by mentioning the poem's allusions to chariot victories at Olympia and elsewhere; see below for these. If Schachter had expressed himself a bit differently and had merely observed that the poem calls to mind features of epinikian, it would have been hard to quarrel with him.

[140] In the course of the fullest recent treatment, Lehnus (1984) 77 hardly bothers to argue the point ('come pare probabile, il nobile beotarco'), though he does at 78 glance at the possibility that Pindar's Pagondas was grandfather of the boiotarch.

[141] Gomme (1956) 560.

[142] No inferences should be drawn about Pagondas' age from his first-person rhetorical appeal to memories of the battle of Koroneia in 446 (4. 92. 6–7); the use of the first person marks an appeal to collective memory. It is true that he goes on to say that that victory of 20 years earlier should be borne in mind (*μνησθέντας*) by all of us, both the older men in the army and the younger; but the participle does not mean 'remember', because the younger men do not remember it. For another thing, there is as always a question of authenticity: as usual when Thucydidean speeches allude to the past, the allusion is taken either from Herodotus or, as here, from Thucydides' own narrative (1. 113. 2 for Koroneia). For this point see Hornblower (1996) on 92. 6.

[143] Hornblower tentatively accepted it in (1996) 289 (although he now notes that his (2004) 159 discussion was inadequate).

scheme, and one which does not oblige us to put the poem at any particular date in Pindar's career. The poem could, *exempli gratia*, have been composed and performed about 460. Aioladas I might have been born in 535, Pagondas I in 505, and his younger son Agasikles in 476, making him about 16 in 460. His older brother Aioladas II was born in 480. It was he who in 455 fathered the future boiotarch Pagondas II, who was thus 31 at Delion.

Another possible imaginary scheme, more exciting because it involves the battle of Plataia, would produce a Pagondas II who is not exactly youthful (contrast the above scheme) but who is still well under 60 in 424. The poem dates from 475, only five years after Thebes' disgraceful medism. Aioladas I was born in 550, Pagondas I in 525, and *his* younger son Agasikles in 490, making him 15 in 475. Aioladas II, the older brother of Agasikles by ten years, was born in 500 and killed at Plataia in 479, aged 21. Towards the end of his short life, he fathered Pagondas II, who was thus born in 480 and was 56 at Delion.

The poem is also precious for disclosing two female names, Andaisistrota (listed in *LGPN* as Daisistrota) and Damaina, who on this reconstruction will perhaps be wife and daughter of Pagondas I respectively, and, again respectively, mother and sister of Agasikles and of Aioladas II. These are, depending on the poem's date, some of the first named women we have encountered in Greek lyric poetry since the great days of Archaic Sparta, Lesbos, and Paros, and they offer some support for Demand's hypothesis of a 'feminist oriented religious atmosphere at [fifth-century] Thebes'.[144] But unfortunately the snapshot is unique, and we cannot use the names, which are not otherwise attested at Thebes, for prosopographic reconstruction.

The point of all this *exempli gratia* speculation, which is all it claims to be, is to show that, once we relinquish the idea of actual identity between Pindar's Pagondas and Thucydides' Pagondas, and think instead in terms of four generations, or even of what medievalists call 'floating kindreds',[145] the poem cannot safely be calibrated with any particular moment in fifth-century Theban or Boiotian history. No doubt the truth was messier than any of the above schemes, and in particular it would be wrong to think of an iron alternation of the names Aioladas and Pagondas down the decades and centuries.

The family was also athletic and equestrian, and magnificently successful in both spheres. A Pagondas won with his four-horse chariot at Olympia in 680 (Moretti (1957) no. 33). This event needed money, and a lot of it. We do not know his patronymic, but Pagondas is not a common name, even at Thebes.[146] Even

[144] Demand (1982) 101–2. Hornblower (2004) 102 suggested that Athens may not have been too different, but see Parker (2005) 181–3 for doubts as to whether there were female choruses there. Note, however, his n. 24 (Jameson).

[145] See Hornblower (2000) 131–2.

[146] See Hornblower (1996) 289 for some other bearers of the name.

without this Pagondas, Olympic chariot victories are certain, because the daphnephorikon specifically claims, for the family, equestrian victories at 'Pisa' (i.e. Olympia) 'both of old and still today' as well as local victories at Onchestos and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (lines 47, 41, 46).

As for Aioladas, this is a very rare name indeed, even at Aiolian Thebes (none in the Aiolian islands of the north-east Aegean, for instance). But Wilamowitz[147] brilliantly emended *ὁ λαίδας* in Pausanias 10. 7. 8 to 'Aioladas', to produce a Theban victor at the Pythia of 346 in a new event, the boys' pankration; it was this 'first' which got him into the record books. This was a very interesting year to be a Pythian victor from Thebes: it was the last year of the Third Sacred War, fought for Delphi, begun by the Thebans, but ended by Philip II of Macedon.[148] The emendation, which is so slight as hardly to count as one given the local vagaries of Greek pronunciation,[149] is accepted in *LGPN* (see vol. IIIB under 'Aioladas', no. 4). The same 'emendation', more or less, gives another Aioladas as the colleague of Epaminondas, whom the latter wanted with his last breath to designate his successor but who like his chief was killed at the battle of Mantineia in 362 (*LGPN* 'Aioladas', no. 3, accepting this emendation too; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 194c, where the manuscripts give various forms of the name, and Aelian, *VH* 12. 3). Buckler[150] does not mention the emendation, and suggests that the two, whom he calls Iolaidas, are related as father and son. It is true that, as he says, this *x-x* naming scheme can be paralleled. From Athens, we think of the orator Demosthenes son of Demosthenes. But *x-y-x-y* is more attractive (though certainly not mandatory), and we should note that, contrary to Buckler's assertion, the Pythian victor in 346 won in a *boys'* event,[151] and this enables us to squeeze in another generation. The boy-victor Aioladas could have been no more than 14 or 15. If he was born in about 360, his father—let us call him Pagondas!—could have been born in 385 to the older Aioladas, the hero of Mantineia, who could have lived from, say, 407 to 362, dying aged 45, and missing seeing his grandson by two years.

This is a distinguished elite family, but apart from Pagondas II's boiotarchy in 424, and the unfulfilled career of the Aioladas who died at Mantineia, it did not as far as we can see (always a necessary qualification) produce prominent politicians. The names Pagondas and Aioladas do not feature among the Thebans who are

[147] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922) 436. Keil had already emended to *'Ιολαίδας*.

[148] For the resumption of the Pythian games and festival in late summer of 346 see Dem. 19. 128 with MacDowell's commentary (2000); Buckler (1989) 140 and n. 52.

[149] But note that Iolaidas is not an impossible form; cf. Moretti (1957) no. 578 for an Argive victor at Olympia in 224 BC.

[150] Buckler (1980) 136 and 302 n. 29. He says in n. 29 (of *LGPN* no. 4) that the name Iolaidas is rare in Boiotia and not found in the index of *IG* VII or *SEG*.

[151] Buckler (1980) 136 says he won the horse-race, but this is a misunderstanding of the three-part Greek sentence (Paus. 10. 7. 8). This is particularly odd since the short *RE* Iolaidas article he cites gets it right.

said to have led the attack on Plataia which opened the Peloponnesian War, nor in the politics of the reasonably well-documented first half of the fourth century. Rather, the Aioladai were prominent militarily, cultically, and in the Panhellenic games. Merely to have survived with property and prestige intact was something, in a period which included the Persian Wars and the city's medism in 480, an episode which must have split the city and which left a bitterness which is reflected in some of Pindar's epinikia.[152] It is tantalizing that, if the above is on the right lines and the poem is not exactly datable, we cannot link the more political part of the daphnephorikon ('hateful and unrelenting strife', fr. 92c, line 64) to any particular phase of Theban politics.[153] But perhaps that does not matter too much: this was a city from which stasis was never far away in the entire Classical period.

8. OUTWARDS FROM THEBES, AND ONWARDS FROM PINDAR

We have seen that the Aioladai included Olympic victors, celebrated in a poem which, though not actually an epinikian itself, manages to suggest that genre. One might expect that, in epinikian odes proper, Pindar would take a particularly close interest in his birthplace, Thebes,[154] a city in which he may have been honoured as a hero,[155] and we do indeed find here one of the most rounded treatments of the cults and victors of any single city. Five of the six extant Boiotian epinikian commissions came from Thebans: the exception is *O.* 14 (*c.*488) for Asopichos of Orchomenos.[156] Not only did Pindar compose epinikia for Theban victors (mostly at Isthmia, but one at Delphi), noting their successes at home and abroad, but he also detailed Theban cults and festivals in commissions for Thebans and foreigners alike (the latter relatively local in the case of a Corinthian and two Aeginetans, but more distant in the case of Telesikrates of Cyrene and Diagoras of Rhodes).[157] To epinikia must be added

[152] Hornblower (2004) 160–6.

[153] Lehnus (1984) 81 rightly characterizes Wilamowitz's speculations in terms of the politics of 446 as 'seductive but uncontrollable'.

[154] Kynoskephalai, where Pindar was supposedly born, was near Thebes: the first sentence of the Vita Ambrosiana calls it a village, *κώμη*, of Thebes, and Steph. Byz. a *χωρίον* of Thebes. See, however, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922) 58 and n. 3, arguing, from the mention at Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 15 of the Spartan king Kleombrotos' advance to Kynoskephalai in 378 BC, for a location away towards Thespiai and Helikon. Modern accounts of the military activity of the 370s put Kynoskephalai 'at Rakhi Kendani, about 3.5 km from Thebes, near modern Loutoupi': Buck (1994) 88 and 152 n. 21 citing Munn. This is closer to Thebes than Wilamowitz thought, but the place was not quite a suburb of Thebes either.

[155] Clay (2004) 76–8.

[156] Hornblower (2004) 159–66.

[157] *Theban victor*: *I.* 3; *I.* 7. *Theban victor/Theban cult or festival*: *P.* 11 (Ismenion): *I.* 4 (Iolaia); *Theban victor/Theban cult or festival/victories abroad*: *I.* 1 (Iolaia; Herakleia, also Minyeia at Orchomenos, Eleusis, Euboia, and Phylaka in Thessaly. *Foreign victor/Theban cult or festival*: *O.* 7 (Rhodian victor); *O.* 13

a range of other commissions: Ian Rutherford has suggested that, outside Delphi, the performance of paians was especially linked to Thebes, and important work in other genres is also attested.[158]

It is certainly true that we know of at least one victor from another city (Thespiai) who could have been celebrated by Pindar but was not.[159] But before seeking explanations in civic politics, it is worth noting that, on present evidence, the case of Thespiai is unique, and that such (admittedly very fragmentary) material evidence as we have for participation in Panhellenic festivals and athletics by the citizens of individual Boiotian cities (as opposed simply to 'Boiotians')[160] shows a Theban bias.[161] One thinks, for example, of the sixth-century bronze pail dedicated to Poseidon at Isthmia by one Moirichos whose ethnic is tentatively reconstructed as The]bai[os,[162] and of the fact that fifth–early fourth century Panathenaic amphorae are at present found only at the Kabeirion just to the west of the city of Thebes (36 examples, an unusually large number for this period outside Athens).[163] The case is circumstantial, but it tends to suggest that Thebans were unusually successful.[164]

Pindar's treatment of Boiotia is clearly selective in the sense that different forms of commission show different geographical biases within the region, but the net result is still a large body of information about cults and festivals. The same cannot be said of neighbouring Euboia, with which one might assume that Pindar was reasonably familiar. He is plainly aware of Euboian games of more than local significance. At *I*. 1. 57 he refers to horse racing on 'Euboia' (without precise indication of place), and at *O*. 13. 112 the list of victories won by the ancestors of the honorand, Xenophon of Corinth, includes mention of

(Corinthian victor); *P*. 9 (Cyrenaian victor); *N*. 4 (Aeginetan victor, noting the allusion to reciprocal guest-friendship at line 23); *I*. 5 (Aeginetan victor). One might also cite evidence of foreign participation at Thebes commemorated in the victor's home city. Thus the earliest extant inscription from Troezen (*c*.550–525) is on the octagonal pillar which bore the tripod won by Damotimos son of Amphidama in a race at the games at Thebes (it is unclear whether these were funeral games or perhaps those of Apollo Ismenios): Jeffery (1990) 178, 181 cat. 2.

[158] Rutherford (2001*a*) 32: Hornblower (2004) 159.

[159] Hornblower (2004) 160–1, 44–5, on Polynikos, victor in the Olympic boys' wrestling in 448; Moretti (1957) cat. 302. As Hornblower notes (45), this name appears almost a quarter of a century later, together with that of Tisimeneis 'the Pythian victor', on the list of 101 warriors buried in the polyandrion created after the battle of Delion in 424 (*IG* VII. 1888).

[160] Jeffery (1990) 91.

[161] Evidence from other cities includes a bronze hydria, found in a tomb at Votonisi in Epirus, bearing on the rim a prize inscription from the games of Herakles at Thespiai: Jeffery (1990) 435, pl. 73 (A. W. Johnston).

[162] Raubitschek (1998) cat. 118; the name and probably also the script are Boiotian. Two earlier (7th-cent.) examples of bronze vessels from Thebes relate to funeral games: Jeffery (1990) 91–2.

[163] See M. Bentz (1998) 223–4 for a summary; the closest finds, in time and space, are two amphorae of the second half of the 4th cent. from the Amphiaraion at Oropos.

[164] See Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 456 col. 1 for a useful selection of evidence for Theban victories at Panhellenic festivals.

Euboia.[165] But these are tangential references in the context of praise of victors from elsewhere, and no ode to a Euboian victor survives. Yet while few Panhellenic victors of the relevant period are attested,[166] there is one striking exception, a man praised by Simonides. He is the general and athlete Eualkides of Eretria (Hdt. 5. 102 = Sim. fr. 518). Without this item we would be hard-pressed to identify early festivals or athletics on the island, not least since so little is known in the archaeological record. An inscription on the rim of a bronze lebes of *c*.500–475 from Eretria identifies it as a prize from Herakles' games.[167] But even though Eretria is the most extensively excavated of any Euboian city, and we have a little evidence for its festivals, the stadium has yet to be located, the gymnasium is fourth-century, and Panathenaic amphorae do not begin to arrive until the mid-fourth century.[168]

As these two cases well illustrate, epinikia and victor lists may be the best evidence that we have, but they are blunt instruments for reconstructing networks. Biases and chances of commission and survival apart, by recording victory rather than participation they reveal the tip of the iceberg. Nonetheless, the roll-calls of achievement presented by Pindar, especially in *O*. 7, *O*. 13, *P*. 8, and *N*. 10, and by Bacchylides (11 [10]), demonstrate the existence of a network of athletic festivals (capable of attracting participation from the finest talent) in the north-east and central Peloponnese (including Megara, Corinth, Sikyon, Nemea, Argos, Pellene, 'Arkadia'),[169] Aegina, Athens, and Attica. Where we have evidence for their date of institution, expansion, or reorganization, as in the case of the Argive Heraia, for example, or the Herakleia at Marathon,[170] the late sixth century and the first half of the fifth appear as a period of expansion and ever greater prize wealth. Patently there were other related networks; Pindar alludes to some of these in less detail (in east-central Greece as discussed) but others lie outside the Pindaric circuit, in Lakonia in particular, as the stele of Damonon attests.[171] In short, as the fifth century progressed, athletes may have been away from home for increasingly long periods of time, facing hazardous journeys and protected by often fragile religious convention. Far from being a universal idea of the peace symbolized by athletics, as the modern Olympic myth would

[165] There is one non-agonistic reference, to Attic settlement of Euboia, in the fragmentary *Paian* 5. 35 for the Athenians.

[166] For the frustratingly confused traditions about the boxer Glaukos of Euboian Karystos, who may (or may not) have been praised by Simonides (fr. 509?), see Fontenrose (1968) 99–103; cf. Hornblower (2004) 190 and 236. The three known victors from Chalkis are either too early, too late (see Moretti (1957) cats. 121, 459), or vaguely dated (Pliny, *NH* 35. 35, 5th-cent.).

[167] Jeffery (1990) 88, cat. 16,

[168] *Eretria* 112 (Artemisia festival), 190–1 (Dionysos), 198–203 (gymnasium, stadium). Panathenaic amphorae: *Eretria* 220–3; M. Bentz (1998) 223.

[169] See also Moretti (1953) cat. 7 for Timokles of Argos' victories at Nemea, Tegea, Kleitor, and Pellana.

[170] Vanderpool (1942) and (1969); see also Morgan this volume.

[171] Jeffery (1990) 196–7, 201 cat. 52; *SEG* 14. 330; for discussion, see Hodkinson (1999).

have us believe, festival truces must have offered the bare minimum protection needed by participants.

The picture grew more, not less, complicated through the Classical period. Yves Lafond's analysis of epigraphical evidence for victors in local Peloponnesian games shows not only continuity of agonistic activity initiated or expanded in Pindar's time, but a continuing connection between the inauguration of festivals and the celebration of political power. Some of these events achieved international renown—the Asklepieia at Epidauros is such a case, as is the Lykaia among other Argive festivals of the fourth and third centuries.[172] But it is striking that almost all were polis-centred, however small the polis,[173] rather than being located in the ethnic register within which so many aspects of social and political identity were being constructed by the fourth century. Victors might add ethnics to their polis identities, but substitutions are rare. And when one considers the nature and spread of major building projects in the fourth-century Peloponnese, it is notable that many poleis which gained in power and status with the decline of the old powers of the north-east chose to invest in athletic facilities (Epidauros and Kleonai at Nemea are two such cases). Unlike other building forms more explicitly linked to government, festival facilities (with the partial exception of Olympia) remained the preserve of rich poleis.[174] A direct response to the growing complexity and hazards of the festival circuit across the Greek world is found in the development of *proxenia* into the network of *theōroi* and *theōrodokoi*. This gradually appeared from the early fourth century onwards, and in time encompassed almost all festivals which attracted an international clientele: this too remained strongly polis-centred.[175] Riet van Bremen's chapter addresses the consequences of this complex inheritance of high-status achievement and civic commemoration for Hellenistic cities, with their central ambiguity of 'house' as a royal and civic concept. This in turn guaranteed that the Classical language of athletic victory continued to be spoken (or at least understood) across the multi-ethnic Hellenistic world and its Roman successor. For instance, the 'victor-father-city' triad of classical epinikian persists. And the 'daring females' and the courtiers of the Hellenistic poems and inscriptions have forebears in the world of Pindar, as she shows. But there were differences as well as similarities: as she puts it, the Nile, which had been for Pindar a symbol of the end of the earth, is now a Panhellenic river. And generally, the conventions of epinikian are exploited in new and daring ways; and the victory epigram itself undergoes subtle transformations.

[172] Lafond (1997). [173] Heine Nielsen (2004).
[174] Morgan (forthcoming).
[175] Perlman (1995) offers a more general treatment of a subject discussed in detail for the Peloponnese in Perlman (2000); Hansen (2004*b*) 103–6.

It is in these terms—and not in any modern sense—that the inheritance of Pindar should properly be understood. And this is why we have chosen in this volume to continue the story into Roman times. Recent work on the popularity of Greek *agōnes* in the Roman east has emphasized their appeal to elite Greeks as a means of identifying with a traditional facet of Hellenism with a deep cultural resonance in classical Greek literature and art, as shown in earlier chapters in the book. Spawforth in his chapter, however, argues in effect that the Roman imperial state encouraged Greek-style athletics to such an extent that their popularity in the Roman east must also be considered as a function of the Romanization of the Greek provincial elites as much as evidence for the efflorescence of an autonomous Greek Hellenism within the Roman Empire.

It should be clear by now that this book is interdisciplinary. Like the seminar from which it derives, it seeks to combine historical, literary, archaeological, and anthropological evidence and insights. No single scholar today could be expert both in Pindar's dense and difficult epinikian poetry, and in the rich historical, epigraphic, and material evidence we possess about Pindar's world. Equally, no single scholar could speak with the same authority both about Pindar's own time, and about the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which inherited and adapted the values to which he subscribed. That is why we decided that a collaborative approach was the right one, and we are warmly grateful to all our contributors, both those who spoke at the original seminar, and those (Chris Carey, Nick Lowe, and Riet van Bremen) who agreed to write the additional papers which, we hope, make the book a rounded whole. It remains only to thank, for financial subventions and for hospitality, the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, University College London (Department of History), and King's College London (Department of Classics). Simon Hornblower gratefully acknowledges the help of Alan Griffiths with the proofs both of this Introduction and of Ch. 11, and that of Alan Johnston with the jacket illustration.

This page intentionally left blank

Part I

This page intentionally left blank

TWO

The Origins of the Festivals, especially Delphi and the Pythia

John Davies

Some years ago, in the paper which became Davies 1994, I reviewed the controversy which had been aroused by Robertson's paper of 1978 on the First Sacred War. He had argued that the story about it, placed in the 590s and 580s by a literary tradition which made its appearance only in the fourth century, was a complete and baseless invention of the 340s. While the processes of engaging with his and others' arguments, of attempting to disentangle the layers of the source material, and of assessing its veracity, took the discourse some way towards a defensible Third Way between old-style credulity and fashionable deconstruction, they left a loose end and an unfinished agenda. The specific loose end, noted by David Lewis at the time, namely the role, or rather the absence, of Corinth from the First Sacred War narrative, will be tentatively reattached in what follows. More generally, though the narrative of the foundation of the Pythian Games is a barely separable Siamese twin of the war narrative, the earlier paper was not primarily concerned with it. The present chapter[1] focuses more specifically on it, admittedly at the cost of some unavoidable repetition, but within a scholarly landscape which has undergone three relevant changes in the last few years. Each needs brief note.

First, new approaches to the study of Pausanias have transformed the terms of the discourse through which we can and should approach the antiquarian tradition, especially the Greeks' view of their own past in the Roman imperial period:[2] though the scholia to Pindar have not yet figured much in that discourse,[3] they undoubtedly belong there and will have to be revisited in their turn,

[1] My warmest thanks are due to the editors, both as organizers of the initial seminar series, which allowed me to continue my ruminations about Delphi, and as editors of the volume for their advice and suggestions, which have vastly improved this Mark II version. I am also most grateful to Betsy Gebhard for early sight of Gebhard (2002*a*), to Manuela Mari for helpful references, and to Jean-Marc Luce for pre-publication access to his forthcoming volume in *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, and for permission to cite it. Since the eventual pagination may differ, it is cited by chapter and section.

[2] Cf. Habicht (1985); Arafat (1996); Alcock *et al*. (2001).

[3] Though their problematic information on the chronology of the Sacred War has been much discussed (references in Davies (1994) 197 n. 6).

with all that that means for negotiating in *our* terms the frontier zone between the mythic and the non-mythic past which they traversed with such stupefying insouciance. Second, any discussion of the origins of the Panhellenic festivals takes us into a second, and even more fraught, frontier zone, which is currently being contested among three parties: by the largely text-based historians of Archaic Greece, as they try to move backwards beyond the cognitive horizon of *c.*550 BC set inescapably by Herodotos; by the artefact- and site-based archaeologist-historians of Early Iron Age Greece, as they move forwards into the seventh and sixth centuries BC; and by the idea- or representation-based cultural historians of Greece, as they scan their enviably (but misleadingly) synchronic landscape. The third change is a particular aspect of the second, namely the impact of ever more detailed study, (re)-excavation, and publication of early sanctuary sites and of their material finds. This is beginning to allow the construction of a tentative narrative of development which is wholly independent of the antiquarian tradition, emphasizes regional differences, and uses a quite different analytical vocabulary from that hitherto current among 'historians'.[4]

Adequately to weave together these disparate strands of evidence and theory is a task well beyond the scope of this chapter. Its more modest aim is to use a case-study, that of Delphi, in order to address the history of a group of institutions: the Panhellenic Games. It will start from the surviving fragments of the antiquarian tradition, but only to set out its inadequacies. It then reports briefly the various pictures of site use and development which are emerging from the major sanctuaries, and ends by offering a tentative general model of social action applicable to those sanctuaries which came to hold contests as part of their periodical rituals and ceremonies.

Of course, we do have, in the form of the headline summary in the Pindar scholia, a general model of sorts:

> All the ancient contests (*agōnes*) were celebrated over some deceased persons. The Olympic contest was celebrated to Zeus because of Pelops, the Pythian to Apollo because of the serpent, which he slew in Pytho, and the Isthmian to Poseidon,

the text then going on to recount for the Isthmia the tale of Melikertes/Palaimon.[5] The Nemean contest, interestingly absent from that summary, is nevertheless explained in similar terms elsewhere in the scholia,[6] so that all four festivals of what became the classic *periodos* are provided with an *aition* mostly

[4] To plot a full conspectus of the flow of such scholarship would be a book in itself. Salient recent landmarks are Snodgrass (1980); de Polignac (1984); Morgan (1990); Schachter (1992); Marinatos and Hägg (1993); Morris (1994); Mazarakis Ainian (1997); Morris (1998); Whitley (2001); Morgan (2003).

[5] Schol. Pi. *I. Proem* a, Drachmann III. 192.

[6] As a commemoration of the death of Opheltes-Archemoros (hypoth. Pi. *N.* a–e, Drachmann III. 1–5).

couched in straightforwardly mythic terms. The first question is to establish what value, if any, the antiquarian tradition has.

1. THE EXTANT LITERARY TRADITION ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THE PYTHIA

There are three core narratives of the foundation of the Pythia, embedded very variously in contemporary poetry (Alcaeus' *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*), in fourth-century speeches, in book 10 of Pausanias, and in greatest detail in the *hypotheseis* (prefatory notes) to the scholia (line-by-line commentaries compiled in antiquity) of Pindar's *Pythians* (for translations, see Appendix, pp. 66–9). The first, offered in its simplest form in hypothesis C, is a purely mythic timeless narrative centred on Apollo and his act in killing the serpent Pytho. Its essential components are that act, purification in Crete, an explanation focused on Tempe in Thessaly of the use of the bay in ritual, and an explanation (fragmentary in C 5) of why the Pythia were held at a particular time of year. (I shall return to the intrusive section C 4 shortly.) Hypothesis A gives us an extended version, which looks backwards to Apollo's birth (A 2–3), offers an explanation of the links between Apollo and the lyre (A 5) and the number seven (A 6), offers a very peculiar and anomalous *aition* of Apollo's skill in divination (A 7), tries to account for the equally peculiar presence of Dionysos in the *adyton* of the later temple (A 8), drops into a lacuna, and resumes in the middle of an elaborate explanation (one of several extant)[7] of why the components of the *Pythikos nomos* are as they are (A 9). Pausanias starts with what is essentially this same first narrative (10. 7. 2–3), but earlier 'wild' versions are presented in the two extant *Hymns to Apollo*. Alcaeus', brief enough to reproduce in its entirety from Himerius' paraphrase (see the Appendix), has a wholly different *aition*, wherein Apollo's cosmic role is 'to speak thence as a prophet of justice and due order to the Greeks', where it is the Delphians who take the initiative to bring him to Delphi, and where they do so by means of paian, song, and dance. In stark contrast, the version in the Homeric Hymn (too long to cite in the Appendix) has Apollo killing a differently named monster—Typhaon, not Python), learning the art of prophecy not in Arkadia but from three virgins living below Parnassos (lines 555–6), browbeating a boatload of hapless Cretan sailors, and in general calling all the shots in a pretty tyrannical fashion.

Two points emerge about the material contained in this first narrative group. First, its strands are all patently aetiological, concerned to charter Apollo's attributes, his place at Delphi, the oracle, and the festival. Second, and to

[7] Full list of the components in Fontenrose (1988) 127, with citation of other sources at 139 n.19.

state the obvious: whatever interpretative sense it may convey to those concerned with symbolic structures and so forth, for historians of real institutions which developed in historic time-space as responses to social needs, it is virtually useless.[8]

I turn now to the second narrative group. This is represented most simply by Hypothesis B, and is essentially a narrative about the First Sacred War. The basic structural components are a community identified as Kirrhaioi, preying upon pilgrims to the oracle, the leadership by Eurylochos the Thessalian of a campaign of liberation, a set of dates defined in terms of Delphian and Athenian archons, the notion of the revival of an *agōn*, and finally its shift from being a contest with valuable goods as prizes (*agōn chrēmatitēs*) to being a contest with symbolic crowns as prizes (*agōn stephanitēs*). Hypothesis D is nearly identical, while variant versions presented here bring in the Amphiktyones (A 10, D 1 and 3), a reduction in periodicity from every eight years (*enneaetēris*) to every four years (*pentetēris*) (C 4), a list of the first winners (Paus. 10. 7. 4), and notes of subsequent innovations and first winners (Paus. 10. 7. 5–8). The rest of the narrative of the First Sacred War as transmitted by Aischines, Plutarch, and others can here be left on one side, though we should keep in mind that the focus of the fourth-century BC source-material is overwhelmingly on the Athenian role in the War and on the imposition by the Amphiktyones of a curse on anyone who ventured to cultivate the Sacred Land, while the establishment of the Pythian Games passes virtually unremarked. Thus, though the core of the second narrative group is located in historical time-space, and *may* reflect a memory of historical events, its value as an explanation of why the Pythian Games took their classical form when they did is minimal.

The third narrative is represented only by the *Presbeutikos*, a speech preserved in the Hippocratic corpus[9] and ascribed to Thessalos son of Hippocrates. This source, of disputed date and authenticity, does indeed tie the various developments together, asserting that the Amphiktyones 'dedicated the temple to Apollo, the present one at Delphi, established the athletic and hippic contest now, having not previously done so, designated as sacred the entire land of the Krisaians, giving to the Giver what He had given according to His oracle, buried Chrysos the son of Nebros in the hippodrome, and assessed the Delphians to offer sacrifice at public cost'. Though it shares with the first two narratives the characteristic of chartering post-War arrangements, it differs from them (*a*) by presenting those arrangements as executive acts, not as a curse, (*b*) uses, via the words *συντάσσω* and *δημοσιίῃ*, classical-period terminology of public taxation,

[8] Though Karl Meuli (1941 and 1968) was far from alone in taking it most seriously.

[9] Text in Hipp. 9. 404–26 Littré, at 412–14, in Pomtow (1918) 317–20, and in W. D. Smith (1990). Other references in Davies (1994) 194 n. 2, and Luce (forthcoming) ch. 7, II. A. 1.

and (*c*) introduces (but does not explain) a new component, the burial of an entity with a speaking name ('Gold son of Fawn') which if anything looks not towards Apollo but towards his *sunnaos* Dionysos (cf. Hypothesis A 8). For these reasons, and also because it can be read as reflecting a knowledge that the pre-548 temple was not built until the years 580–550,[10] it deserves more attention than it has had: in particular the motif of a burial will assume importance in a context of comparison with the other Panhellenic sites. All the same, it is as far away from providing a historian's explanation of the start and growth of the festival as are the other two narratives.

There remains one other potential, though lost, source of written information, namely, the work of Aristotle and Kallisthenes at Delphi in constructing the *pinax* which recorded the names of all the victors in the Pythian Games since their inception. It too is not promising. That is not just because political contamination had entered the First Sacred War narrative (or, at the extreme, had engendered it) long before they began their labours, so that the presence on that list of Kleisthenes of Sikyon as the first victor in race-of-horses (Paus. 10. 7. 6), far from buttressing the role in the First Sacred War which is given to him elsewhere,[11] is merely a component of the problem. It is rather because the list was plainly a many-layered construct, in the evolution of which reworking and manipulation is more than possible. For one thing, we do not now know its era-date. For nearly a century the text of the extant stone from Delphi which records the honours bestowed upon Aristotle and Kallisthenes for their work[12] was restored on the basis of B 1 and D 1 to give the Delphian archon-name of the epochal year of the *pinax* as *Gylida*.[13] However, two independent examinations of the stone in the 1980s concurred in excluding the restoration of that name, so that the origin of that Delphic archon-date in B 1 and D 1, and of its synchronism with an Athenian archon-date, is wholly opaque and more than a little suspect. Second, given the size of the *pinax* (Bousquet estimated it as having between 14,000 and 20,000 letters on the basis of the honorarium paid to the stone-mason), it is disappointing, and perhaps even a little odd, that not a single fragment of it has survived.[14] Third, while we must surely assume that the ordinal dates and winners' names recorded in Pausanias largely go back to it, some of the information in Paus. 10. 7. 8 post-dates the *pinax* (but could of course be later additions to it), while the repeated citation of Euphorion in B 4 and D 7 might suggest that

[10] Luce (forthcoming) ch. 7, 11. A. 1.

[11] Polyain. 3. 5; Front. *Strat*. 3. 7, 6, schol. Pi. *N*. 9 inscr., with Griffin (1982) 52–3.

[12] *Syll*.^{3} 275 = *SEG* 17. 233 = *F de D* III. 1, 400 = *CID* IV. 10 = Rhodes–Osborne 80, also *FGrH* 124 T 23. We do not know (*pace* its inclusion in *CID* IV) whether the honours were bestowed by the city or by the Amphiktyones. Jacoby cites no fragments as coming from the *pinax*: for its size, cf. Bousquet (1984).

[13] See Bousquet (1984) ap. *SEG* 34. 379 and the reports of recent scrutinies of the stone (S. G. Miller ap. Mosshammer (1982) 16; Oliver and Chaniotis ap. Rhodes–Osborne 80, app. crit.).

[14] Contrast the well-preserved *Fasti* of the City Dionysia at Athens, *IG* II^2 2318–25.

Athens-influenced scholarship (or poetic pseudo-scholarship) had more to do with this tradition than one likes to admit.[15] Finally, there is a real question what added value such 'editors' contributed. The three miserable scraps which are all that Rose could collect of the *Pythionikai* (frs. 615–17) suggest that Aristotle and Kallisthenes added biographical and contextual notes to the list. Though what Plutarch records of their efforts in respect of the non-winner Solon of Athens (*Solon* 11) does not inspire great confidence, fr. 617 on Theron suggests that they added cross-referencing and maybe a set of ordinal numbers. It is very unclear that they were in a position to add anything else of historical value.

All in all, it is not too much to say that the extant fragments of the narrative and antiquarian tradition about the foundation of the Pythian Games are useless, indeed dangerously misleading. It is not simply that the question 'How did they know what they claim to know?' cannot be answered, so much as that they are not interested in providing a credible (to us) narrative and analysis. In consequence, as with the *Historia Augusta*, not one of their statements can be accepted as true unless corroborated by an independent primary source. They can be given value as evidence of what at some period was accepted as the legitimating story, but even that depends on setting them in context, a process the components of which must come from elsewhere in the forms both of physical evidence and of models of social action.

2. THE EARLY ARCHAEOLOGIES OF THE AGONISTIC SANCTUARIES

However, part of the problem has been that if one looks for physical evidence of the development of the Pythian Games, one draws a complete blank. The hippodrome, which must have existed, is generally supposed to have been located in the plain below Delphi in the total absence of a suitable area near the sanctuary, but is presumably now buried under the biggest olive grove in Europe and has not been found. The running track appears from the findspot of an extant inscription to have been located by the Classical period in the area later occupied by the extant stadium, but the first identifiable stage of its four stages of construction is not thought to be earlier than the late fourth century, perhaps even later.[16] True, musical contests in themselves needed little space (though specta-

[15] NB his *Περὶ Ἰσθμίων*, with Gebhard (2002*a*) 225–8 for the antiquarian tradition about the Isthmia. His education in Athens would help to explain why the Athenian archon-dates are added to the narrative of the *aition*.

[16] *CID* I. 3, republished in Aupert and Callot (1979) 33–54, at 36–7, with a suggested date *c.*450, but Rougemont (*CID* I. 3, commentary) favours the hypothesis of an archaizing recutting; Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 215 (feature 802).

tors did) and could have been conducted within or near the sanctuary, so that it would be possible to take seriously the hints in the scholiast tradition that the musical contests were the first to be instituted and to surmise (against other hints in the tradition, be it accepted) that the efforts and costs required for a running track and a hippodrome were invested later. More subversive, however, is the question of when the sanctuary became a sanctuary. This is not a matter of addressing the theoretical debate about 'What makes a sanctuary?',[17] or of broaching questions of continuity from Late Bronze Age practice,[18] but of interpreting the hard evidence in the ground.

Here, new evidence[19] is having a radical impact. Until recently the *communis opinio*[20] has tended to date the first *peribolos* wall in the seventh century, and the second, enclosing a larger area to east, west, and south, during the post-548 period when the whole area was replanned from scratch. While the dating of the second *peribolos* is not seriously at issue, excavations under the later Pillar of the Rhodians (feature 406) have revealed a sequence of houses (maison noire, maison jaune, maison rouge), the last and most elaborate of which was built *c*.625, destroyed and rebuilt twice, and finally destroyed *c*.585–575. This last date, ceramically firm, is crucial, for the first *peribolos* was built over and through the debris of the final destruction, thereby dating the first *peribolos* to the 570s at earliest.[21] While it might be adventurous to associate the destructions of the maison rouge directly with the violence which features in the narrative of the First Sacred War, the archaeological case for locating a major horizon of change at the Apollo sanctuary in the years around and after 580 is now becoming stronger, and will be buttressed still further if one accepts the case persuasively assembled by Luce[22] for down-dating the architectural fragments attributable to the pre-548 temple to the years 580–550, that is, to the same 'post-War' period. The physical case for accepting as real an event describable as the Sacred War is therefore becoming firmer, though it is still impossible to associate the foundation of the Pythian Festival with it without invoking the antiquarian tradition with all its unreal features.

However, the more real that horizon becomes, the more anomalous Delphi appears within the 'family' of Panhellenic sites, for newer physical evidence from

[17] Schachter (1992); Whitley (2001) 134–6.

[18] A particularly perilous pursuit in a Delphian context, where continuity of settlement, evidence for which is now becoming ever firmer, and continuity of cult (references in Rolley (2002) 279 n. 1) are two different things and where the temptation to detect genuine historical recollection behind the myths of the first temples and of successive 'owners' has not always been resisted as firmly as it should be.

[19] Summary in Rolley (2002); full publication in Luce (forthcoming).

[20] Best set out in de la Coste-Messelière (1969), and summarized in Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 92–102.

[21] Luce (forthcoming) ch. 4.

[22] Luce (forthcoming) ch. 7, II. A. 1. The general issue of the historicity of the First Sacred War is helpfully revisited by Mari (2002) *passim*, esp. 163–9.

the other venues, together with the reconsideration of older evidence,[23] offers a pattern within which Delphi can only be fitted with difficulty. Three aspects are pertinent, (*a*) the relationship of shrine to settlement, (*b*) the extent and date of provision for athletic and hippic contests and for significant numbers of spectators, and (*c*) the role played by the cult of a dead hero. Each aspect needs a brief review of relevant evidence.

In respect of (*a*), for example, Delphi had been a substantial settlement in the Bronze Age, and can now be seen from the recent excavations to have been so again already in the later eleventh century BC, thereby noticeably shrinking the interruption of settlement which extant material has hitherto suggested,[24] while the areas of known Geometric-period settlement, twice the area of Zagora, have revealed it to be a large agglomeration.[25] Olympia, in contrast, still appears to have been purely a place of cult and regional assembly, with dedications and pottery related to drinking or dining,[26] while Isthmia was likewise purely a ritual site, but differed in emphasis from Olympia in that the prime evidence of early activity was of ritual dining.[27] Both were therefore ritual sites long before there is any trace of provision for contests, and the same is probably true for Nemea, again not a habitation-site, even though the earliest ceramic and other material thence appears not to pre-date the eighth century.[28]

Aspect (*b*), provision for contests and for spectators, presents a similarly divided picture. As noted above, Delphi remains a near-blank in physical terms until the late fourth century, and though the Amphiktyonic Law of 380 clearly envisages, because it regulates, accommodation for visitors (presumably both spectators and pilgrims) in the stoas, it tells us nothing about the areas for performance, contest, or viewing.[29] Provision at the other three sanctuaries, in contrast, is plain enough. Olympia remains the bell-wether site, for irrespective of the debates about the existence or non-existence of an Ur-stadium located further west[30] and therefore closer to the Altar of Zeus, or about whether 776 as the traditional era-date for the Games reflects historical reality or is a construct reached erroneously by dead reckoning by Hippias or others,[31] the evidence of the cutting of an increasingly large number of short-term-use wells in the later stadium area from the Late Geometric period onwards[32] is inexplicable save on

[23] Bibliography for all four sites up to 1993 in Østby (1993). Add for Isthmia, Gebhard (1993), Morgan (1999*a*) and (2002), and Gebhard (2002*a*); for Nemea, Miller (2002); for Delphi, Davies (1994).
[24] Morgan (1990) 107–9; Müller (1992); Luce (forthcoming) ch. 1.
[25] Luce (forthcoming) ch. 6.
[26] Morgan (1999*a*) 378–80.
[27] Gebhard (1993) 156–9; Morgan (1999*a*) 369–400.
[28] Miller (1988) 148 nn. 8–9.
[29] *CID* I. 10 = IV. 1, lines 21–6.
[30] Summary of the debate in Mallwitz (1988*a*) 94–9, but cf. also Brulotte (1994) and Whitley (2001) 154–5.
[31] Beloch (1926) 148–54 remains basic, with Gebhard (2002*a*) 222–5. Moretti (1957) (updated in Moretti 1970) does not discuss the development of the list of Olympionikai or its credentials.
[32] Mallwitz (1988*a*) 98–9.

the assumption that they were cut in order to cater for a clientele whose numbers grew sharply from the early seventh century onwards.

At Isthmia, similarly, the emergence of a large-scale attending public can be read straightforwardly from the constructions and detritus associated with the first stadium, a first stage, comprising the running track and the ramp linking it with the altar of Poseidon, being constructed not earlier than *c.* 550 and a second (the embankment for spectators and maybe the eastern gateway) 'securely in the second half of the sixth century'.[33] So too at Nemea, where, however, the case is more complex and links the discourse inescapably with aspect (*c*). Earlier excavations from 1979 onwards had already disclosed the existence of an Early Hellenistic enclosure, to which we shall return, comparable to (and perhaps modelled on) the Pelopeion at Olympia. The more recent excavations reported by Miller (2002) have filled out that information by revealing that an earlier phase of the enclosure had been built on top of an artificial mound, datable to the first half of the sixth century by the ceramic material which had been placed to mark, and (it is suggested) to sanctify, each of its layers. Since, moreover, traces of the early stadium were found to its east, and evidence for the location of the hippodrome to its west, Miller's attractive preliminary inference is that the mound was both cultic and (with its northern extension) functional, serving as a viewing platform for both arenas.

Here aspect (*c*), the role played by the tomb-cult of a hero, is unmistakable, not just because Pausanias 2. 15. 2 explicitly identifies the enclosure at Nemea as the grave of Opheltes and uses the same phrase of it, *θριγκὸς λίθων* ('fence of stones') as he does of the Pelopeion,[34] but also because terracotta figurines appear to associate the mound with the cult of a baby boy. The inference is inescapable that in the earlier sixth century the site authorities at Nemea deliberately imitated a prominent feature of Olympia. The imitation was no doubt deemed especially appropriate since both were sanctuaries of Zeus, though since full publication of the new material at Nemea is yet to emerge it may be wisest to leave open the question whether, in the light of the new excavations at the Pelopeion,[35] the Mycenaean material recovered from the core mound at Nemea reflects another superficially comparable aspect of the site of which the site authorities at Nemea might have been aware.

All the same, that two of the main agonistic sites shared a prominent structural and ritual feature prompts comparison with the other two, and reveals thereby a contrast. At Isthmos, the physical link, and presumably therefore also the ritual link, of the contest area was with the area associated with the principal god of the

[33] Gebhard (2002*a*) 228–30, citation from p. 229.
[34] Though, as Miller notes (2002) 249 n. 11, he also uses the phrase elsewhere.
[35] Kyrieleis (2002*b*); Rambach (2002); lucid summary also by Miller (2002) 239.

sanctuary, Poseidon, not with that on which much later, in the Roman period, the Palaimonion was erected: and this even though already for Pindar the death by drowning of the boy Melikertes/Palaimon, and the discovery of his body on the Isthmus by Sisyphos King of Corinth, have become the occasion for the establishment of the Isthmian Games.[36] Even more disconnectedly, the Delphian material shows not one symbolic death but two, the less prominent of which, that of Chrysos son of Nebros, had no known tomb-cult. The more prominent, Python or Typhaon according to source, did indeed serve as the focus of cult, but of the Septerion festival. Held every eight years, linked to Tempe in Thessaly, and interpretable only as a purification ritual, this festival plainly has wholly non-agonistic roots and sits very uncomfortably within the narratives of the Pythian festival.[37] It is difficult to avoid the impression that whereas those responsible for Nemea imitated Olympia directly, both physically and mythically, in order to claim isolympic status for their own festival, those responsible for Isthmia and the Pythia initially felt no such need but later found it convenient to recognize the existence of imaginative narratives, whether woven by poets such as Pindar or not, which provided an extra *aition* for their own festivals and served to assert isolympic status for them. In this way, as no doubt also via the adoption of forms of similar contest, one can begin to reconstruct a process of convergence, to be dated like so much else in the second half of the sixth century.

3. TOWARDS A GENERATIVE MODEL FOR THE AGONISTIC FESTIVALS

So far in this chapter attention has been directed towards the antiquarian tradition and the physical evidence reported from the four major sites. However, in an important sense to begin thus is to approach the process of crystallization of the four-venue *periodos* from the wrong end, thus begging the primary question of why those four venues emerged and not others. After all, as much recent discussion has emphasized, tomb-cults and hero-cults sprang up all over Greece,[38] while athletic, musical, and hippic competitions are well attested elsewhere by the sixth century.[39] Of course, their emergence stemmed from, and was a leading part of, the processes of polity coagulation, leisure class formation, artistic patronage, and enhanced intercommunication which helped

[36] Gebhard and Dickie (1999); Gebhard (2002*a*) at 225–8, with 232 table 2. The topic is explored in more detail by Morgan (this volume) 261.

[37] Details and references (mostly to Plut. *Mor.* 293a–f) in Halliday (1928) 66–71, Jeanmaire (1939) 387–411, and Defradas (1954) 97–101. Cf. also Appendix C 3.

[38] Antonaccio (1995) for an overview, with further references in Whitley (2001) 150–6.

[39] See e.g. the Delia (see Miller (1988) 146 n. 1) or the Panathenaia (n. 58 below).

to form the sense of Greek identity which we term 'Pan-Hellenism'.[40] Yet, even accepting that competition and display were major motors of the emergence of the *periodos*, they did not automatically channel themselves towards a set number of specific venues, As Stella Miller has put it apropos of Nemea, the last of the festivals to be accorded Panhellenic status in the Archaic period, 'That these three sanctuaries [i.e. Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea] were distinguished in this way and at this particular time was obviously an answer to certain needs and circumstances of the time, however poorly these are understood today. Among the many questions which could be posed in this connection is why, after the beginning of the sixth century, there were no more Panhellenic festivals founded throughout the rest of antiquity, despite an abundance of local games, both pre-existing and newly founded.' She then goes on disarmingly to comment that 'Such questions can give rise to speculation but few, if any, firm conclusions. They are, moreover, matters which go beyond the scope of this chapter.'[41] However, at the risk of 'speculating', what follows here will put and attempt to answer the questions 'Why only four mainland venues?' and 'Why those locations, and not others instead?'

To do so requires beginning from further back, by framing analysis in more general terms and by offering a more explicitly processual approach, specifically focused on the growth and formalization of agonistic activity within sanctuary space. The construction of such an approach is no simple matter, for at least seven processes at work within the relevant periods need to be distinguished:

1. the emergence (or re-emergence) of sites devoted to ritual activity;
2. the selection of certain sites as more attractive or convenient than others for populations from wider catchment areas;
3. the emergence of a custom of contesting, with increasingly codified forms and rules;
4. the linkage of that custom with gods and with ritual sites;
5. the creation of a pattern of periodicity;
6. the emergence of a custom of dedicating votive offerings visibly within ritual sites; and
7. the emergence of an informal hierarchy of arenas of contest.

These processes ran their course in different places at different times and with different trajectories, while it needed the convergence of them all in order to yield that exceptional combination of customs, values, and venues which created the Panhellenic Games as institutions. Hence, such a construction cannot function as a simple linear model, any more than it can serve on its own as an explanatory model. Process (6), for example, came to be a universal custom, evidence for it

[40] See e.g. Raubitschek (1988); Schachter (1992); Sourvinou-Inwood (1993); C. Morgan (1993).
[41] Miller (1988) 142.

effectively serving to define what we mean by a ritual site, but had nothing necessarily to do with contests. Process (3), too, will not fit tidily into a linear narrative, for such activity—codified competition in athletic and musical prowess—had had a very long past by the time serious evidence appears in the Homeric poems. Whether or not we take seriously claims for Hittite origins, or Minoan-Mycenaean origins, or Phoenician origins,[42] the contests described in the Funeral Games for Patroklos in *Iliad* 23 must reflect a portfolio of contests and conventions already well established by 700 or so: indeed, since the Homeric texts know the Games of Augeias at Elis but are silent about Olympia[43] we cannot explain that portfolio purely by diffusion from Olympia, even if we were to accept the traditional dates. Likewise, unless Pausanias' sequence of dates for the introduction of new contests at Olympia is total invention by Phlegon of Tralles[44] or by Hippias,[45] which is unlikely, we are dealing with a continuous flow of activity and innovation throughout the Archaic period, both at Olympia and elsewhere.

However, we cannot envisage that flow as a continuum, for two major shifts seem to have taken place. The first, process (5), is that from funeral *agōnes* to periodic *agōnes*. *Agōnes* in the former category, such as those of Patroklos, or those which Nestor is made to describe in *Iliad* 23. 629–42, or those for King Amphidamas of Chalkis at which Hesiod is said to have won a tripod, were irregular, unpredictable, and not formally linked to any particular cult or sanctuary, while periodic *agōnes* took place at regular intervals and were in some sense, which the participants took seriously, set up in order to honour a god. The second major shift was from contests where there were real and valuable prizes (so that contestants might be competing for the prize as much as for the honour and prestige) (i.e. *agōnes chrēmatitai*) towards those which brought the victor only a crown (*agōnes stephanitai*) of purely symbolic value, made of a substance which was meant explicitly to evoke the god concerned. That this distinction was felt to matter is plain from the scholiasts' narratives for the Pythia, and we have to take seriously the direction of innovation, away from prizes towards symbols.

These shifts therefore need explanation. So too does the well-known fact that within the general flow the era-dates of Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea stand out, clustered together anomalously in the 580s and 570s.[46] The concentration in time is all the more striking in the light of the cumulatively pretty firm evidence that the Panathenaia were either remodelled or relaunched in or about the year 566,[47]

[42] Discussions respectively by Puhvel (1988); Renfrew (1988); Boutros (1981).
[43] Thus Lee (1988) 112.
[44] Raubitschek (1988) 35 and 37 n. 4: *FGrH* 257 F 1.
[45] Paus. 5. 8. 6–11; list in Lee (1988) 115 n. 2.
[46] Though the reliability of the chronographic tradition is seriously challenged by Gebhard (2002*a*) 222–5.
[47] Davison (1958) and (1962).

for the assumption must be that the Athenians tried to add a remodelled Panathenaia to the cluster but failed to gain much external recognition for it.

We have therefore a set of at least five explananda: first that of the nature, direction, and strength of the general growth of agonistic activity, secondly the shift from funerary towards cultic contexts, thirdly the shift towards periodicity, fourthly the appearance of the cluster in the 580s and 570s, and lastly the reasons why the *periodos* crystallized as it did. What follows here will tackle this range of questions indirectly, by thinking in terms first of the effects of performer push, then of those of provider pull, and then of the wider constituency of attenders and spectators. That is, we have to try to decide whether (*a*) we should be focusing primarily on the needs, ambitions, and desires of contestants and performers as the principal driving force; or whether (*b*) we should be looking towards institutions—either the immediate 'managers' of sanctuaries, or the political classes of the microstates as they sorted out their identities and their boundaries in the seventh century—who each had ideas of building their own stadia for the sake of national prestige and profit; or whether (*c*) we should think first and foremost of those who came to watch, listen, trade, socialize, and network. Not, of course, that these three categories of person were mutually exclusive, but any stakeholder analysis such as this needs to separate out their varying (and perhaps conflicting) structural interests.

4. STAKEHOLDERS AND LOCATIONS

I look first at performer push, for in a very basic sense that is primary: there would be no contests if no contestants were interested. That is not so fanciful an idea as it sounds, for if one jumps to the other end of antiquity and recalls the sudden decline in gymnasial activity in the 360s, the Easter sermons of John Chrysostom with their insistence that the young should be contesting the Devil in the desert rather than competing naked, and the end of the Olympic Games themselves at some date after AD 391,[48] one has to recognize that the late fourth-century value-shift drained Classical agonistic institutions of their customers. For our period, though, that is not the problem. Victory in Patroklos' Funeral Games brought glittering prizes well worth competing for and well worth taking home as *keimēlia*; victory at Olympia brought immense prestige and even star status, as the ambitions of Orthagoras in Sikyon or of Kylon in Athens bear witness, not to mention Alcibiades; the ethos of competition—*aien aristeuein kai huperteron emmenai allōn*—had come to be ingrained in the culture.

[48] Not that the change was wholly spontaneous or universal, for victors at Olympia are now attested in AD 381 and AD 385 (*SEG* 45. 412, 48. 553), and the contests could in theory have survived the formal suppression of pagan cults in 391; for the conflicting evidence, Drees (1968) 159.

At this juncture, inevitably, one invokes Wade-Gery's phrase 'the international aristocracy', coined in 1932 when he was writing about Thoukydides son of Melesias and identified the politician's father with the wrestling-master Melesias who is known from *N*. 4 and 6 and *O*. 8: 'I think no one who knows much of Pindar or indeed of the structure of early fifth-century Greek society will doubt that poet [Pindar], trainer [Melesias], and athlete [Thoukydides] alike belong to the same class, the international aristocracy of Greece'.[49] Nor is such a group a baseless invention, for its classic exemplification is the house-party which Kleisthenes of Sikyon set up for the suitors of his daughter Agariste, probably in 575 (Griffin 1982: 44). The story in Herodotos (6. 126) is well known: after his victory in chariot-with-four-horses at Olympia in 576 or (less likely) in 572, he invited any suitor to appear within 60 days, and found himself hosting young men from Sybaris and Siris in Italy, Epidamnos, Aitolia, Argos, Trapezous in Arkadia, an Azen from Palaiopolis, Elis, Athens (two), Eretria, Krannon, and the Molossoi. This is not the place to scrutinize the historical credentials of the story, though sceptics might well see it as an elaborate aetiological legend to explain the origin of the proverb *ou phrontis Hippokleidei* ('Hippokleides isn't bothered') and might well question whether Kleisthenes had nothing better to do for a year. It is also difficult to take as historical what would have to be the earliest reference to a gymnasion,[50] but the catalogue of names at least has to be taken seriously, and with it the sense of a shared culture, widespread within a leisure class in a specific and pertinent decade and driving the pattern of dedications in ways analysed by Raschke (1988*b*), Morgan (1990), and others.

That much said, the notion of 'the international aristocracy' will not take us far. Though of course wealth in the form of landownership determined who could race horses, the only formal qualification for entry to Olympia was not economic but ethnic, as illustrated by Herodotos' tale (5. 22) of the acceptance of Alexander I Philhellen at the Olympics of *c*.500.[51] Likewise, at Nemea, the Pindar scholia report that admission to the contests was initially restricted to those 'from the military class', but that later, 'when they fell short, and the custom dissolved, it came to be that all contested'.[52] We could of course modify our picture of demand by contestants by postulating that by the early sixth century their numbers had increased to the point where extra opportunities for competition and display were needed, but even that (though probably true and pertinent) will not serve by itself without also invoking the response mode of the sanctuary managers.

[49] Wade-Gery (1958) 245–6.

[50] 6. 128, 1. But the word is *gymnasia* plural, so it could mean gymnastic exercises, as in Pindar fr. 129 and Hdt. 9.33.

[51] For arguments favouring an earlier date than the orthodox 496 see Mari (2002) 31–6.

[52] *apo stratiōtikou genous epileipsantōn kai tou ethous dialuthentos sunebē tous pantas agōnizesthai* (schol. Pind. *N*. hypoth. d, Drachmann III. 5, line 5).

A different approach may help here, while still staying with the notion of performer pull. If we can trust the tradition in Pausanias at all, the initial contests which the Pythia offered (e.g. in the diet which he equates with our 586 BC) were song-to-kithara, song-to-flute, and flutes (Paus. 10. 7. 4). The musical emphasis is confirmed by our best (because contemporary) witness Alcaeus, who has the Delphians composing a paian and a song, and instituting dances round the tripod. Three points arise. The first is theological, in that such contests are meant to reflect the specific attributes of Apollo in such a way that he who wins the contest is most like the god—not altogether a risk-free enterprise, admittedly, as the myth of the flaying of Marsyas bears witness, but one which, as Bowra analysed it years ago in a brilliant chapter (1964: 159–91), finds echo after echo in Pindar himself. The second has to do with what one might now call the musical profession. Plainly, while one can and must infer that the institution of such contests requires that the various genres of composition-cum-performance had differentiated themselves in a recognized way, and that musicians had become a recognized constituency with an agenda of their own, then as now musicians tended not to be particularly wealthy or aristocratic:[53] as a constituency they are most unlikely to have had the numbers, or the political, economic, or social clout, to be the prime movers in the creation of a new institutionalized Panhellenic *agōn*.

These two approaches in terms of performers and contestants therefore yield only limited results. Let us look instead at the providers and their behaviour, emphasizing three themes—their limited resources, the motif of liberation, and the need for a periodical *panēgyris*. First, their limited resources. Though we know next to nothing of the modalities of management for each *agōn*, we can at least be fairly sure both that their managers were not wealthy personal rulers like Achilles or Amphidamas, able to offer real *euergesiai*, and that the sanctuaries which they managed did not have vast resources available. At least at Delphi later on in the sixth century, building the temple was a financial struggle, and it will have been rational for managers to keep on the spot such resources as their own sanctuary had or earned, rather than see them dissipated into the hands of men who might be well-off already. Since, moreover, we are trying to reconstruct behaviour which takes shape before the gradual encroachment of coined money in and after the mid-century, income will have been a matter of fees paid in kind (*pelanoi*) and the remains of sacrificed animals, not of easily convertible bullion. To offer symbolic crowns rather than real prizes was therefore making a virtue of necessity, while at the same time both unilaterally claiming to be on a par with

[53] Simon Hornblower reminds me that there is one victory ode of Pindar for a musician, *Pythian* 12 for the flute-player Midas of Akragas: but he is the only one, his victory coming, moreover, at a period when, as its temples attest, Akragas was ostentatiously wealthy.

Olympia by imitating Olympic practice and also deliberately asserting their freedom from subservience to the will and prejudices of an overmighty patron.

That introduces the second theme, that of liberation. If we go back to the narratives of the Pythia, a persistent underlying theme is that the redefinition of the Games represented a liberation. One major implausibility of the developed story of the fourth century and later is that it demonizes the inhabitants of the coastal town of Kirrha[54] while saying no word about Corinth, the power which is not only generally recognized to have been the most important polity of the Gulf littoral during the seventh century but had also demonstrably been influential at Delphi. Since, whatever the contradictions of the dates may be, the relevant period stretches from the 590s to the 570s, it may be worth hazarding the hypothesis that Corinth and Kirrha had had complementary interests, but that the weakening of the Corinthian tyrant regime in the 580s after Periander's death left Kirrha exposed to predatory action, and allowed Delphi to be 'liberated' by the Amphiktyony of Anthela.

Perhaps fortunately, that hypothesis does not stand on its own, for there may be a second link between 'liberation' and the (re)-foundation of a festival. Soft-textured and highly questionable though the transmitted chronology is, it is consistent in placing the fall of the Corinthian tyranny *c*.584/3 and the era-date of the Isthmia in the late 580s.[55] I am certainly not the first (Morgan 1990: 214) to link the two events and to see the foundation of the Isthmia as a symbolic signal that the Corinthians have got their own state back.[56] Admittedly, it is more difficult to explain Nemea thus, for the tug-of-war between Argos and Kleonai for control of the sanctuary and the festival seems not to have been fully resolved until, after the violent late fifth-century destruction of the temple, the Games were moved to Argos, which remained the controlling power. Later tradition saw Argos as in control from the start,[57] but that is compatible neither with Pindar himself (*N*. 10. 42, 4. 17) nor with his scholiast (hypoth. c Pi. *N*, Drachmann III. p. 3. lines 16–18) nor with the ethnic Kleonaios which Aristis son of Pheidon applied to himself in the 560s for his dedication (ML 9). Though it is tempting to consider the notion of the liberation of Kleonai from Argive (or perhaps Sikyonian) control, it may need to be accommodated within the wider problem of what 'control' means in a context where Argos could not always even 'control' her own Heraion.

[54] References assembled conveniently by Freitag (2000) 114–35.

[55] Servais (1969) and (summarily) Salmon (1984) 186 n. 1 for the fall of the tyranny, with the warnings of Gebhard (2002*a*) 222–5.

[56] The idea of Games as a symbol of liberation (here, liberation from colonial control) was certainly explicit in the foundation of the Asian Games some 40 years ago.

[57] See e.g. Eusebius 101b Helm s.a. 573: 'Agon Nemeacus primum ab Argiuis actus post eum, qui sub Archemoro fuerat.' For the problem Miller (1988); Morgan (1990) 215, etc.

At the same time, two reasons offer themselves why a canny Argive regime should set up agonistic shop at Nemea rather than Argos. First, like Delphi, it was accessible from all directions and stood equidistant from Corinth, Kleonai, Argos, and Sikyon, at a liminal point where contrary influences might cancel each other out and allow autonomy to flourish—a vain hope, admittedly, as its subsequent history made all too clear. Secondly, to use Nemea meant that the *agōn* could be hung round Zeus, which would allow them to compete with Olympia on equal terms, while the main gods of Argos itself were female (Hera, Athene) and therefore offered inappropriate role-models for competitors.[58] It will be wisest to leave the problem of Nemea unresolved and to accept that the theme of liberation contributes part of an explanation but not its core.

That leaves the third theme, the notion of the *panēgyris*, the general gathering at a religious festival. The classic description is Livy's sketch of the Isthmia of 196:

> Now came the time appointed for the Isthmian Games. This festival had always been well attended, not only because the Greeks are by nature keenly interested in a spectacle which exhibits contests in all manner of accomplishments involving strength and speed, but also because of the advantages of this site. For its position enabled the Isthmus to supply mankind with all kinds of commodities imported over two different seas: it was a commercial centre acting as a meeting place of Asia and Greece.[59]

We have here two activities, watching the contests and participating in a periodic market. The first we tend to take for granted: wrongly, for we should be thinking in terms of football-stadium sized crowds of thousands whose impact can be sensed, for example, via the vertiginous increase in the wells dug and used at Olympia, or via the need to shift the stadium at Isthmia from its initial close proximity to the temple terrace to a more spacious location further east down the slope. Even without Pindar's poems it needs little imagination to visualize the socializing, the politicking, the networking, the side-shows ranging from jugglers to sophists, or the array of tents such as that of Themistokles at the Olympia of 476. The second activity is increasingly getting its due in a Roman context, but is still seriously underestimated for Greece, though much can be added to the Greek material collected by de Ligt and de Neeve 1988.[60] However, even as it stands their approach is valuable because it uses economic geographers' cross-cultural comparisons in order to distinguish high-frequency small-reach periodic markets (*nundinae*, in Roman terms) from low-frequency long-range markets.

[58] Not that that consideration stopped the Athenians from setting up *dromos* and *agōn* at the Panathenaia (*IG* I^3 507–8), but the festival cannot plausibly be seen as a commemoration of liberation, and was in any case an old-style *agōn chrēmatitēs* with prizes which were difficult to carry away. It is hardly surprising that it remained outside the eventual *periodos*.

[59] Livy 33. 32. 1, from Polyb. 18. 46. 1–2 with Livian expansion and explanation.

[60] Cf. the comments offered in *SEG* 38. 1953.

Polybios via Livy is plainly depicting the latter, as a long-established going concern by 196. We therefore have to ask when and why that function developed.

In a way, the answer has long been available via the finds from Olympia, with their clear evidence of craftsman work (on tripods etc.) being conducted on the spot, such work serving as a trace element for much else which has left no record. Yet Olympia is a long way away from the area within, say, an 80-km radius of Corinth, which encompassed the richest and most innovative polities of Greek mainland society of the early sixth century—Megara, Sikyon, Epidauros, Aegina, and Athens, besides Argos and Corinth itself. If we were to credit this group of societies with an unformulated collective need for a secure central place for a low-frequency long-range market, it would not be long before we looked at Isthmia (more accessible from the east than Perachora, and probably by the early sixth century already long used for such a purpose) and wondered whether there was a site in the vicinity accessible from Arkadia without passing through Argos or Sikyon. It cannot be chance that Isthmia and Nemea between them gave the polities of that region an annual fair, timed to allow easy summer travelling, on secure ground because located in a sanctuary protected by a major god (Poseidon and Zeus), safely accessible because of the protection which the sanctuary's *theōroi* asked for all travellers, and providing all the amenities and entertainments which Olympia had made standard.

All the same, I would not want to convey the impression that Isthmia, Nemea, or Olympia were simply a combination of Aintree racecourse and Manchester's King Street. For a corrective, we may return to Delphi and to the evidence for the Pythia. If the post-Sacred War narrative in the Pindar scholia has any validity, it dates the initial stages of the *agōn* earlier than that at Isthmia, and we might even surmise that those in charge (whoever they were) were feeling their way, partly perhaps because they were breaking new ground and were unsure what the 'market' would respond to. Seen thus, the initial profile of the contests, with its strong musical emphasis, may not have been a response to performer pressure so much as to two other influences: first, to the profile of Apollo in respect of his mastery of the lyre (though, given his mastery also of the bow, the absence of archery contests at any stage is a remarkable *vacat*, due presumably to the irremediably low status of the skill outside Crete), and secondly to the influence of the *panēgyris* and the *agōn* at Delos. There, in the beautiful and affectionate description of it by the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 'The Ionians of long chitons gather with their children and their lady wives. They enjoy themselves vying with each other in boxing and dance and song whenever they hold the *agōn*.' There then follows a sketch of the Delian girls, servants of Apollo, who sing of Apollo, then Leto and Artemis and delight the crowds of people (*HHA* 147–64). However, if the Delphian authorities started from that model, it is significant that they moved rapidly to incorporate the Olympic set of contests

as well—in that respect, presumably, having to accommodate the expectations of spectators as well as trying to attract the big spenders who would adorn the sanctuary with monuments and dedications and prompt the construction of treasuries (a strategy which clearly worked). Perhaps too, faced with rival *agōnes* at Isthmus and Nemea, and less conveniently located, Delphi may have found itself a bit peripheral, but nonetheless can be assumed to have performed the same functions for a rather different hinterland which extended, via the pass west of Parnassos, into Sterea Hellas and Thessaly and could offer western Greeks, as Isthmia and Nemea could not, an alternative to Olympia.[61]

The argument has therefore moved away from the contests and the competitors, even away from the 'managers' of the sanctuaries, towards elementary locational analysis and towards a picture of the Panhellenic Games as festivals which conveniently combined a number of disparate functions on single sites and whose formats, initially disparate, came gradually to converge. They are best seen pragmatically, as an economical means of meeting the variegated needs of a scattered population—providing that spectacle, dance, song, and the various forms of physical contest can also, as they should, be seen as responses to needs.[62]

[61] References in Freitag (2000) 116; add Rougemont (1992) and Jacquemin (1992).

[62] This is not the place to pursue the cross-cultural comparison, broached briefly in the oral version, between Panhellenic agonistic festivals and medieval tournaments (for which see now Crouch 2005), but the points of similarity and difference would bear further examination.

Appendix: Translations

1. HYPOTHESEIS TO PINDAR'S PYTHIAN ODES

Greek text of the four versions in A. B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, II (Teubner, Leipzig, 1910, repr. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 1–5. Traditional citation-mode is by vol., page, line Drachmann. In what follows here, editorial deletions are inserted in [square], editorial additions in (round), supplements in <angle> brackets, transliterations in *italics*. The numbering of sections has been devised by JKD as an aid to quick reference.

A 1. The contest of the Pythia was founded many years before the Isthmia, and the following cause is recounted in myth about them. **2.** Leto the daughter of Koios son of Heaven and Earth and of Phoibe daughter of Kronos, with whom Zeus had intercourse in the guise of a quail, became pregnant and groaned in birth on Zoster in Attica, but gave birth to Artemis and Phoibos on Delos, previously called Ortygia. **3.** When she was adult Artemis came to Crete, and occupied Mount Diktys, while Apollo was in Lycia: they assigned Delos to their mother. **4.** Now Apollo came to Delphi, herding the cattle for Python. **5.** Hermes, who had created the four-stringed lyre fitted with flax threads instead of gut-strings, since the use of sinews had not yet been invented, and had been convicted of the theft of Apollo's cattle, as recompense for the theft gave Apollo the lyre, taking the herald's staff from him. **6.** He made it seven-stringed, accommodating it to the pan-pipe, not that of Hermes and Penelope but of Zeus and Thybreus: or maybe he compounded it with seven voices because he had been born as a seven-month child. It was, it appears, he who took away the flax-threads and stretched the lyre with sinews, whence he is said to have overcome Linos. **7.** He also learnt the skill of divination from Pan, for Pan delivers oracles to all the Arkadians attentively. **8.** Then he enters into the oracular shrine, in which Night was the first to utter oracles, then Themis. Since Python was then controlling the tripod of prophecy, on which first Dionysos delivered oracles, . . . (lacuna of some length) . . . **9.** and having killed the serpent Pytho he contests the Pythian contest on the seventh day: *peiron*, because he ventured upon (*apepeirathe*) the battle against the monster: *iambon* because of the abuse which he incurred before the battle, for *iambizein* means 'to abuse': *dactyl* from Dionysos, because he is thought to have been the first to deliver oracles from the tripod: *Kretikon* from Zeus: *metroion*, because the shrine is Earth's: *hissing*, because of the hissing of the snake. In this way the contest of the Pythia was first established. **10.** After this, Krisa having been founded above the pass of the road which leads to Delphi, when the Krisaioi committed many deeds against the Greeks and despoiled pilgrims to the oracle, the Amphiktyones captured Krisa with the other allies, and having become masters of them they instituted another contest, in which flute-players competed too. **11.** The winners of the athletic contest, are the following, when Apollo founded Pythia, in the contest of the Python: Kastor (won) stadion, boxing Polydeukes,

long race Kalais, hoplite race Zetes, discus Peleus, wrestling Telamon, pankration Herakles. He crowned them with the plant of bay.

B Differently. The hypothesis of the Pythians. **1.** Eurylochos the Thessalian having defeated the Kirrhaioi revived the contest of the god: the Kirrhaioi, deploying a brigandish attack, were slaughtering those who were approaching the (areas?) of the god. He got the better of them when Simonides was archon at Athens (591/0), and Gylidas at Delphi. **2.** The Kirrhaioi, as many of them as were actually left, fled to Mount Kirphis, which lies by Parnassos. Eurylochos left some of the Thessalians with the general Hippias to defeat the remainder, and went off to revive the contest, which he founded to be for a money-prize alone. **3.** After a period of six years, when Hippias' forces had defeated the survivors of the Kirrhaioi, when Damasias was archon at Athens (582/1) and Diodoros at Delphi, they subsequently after their success founded a contest for crowns as well. **4.** Eurylochos they called the New Achilles, as Euphorion relates (F 53 Meineke = 80 Powell):

> We hear of Eurylochos the younger Achilles,
> To whom the Delphian women shouted out below lovely Ieios
> When he had sacked <Krisa suppl. Boeckh>, the house of Apollo Lykoreus.

5. While only singers to the kithara had competed in olden times, Eurylochos made the other contests exist as well.

C Differently. **1.** The Pythia were founded, as some say in honour of the serpent guardian of the oracle in Delphi, which Apollo killed. **2.** The contest was named after the place. The name of the place was Pytho, either from the fact that those who frequented the oracle were 'learning' (*punthanesthai*), or because the monster rotted there after being killed, for *puthesthai* means 'to rot', as in Homer's 'White bones rot in deluge' (*Od*. 1. 161). **3.** Having been purified of the serpent-killing by Chrysothemis in Crete, Apollo returned from there to Tempe in Thessaly, whence he brought the bay. For a long time the bay which served for the victors' crowns was brought from there by a boy with both parents living. **4.** The contest was celebrated at first every eight years [the Amphiktyones established the contest, Eurylochos the Thessalian having founded it *secl. Drachmann*], but it changed to every four years . . . (lacuna) . . . **5.** . . . because of the fact that the nymphs of Parnassos brought late-summer fruits (*oporas*) as gifts to Apollo after his slaying of the serpent.

D Differently. **1.** The Pythian contest was arranged by Eurylochos the Thessalian together with the Amphiktyones, after he had defeated certain men who were savage and were doing violence to the dwellers-round, when Gylidas was archon at Delphi and Simon at Athens (591/0). **2.** After his victory he founded a contest for goods-prizes, for they used to honour the victors with goods only, there being as yet no crown. **3.** He founded the kithara-singers' contest as also before, but added the flute-player and the flute-singing contests. **4.** Once the army of the Amphiktyones had retreated, a few were left behind to destroy Kirphis completely. Hippias the Thessalian led those left behind. **5.** In the sixth year after the capture of Kirrha they proclaimed for the god the contest for crowns, when Diodoros was archon at Delphi and Damasis at Athens (582/1). **6.** The Kirrhaian plain and mountain, which they call Kirphis, through which the river Pleistos

runs, lie to the south of the mountain of Parnassos. 7. That Eurylochos of Thessaly vanquished the Kirrhaioi is attested by Euphorion (refs. ad **B.** 4):

> We hear of Eurylochos the younger Achilles.

II. PAUSANIAS 10. 7. 2–8

(Based on that of Peter Levi (Penguin), but with some modifications, and with the section numbers of the Teubner text restored.)

2. The most ancient contest which they recall, and the one at which they first offered prizes, was to sing a hymn to the god. The one who sang and won by singing was Chrysothemis from Crete, whose father Karmanor is said to have purified Apollo. After Chrysothemis they recall that Philammon won for song, and after him Thauris son of Philammon. They say that Orpheus, out of self-esteem over Mysteries and from other conceit, and Mousaios out of imitation of Orpheus in everything, refused to be tested in the contest of music. 3. They also say that Eleuther carried off a Pythian victory by speaking loudly and sweetly, for the song which he was singing was not his own. They also say that Hesiod was excluded from the competition because he had not been taught to play the kithara while he sang. Homer came to Delphi to ask whatever he required, but even though he had been taught to play the kithara the skill was going to be useless for him because of the disaster that befell his eyes. 4. In the third year of the 48th Olympiad which Glaukias of Kroton won (i.e. 586/5), the Amphiktyones offered prizes for song-to-kithara as from the start, but added a contest of song-to-flute and of flutes. As winners were proclaimed Melampous of Kephalenia in song-to-kithara, Echembrotos of Arkadia for song-to-flute, Sakadas of Argos for flutes. This Sakadas also carried off the two next Pythian festivals after that. 5. They then also offered prizes to athletes for the first time, both by offering the contests as in Olympia except four-horse-chariot and themselves instituting the boys' race for long course and double course. At the second Pythias they did not invite to compete for prizes any more, but established the contests as for crowns from now on. They abolished song-to-flute, condemning it because the sound was unlucky, for song-to-flute comprised the gloomiest melodies for flutes and elegies sung to the flutes. 6. As my witness for this is also the dedication of Echembrotos, a bronze tripod dedicated to Herakles in Thebes. The tripod had the epigram:

> Echembrotos Arkadian set up to Herakles
> Having won this treasure in contests of Amphiktyones,
> Singing to the Greeks melodies and dirges.

Accordingly, then, the contests of song-to-flute was stopped, but they added race-of-horses, and Kleisthenes the tyrant of Sikyon was proclaimed for the chariot. 7. In the eighth Pythias (i.e. 558/7) they additionally instituted kithara-players-on-strings-without-voice, and Agelaos of Tegea was crowned. In the 23rd Pythias (i.e. 498/7) they added hoplite-race, and Timainetos of Phleious took the bay for this, five Olympiads after Damaretos of Heraia won. In the 48th Pythias (i.e. 398/7) they also arranged for race-of-chariot-and-pair: the chariot of Exekestides of Phokis won. In the fifth Pythias after this (i.e. 378/7) they ran foals-to-chariot, and the équipe of Orphondas of Thebes ran

first. 8. Many years later they took over from the Eleians boys-pankration, foal-pair-to-chariot, and <foal>-with-rider, the first-named in the 61st Pythias (i.e. 346/5), when Iolaidas of Thebes won, and then leaving one (Pythias) out from this they put on a race for foal-with-rider (i.e. in 338/7), and in the 69th (i.e. that of 314/3) that for foal-pair-to-chariot. For the foal-with-rider Lykormas of Larisa was proclaimed, and for the foal-pair Ptolemaios of Macedon, for the Macedonians in Egypt enjoyed being called kings, as indeed they were. The crown for victory in the Pythian Games is of bay, for no other reason, it seems to me, but that legend had it that Apollo was in love with the daughter of Ladon (i.e. Daphne).

III. ALCAEUS, HYMN TO APOLLO

(Alcaeus F 142 West = F 307 Lobel–Page, 1(c) Diehl, 2–4 Bergk ap. Himerios, Or. xlviii. 10–11 Colonna. Translation (reproduced from Davies (1997*b*) 46) based on that of Page (1955) 244–5, but more literal.)

When Apollo was born, Zeus decked him out with a golden *mitra* and a lyre and gave him besides these a chariot to drive—swans pulled the chariot. He sent him to Delphi and the streams of Kastalia, to speak thence as a prophet of justice and due order to the Greeks. Apollo mounted the chariot, but set the swans to fly to the Hyperboreans. When the Delphians heard of this, they composed a paian and a song, instituted dances of youths around the tripod, and summoned the god to come from the Hyperboreans. Having delivered the law for a whole year among the men there, when he deemed it the right moment for the Delphian tripods to resound too, he ordered the swans to fly back from the Hyperboreans. Now it was summer, and indeed the very middle of the summer, when Alcaeus brought Apollo from the Hyperboreans. So, because summer was aglow and Apollo was in the land, the lyre flaunts a sort of summer dress in honour of the god. The nightingales sing him the sort of song you expect the birds to sing in Alcaeus, and swallows and cicadas sing too, not telling the tale of their own fate among humankind but uttering all their songs in relation to the god. Kastalia in the poem flows with streams of silver, and great Kephissos rises up, heaving with its waves, imitating the Enipeus of Homer: for Alcaeus, just like Homer, forces even the water to be able to perceive the presence of the gods.

The periodos

(Basic data most clearly set out in Beloch (1926) I^2 2, 139–48.)

Julian year 1	*Isthmia*, July or late June (Andrewes (1981) v. 23–4) rather than May/June (Beloch 146–7)
	Olympia, +/− Aug. (Eleian month Parthenios or Apollonios), in a year whose BC number is divisible by 4 (Beloch 139–43: Samuel (1972) 191–4)
Year 2	*Nemea*, Aug. (18 Panamos = Mak. Gorpiaios) (Beloch 145–6)
Year 3	*Isthmia*, July or late June
	Pythia, Aug./Sept. (Delphian month Boukatios = Ath. Metageitnion) (Beloch 143–5)
Year 4	*Nemea*, Aug.

This page intentionally left blank

THREE

Origins of the Olympics

Stephen Instone

This chapter is not called '*The* Origins of the Olympics'. That would have introduced an inappropriate suggestion of definiteness, since the very subject-matter of the formation of both the Olympic festival and athletics events within it does not allow certainty, straddling as it does the interface of history with myth. As Aristotle said at the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, 'It is a mark of the trained mind never to expect more precision in the treatment of any subject than the nature of that subject permits' (*NE* 1. 3). And the ancient Olympic Games are complex because they embraced not just physical endeavour but also several other aspects of Greek life, for example, religion and politics. In addition, they evolved, after the traditional foundation date of 776 BC increasing in size by adding many new events (and rejecting some others). So if one is looking for origins both of the Games themselves and of individual events, a multifactorial approach is useful. As Davies says of the Panhellenic Games in general, they conveniently combined a number of disparate ends on a convenient site.[1]

Approaches to ancient athletics have changed recently compared with the previous century and a half. In the past we had the all-embracing coverage of, for example, Krause's *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, Jüthner's *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen,* Gardiner's *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* and *Athletics of the Ancient World* and Harris's *Greek Athletes and Athletics* and *Sport in Greece and Rome*.[2] As the titles indicate, each author covered a full spectrum of Greek athletics. But the history of Greek sport is now regarded as part of Greek social history—an important advance. Thus Golden regards the rise of Greek sport as occasioned by an increasing need among the Greeks to mark boundaries between Greeks and non-Greeks, men and women,[3] while Scanlon emphasizes sexual causal factors, such as the influence of increasingly open homosexuality on athletic nudity, and athletic practice in his view reflecting (e.g. through age divisions) initiation practices.[4] But this newer, often interdisciplinary approach has to be handled with caution. The application to

[1] Davies (this volume) 48 ff.
[2] Krause (1841); Jüthner (1965–8); Gardiner (1910) and (1930); Harris (1964) and (1972).
[3] Golden (1998) 177. [4] Scanlon (2002) 64–97, 211–12.

Greek athletics of theories whose original application lay elsewhere can lead to questionable conclusions in this area of Greek studies as in any other. Sansone sees Greek sport as an activity analogous to sacrifice: the author's belief that the stade race at Olympia was originally run to the altar of Zeus shows that 'the athlete is the sacrificial victim'; though, when he turns attention to the victors' crowns, these are a vestige of hunters' camouflage suggesting that the athlete is in origin a successful hunter or sacrificer.[5] We see here an amalgam of ideas connected with sacrifice applied somewhat unhappily to Greek athletics. Young has shown how it can be a mistake to see ancient Greek sport as something substantially different from its modern counterpart, especially regarding rewards and the social status of athletes.[6] He drew attention to *IG* II^2 2311 (an inscription from the first half of the fourth century),[7] arguing that a winner in the men's stadion at the Panathenaea in the fourth century won a quantity of olive oil (perhaps 80 amphorae of it, say 6,000 UK pints if you allow 40 litres per amphora) equating in value to something like £25,000—or what the winner of the London Marathon might receive as first prize. Hence the title of his book, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*: top Greek athletes had the potential to be as mercenary, and in that respect professional, as top athletes nowadays. His main point, that Greek athletes were in an important way just like modern ones, itself a reaction against the de Coubertin myth that ancient Greek athletes were strictly amateurs, was taken to extremes in the article on athletics in the second edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, in which Howland, himself an international athlete, wrote 'It seems unlikely that the Greeks would ever have stripped completely naked for events involving running, though it was an artistic convention, even in early times . . . to portray athletes naked'.[8] Why Howland believed it 'unlikely that the Greeks competed naked for events involving running', he did not say, but, influenced more by a vision of ancient Greek athletics coloured by the modern revival of the Olympics than by the ancient evidence, he thought that modern athletic practice regarding clothing could throw light on this area of ancient Greek athletics. What emerges from this brief look at past scholarship is that ancient Greek athletic practice is nowadays interpreted within the larger framework of Greek life in general, not as an isolated phenomenon, but that it can be difficult to determine the aspects which are in essence distinctively Greek. This has a bearing on what follows, because in determining the origins of the Olympics and of the events in the Olympic programme, distinctively Greek causal factors such as Greek religion, Greek competitiveness, Greek sexual practice, have to be weighed against factors common to human nature in general, the human urge to run, to fight, to win, etc.

[5] Sansone (1988) 83, 85–7; cf. Hornblower (2004) 5.
[6] Young (1984) 115–33.
[7] For a discussion of the inscription, see Johnston (1987).
[8] Howland (1970).

The two main questions needing answers are: (1) What caused Olympia to turn from being solely a sanctuary of Zeus to being a venue for athletics competitions? (2) Why did the athletics competitions take the form they did? These two questions have in recent years, despite an increased interest in Greek athletics, been somewhat neglected.[9] Regarding the first question, a mere sanctuary of Zeus is what Olympia was in its pre-athletics days, as Morgan has reaffirmed, since terracotta figurines of Zeus found at the site make it clear that the cult of Zeus at Olympia was practised in the early tenth century.[10] After the inception of the games, worship of Zeus continued to take place alongside athletics competitions, but what prompted this new dimension to religious worship, worship with athletics? Regarding the second question, why the athletics competitions took the form they did, why for example in the first 17 Olympics were there according to tradition only running events (and these three in particular, the stadion, diaulos, and the dolichos)? Why no boxing or wrestling or chariot-racing despite their evident popularity (witness Homer), and why was a mule-cart race ever introduced at all (in 500 BC and lasting half a century before being thrown out of the Olympic programme)? What we are asking here is what factors shaped the development of the Olympic programme. We must not forget that from 776 to 728 there was probably the stadion race and nothing else, if the chronological tradition is to be trusted.

Let us consider the first question. The archaeological evidence suggests that prior to 776, Olympia was primarily a numinous meeting point for those among the inhabitants of the west Peloponnese wishing to make dedications to Zeus, an arena for the enactment of political concerns, perhaps, but not subject to a mother-state.[11] Davies, too, earlier in this volume, mentioned liberation from political control as a factor influencing the development of the other great festivals.[12] One way of harmonizing the religious and the physical aspects of Olympia is to suppose that, just as dedication of material goods served to articulate social status among the higher-standing visitors—one has to imagine them vying with one another to outdo each other in dedicatory expense—similarly, athletics competitions emerged as the means whereby each of the 'local chiefs' could assert superiority physically: 'The idea of an athletic festival would accord well with a picture of competition between local elites'.[13] The fact that Olympia was outside any polis would have made it particularly suitable for this sort of individual as opposed to group/polis activity. This is not to say that the area was devoid of local inhabitants; indeed, the shrine may have been founded

[9] For a view on the first question, placing the rise of Olympia within more general polis-development, see Pemberton (2002*b*).

[10] Morgan (1990) 26; cf. Cartledge (1985) 105; Kyrieleis (2002*b*) 213–20; Eder (2001*a*) 201–8.

[11] Morgan (1990) 191, 219. [12] Davies (this volume) 62. [13] Morgan (1990) 92.

precisely to serve a local population.[14] This is a hypothesis which attempts to fit the archaeology and the athletics into a larger social and political context.

It is tempting to try to fill in the early history of Olympia and the Olympic Games from stories in Strabo and Pausanias about the growth of Elis. According to Strabo, 'After the Trojan War the Aetolians, under the leadership of Oxylus . . . enlarged Elis and not only seized most of Pisatis but also got Olympia under their power. What is more, the Olympic Games are an invention of theirs' (8. 3. 30); according to Pausanias, it was Iphitus, a descendant of Oxylus, who 'arranged the games of Olympia and re-established afresh the Olympic festival and the Olympic truce all over again' (5. 4. 5). But the value of these accounts, and their relevance to eighth-century history, are questionable. Strabo's chronology is extremely vague; we should probably regard him as here explaining by reference to mythical origins the expansion of Elis and politicization of the area in the sixth century.[15] However, if one looks at the list of victors in Eusebius' *Chronica*, generally thought to derive in the first instance from Sextus Julius Africanus in the third century AD, the first few Olympics dated to post-776 were predominantly local events as all the victors listed are local: 3 out of the first 5 stadion-winners are from Elis (but after the Elean victor at the 5th Olympiad no Elean stadion victor again until the 52nd), and 7 out of the first 11 from neighbouring Messene; Spartan victors enter the list at the 15th Olympiad, and then between the 24th and 50th there are 17 Spartan stadion-victors. One way of construing this evidence is to suggest that interest in Olympia as an athletics venue widened geographically in the course of time after 776—even if one is tempted to discount the earliest Elean victor, Coroebus, as a fabrication invented later to justify Elean control of the Games. Given this picture, the Olympic truce may in origin have been a means of combating local political strife that might otherwise have prevented the games, rather than what it later became, namely a guarantee of safe conduct for the games throughout Greece.

But to what extent did the political dimension really influence the development of Olympia from sanctuary to games venue before that time (776)? One problem with the view that the introduction of games at a hitherto purely religious venue was a means for local chiefs to decide which of them was best, is that we know for certain nothing about the status of the early victors. The first recorded Olympic victor, Coroebus is said to have been a cook, though the evidence for this, a boastful cook in Athenaeus (9. 382c) makes it a matter of doubt. More importantly, if there was an Olympic Truce from 776 during the time of the

[14] For details of finds, both figurative and architectural, in Elis from the 11th cent. onwards, see Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon (1999), and Eder (2001*b*); for the Proto-Geometric graves from Elis, see Eder (2001*c*).

[15] For Strabo's 'historical' methods, see Clarke (1999) chs. 4–6 *passim*; for Pausanias', see Habicht (1985) 95–116; see also Morgan (2003) 75–6, 80.

games to allow them to continue without interference, is it plausible to suppose that they were used as a means to decide political supremacy?

Although it is especially difficult to separate religion from politics at this early period of Greek history, nevertheless religion rather than politics may have been the major factor giving rise to athletics at Olympia. A model for the development of Greek athletics, with the emphasis on religion as the primary causal factor, might go as follows. Running is a feature of Greek festivals even when not part of formal athletics competitions. The Karneia festival had grape-runners, staphylodromoi: a runner is deliberately caught, success in the 'hunt' indicating success for the polis thereafter according to Burkert;[16] at the Oschophoria in Athens, a festival held in honour of Athena Skiras, there is evidence to suggest that ephebes raced from the temple of Dionysus to Phaleron, and the winner drank a fivefold cup of oil, wine, barley, cheese and flour.[17] There is a connection between the gods and athletics: the general idea behind these examples is that success in competition shows that the god in whose honour the festival is held is there and responsive, in accordance with the fundamental Greek idea that success requires the help of a god. What this leads to is the idea that athletics was a natural extension, or even part, of religion, the participants at the festival validating the power of the gods through success in competition, in athletics competition in particular because the gods help in particular those physically successful.

This train of thought does not require that athletics contests, including the Olympics, developed from funeral games, the Burkert/Meuli hypothesis being that the 'prize contest proceeds from the grief and rage of those affected by the death'.[18] It is true that some games may have been prompted by a hero's death; it is obviously true of the funeral games for Patroclus in the *Iliad*, and for Amphidamas at which Hesiod won (*Op.* 654–7). And the *epitaphios agōn* ('funeral games') existed as much as the *epitaphios logos* ('funeral oration'): not surprisingly, for the games, with their basis in individual physical excellence, demonstrate the essence of what it was to be a hero, to excel physically. But the hypothesis that the death of a particular hero prompted each of the four major games works better for the Nemean Games than for the Isthmian, Pythian, or Olympic Games. Although the first shrine of Opheltes at Nemea dates to the sixth century when games started there,[19] there is no shrine of the Greek period to

[16] Burkert (1985) 234–6.

[17] See Rutherford and Irvine (1988) 43–51; Hornblower (2004) 252–4. Torch-races were common to many festivals, generally a race to the altar to light the flame there, with the first to touch the altar the winner, see *RE* XII s.v. *Λαμπαδηδρομία* (J. Jüthner); but they probably do not pre-date the 5th cent., see Parisinou (2000) 36–44, Morgan (this volume).

[18] Burkert (1985) 106.

[19] Morgan (1990) 216, 227, Miller (2002) 247.

Melikertes-Palaimon at Isthmia,[20] Python was a python, not a regular hero, and there is a stumbling-block with Pelops, because, although cultic finds in the Pelopeion go back to the tenth or eleventh centuries, the beginning of the Pelopeion as specifically a sanctuary to Pelops and hence of the hero-cult of Pelops dates much later, perhaps to the start of the seventh century.[21] This accords well with the date at which chariot-racing was introduced into the Olympic programme (680): Pelops, and the myth of his gaining the hand of Hippodameia by winning a chariot race, validate the Olympic event. In the course of time, as the chariot event came to be regarded as the supreme event, Pelops could be regarded as glorifying the whole Olympic programme, as he does in *Olympian* 1.[22] But as far as the Olympics are concerned, it is not clear that Pelops' death occasioned their first celebration, and certainly nothing Pindar says in *Olympian* 1, and he has a lot to say about Pelops in that poem, suggests so.

The *hypotheseis* ('introductions') to the scholia on Pindar have already been referred to by Davies in his chapter.[23] Coupled with the funeral games for Patroclus, they might appear to support the idea that the Olympics have their origins in funeral games for a dead hero.[24] But, first, the scholia to Pindar are notoriously unreliable on historical matters: hypoth. *P*. b and d give a different explanation for the origin of the Pythian Games (having nothing to do with Python's death), and the *hypothesis* to the *Olympians* themselves, and the scholia on the parts of *Olympian* 1 mentioning Pelops, say nothing about Pelops having a role in the origin of the Olympic Games; those scholia that do give a role to dead heroes in the establishment of the games owe more to Hellenistic scholars' search for *aitia* ('origins') than to eighth-century BC causal factors. Second, it is not clear why, for example, the *epitaphios agōn* for Patroclus should be thought to be a reflection of universal practice any more than the prizes given in those games, or the remarkably compassionate conduct of the master of ceremonies, Achilles, should be regarded as typical: contests could be linked to a variety of different types of event, not only funerals but also marriage, military victory, and gods *per se*,[25] even to nothing at all as evidenced by the games in Phaeacia (*Od*. 8. 97–255), and *Il*. 4. 370–400 where Agamemnon encourages Diomedes by recalling the courage of his father Tydeus when he challenged the Thebans to

[20] The elaboration of the cult of Melikertes/Palaimon there, as opposed to the myth about him alluded to in Pindar fr. 6, seems to be Roman; Morgan (1999*a*) 341–2, 427–8; for an earlier dating see Gebhard and Dickie (1999).

[21] Mallwitz (1988*a*) 79–89; cf. Kyrieleis (2002*b*) 219, though it is thought-provoking that the area eventually chosen for a shrine had a large EH lll tumulus still visible.

[22] 93–5 *τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν 'Ολυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος*.

[23] Davies (this volume) 47–8.

[24] See esp. *hypoth*. *I*. a, init.: *ἐτελοῦντο μὲν οἱ παλαιοὶ πάντες ἀγῶνες ἐπί τισι τετελευτηκόσιν. ἐτελεῖτο γὰρ ὁ μὲν 'Ολυμπικὸς τῷ Διὶ διὰ τὸν Πέλοπα*.

[25] Scanlon (2002) 26–9.

contests: once Tydeus went to Thebes and found a large party of Cadmeians at dinner in the palace of prince Eteocles. Now as a visitor, alone among a crowd of strangers, even the gallant Tydeus might have felt some qualms. 'But he challenged them to games and won every one easily' (ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα | ῥηιδίως). The only way in which these could be said to have been funeral games is in virtue of the fact that subsequently forty-two Thebans, annoyed that they had been beaten in the games, ambushed Tydeus—and he killed all of them (bar one)! Cartledge's conclusion must be right: 'The old theory which explained all athletic games as originating in burial rites for heroes, such as the funeral games held by Achilles for Patroclus in the *Iliad*, is now discredited'.[26]

Cartledge himself advocated religious origins of a different sort: 'The suggestion that running races and competitive games in general were conceived originally as contributing to maintain the energies of nature, following a regular cycle, is attractive'.[27] But there is little to support this hypothesis. How exactly is running supposed to have been thought to contribute to maintaining nature's energies? The thesis would be more convincing if there were something in Hesiod's *Works and Days* to support it. Hesiod advocates hard physical work, even the need to sweat to reach your goal (*Op.* 289–90), the benefits of vying against others (21–6), and the need to sow, plough, and harvest naked (391–2). Athletics is not far away from Hesiod's philosophy of agriculture, but it would be difficult to invent a persuasive causal chain beyond the supposition that fit men would tend to do better in an active outdoor competitive life of agriculture.

The conclusion has to be that many factors could have influenced the rise of Greek athletics at Olympia. But it is impossible to know which, if any, was the most important factor, though I suspect that religion was, or how much weight to give to each. This verdict may come as a disappointment, but is actually of some interest, reminding us of the extent to which both physical competitiveness and religion were integral to Greek life in general, and how athletics, therefore, was naturally open to a multitude of influences. The second of the two main questions that needed answering was why the athletics competitions took the form they did. I do not propose to discuss in detail every single Olympic event, but to comment on only a selected few.

I have suggested a reason why a running event in general may have come to form part of the Olympic festival, as a means of validating the power of Zeus, and have also pointed out that for the first thirteen Olympiads the only running event was the stadion. But why was the stadion race the length it was, 192 metres at

[26] Cartledge (1985) 106.
[27] Cartledge (1985) 107; cf. Morgan (1990) 43; Swaddling (1999) 12.

Olympia and a similar length elsewhere? A combination of the evidence of Philostratus (third century AD) and speculative reconstructions of the archaeological evidence have led some[28] to suppose that the stadion originated as a run specifically to the altar of Zeus: 'The single-stade dash competition was invented in this way. When the Eleans sacrificed, they placed offerings on the altar, but they did not light the fire. Runners took their place a stade from the altar and in front of the altar stood a priest with a torch, serving as a judge. The victor in the race set fire to the offerings and went away as an Olympic winner' (*Gym*. 5);[29] compare what Philostratus says about the supposed origins of the diaulos (a race to the end of the stadium and back): 'When the Eleans made their sacrifices, all the ambassadors for the Greeks who were present were required to offer sacrifice. So that their arrival should have some dignity, runners ran from the altar as if to invite the legation and then doubled back as if to announce that the Greeks should approach them' (*Gym*. 6). But the evidence of Philostratus has to be used with caution: we also read that 'The Spartans invented boxing and Polydeuces was the best at it' (*Gym*. 9), 'Wrestling and the pankration were introduced because of their application to war' (*Gym*. 11). And there is some doubt that the altar of Zeus was ever the end point.[30] If this Ur-stadion race was within the Altis and ended at or very near the altar of Zeus, it would probably have been less than 100 metres, compared to the 192 metres it came to be when the stadium that exists today was constructed; the topography of Olympia itself may have played a part in determining the 192-metre length, the south side of the hill of Kronos being very approximately 200 m in length.[31]

In anticipation of what comes below, another factor determining the length of the Olympic stadion race, even allowing for slight fluctuations in length during its early years, may have been a military one, the distance being roughly that which soldiers were used to in training for, after the initial hurl of the spear, running up to stab a fallen enemy. Although Coroebus may have been a cook, the military influence on the Olympics came to be substantial. This is most apparent with the introduction into the programme in 520 of the race in armour, but one can suggest also that the reason why, from the 14th Olympics in 724 there was the diaulos in addition to the stadion and then at the very next Olympics in 720 the dolichos (probably twelve laps) was added, was as a reflection of three basic stages of early Greek warfare, the stadion being, as mentioned, the purely athletic counterpart of the 'run up and stab', the diaulos (there and back) being the athletic counterpart of the military 'run up and stab and retreat as quickly as

[28] Burkert (1985) 106; Swaddling (1999) 29.

[29] For the stade as a unit of measurement, see Bauslaugh (1979) 5–6 with n. 22: in Thucydides, at least, the length varies from *c*.130 m to *c*.260 m, perhaps reflecting regional variations in the length of stadia.

[30] Golden (1998) 23.

[31] For an attempt to squeeze the earliest stadium into the Altis, see Brulotte (1994).

possible', and the dolichos (12 laps at Olympia) reflecting the long-distance rout. The *Iliad* provides some examples of military counterparts to the three races. For the stadion, *Il.* 13. 806–7: 'Time and again Hector dashed up and probed the enemy line at various points as he charged under cover of his shield'; for the diaulos, *Il.* 15. 567–91 where Antilochus is urged by Menelaus to sally out and bring a Trojan down, so throws his spear, brings down Melanippus, rushes at him, but then, confronted by him, withdraws: 'He leapt out from the front line, took a quick look round, and let fly with his glittering lance. The Trojans sprang back from his spear-cast. But noble Hector, who had seen what he had done, came running through the mêlée to confront him; and Antilochus, for all his gallantry, did not await his coming. He turned tail like a wild beast that has committed the enormity of killing a dog or a man in charge of the cattle, and takes to his heels before a crowd collects to chase him. Thus the son of Nestor fled, pursued by deafening cries and a hail of deadly missiles from the Trojans and Hector. But directly he reached his own company, he turned round and stood.' There, perhaps, we have a precursor of the diaulos. For the dolichos, *Il.* 5. 87–8: 'Diomedes stormed across the plain like a winter torrent'; or *Il.* 11. 158–69: as Agamemnon routs the Trojans, 'the routed Trojans were mown down by the onslaught of Agamemnon son of Atreus . . . Hector was withdrawn by the hand of Zeus and Atreides was left to sweep on . . . by noon the fleeing Trojans, in their eagerness to reach the city, were past the barrow made in olden days for Ilus son of Dardanus, past the wild fig-tree, and half-way over the plain. And still they were chased by Atreides with his terrible war cry', long-distance running par excellence. So in Homer there are signs of the three distances that came to form the Olympic programme, even if there remains the possibility that pre-existing athletics practice itself shaped the nature of Homeric fighting.

An argument for trying to discern military origins for these three running events is that for other events (javelin, race in armour) military origins are self-evident. Throwing the discus, too, has military origins. The event is a descendant of stone-throwing which was a games event in its own right, though not at the Olympics, and was a recognized form of military combat (*Il.* 4. 517–26, Diores is hit by a jagged stone on the right leg near the ankle). In the funeral games for Patroclus one competition is 'throwing the solos', a weight of raw metal, an object intermediate between a jagged stone and an aerodynamic discus (*Il.* 23. 826–49); and when the discus-throw evolved, the weight of surviving ancient discuses suggests that it was a strength-event in keeping with its origins in stone-throwing.[32]

[32] For weights of some surviving discuses, see Gardiner (1930) 154–6. Pindar's version of the first Olympics has Nikeus win by throwing a stone or rock further than anyone else (*O.* 10. 72).

It is hard to know to what extent one should posit military origins for other events. Chariots in warfare, therefore chariot races? The four-horse chariot race at Olympia was approximately nine miles long. To judge from Pindar, the event was designed to be as arduous and dangerous as possible; in one poem we are told that the victor was the lone survivor of forty chariots that started (*Pythian* 5. 49–53). The 'no pain, no gain' ethos was clearly a factor moulding the nature of the event, but perhaps also the idea that if you cannot in the games use your chariot to defeat a real enemy, do the next best thing, annihilate as many as possible of the opposition qua opposing competitors; thus the chariot race in the games is a peacetime version of war, 'pretend war'. One can compare, for example, the end of *Iliad* 20, Achilles on the rampage in his chariot, and the messenger's speech from Sophocles' *Electra*, describing the death of Orestes in an imaginary but realistic account of the Pythian Games: 'at their imperious master's will the horses of Achilles with their massive hooves trampled dead men and shields alike with no more ado than when a farmer has yoked a pair of broad-fronted cattle to trample the white barley on a threshing-floor and his lowing bulls tread out the grain. The axle under his chariot, and the rails that ran round it, were sprayed by the blood thrown up by the horses' hooves and by the wheel-rims. And the son of Peleus pressed on in search of glory, bespattering his unconquerable hands with gore' (*Il.* 20. 495–503). 'At the last lap he misjudged the turn, slackened the left rein before the horse was safely round the bend, and so fouled the post. The hub was smashed across, and he was hurled over the rail entangled in the severed reins, and as he fell his horses ran wild across the course . . . the people saw him pinned to the ground, now rolled head over heels, till at last the other drivers got his runaway horses under control and extricated the poor mangled body, so bruised and bloody that not one of his friends could have recognized him' (*Electra* 743–56).[33]

Pindar is aware of the analogies between the games and war: both are contests ἀρετᾶς πέρι, 'in pursuit of excellence' (*O* 3. 37), so the victorious athlete and the victorious fighter are similarly glorious (e.g. *I.* 1. 50 ὅς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἀβρόν, 'whoever in the games or when at war wins splendid glory'). Aegina, like Sparta, was famous for athletes and war (*P.* 8. 25–7) and several of Pindar's Sicilian patrons were both generals and games competitors. But while there is clearly an interaction of ethos between athletics and the military, it is hard to be certain about what causal mechanism was at work. Perhaps one should admit the likelihood of more than one: the relationship between athletics and war need not have been all one way, warfare shaping athletics; athletics could be a training-ground for war, as Nicias argues in the *Laches*: 'we [soldiers] are athletes taking part in a contest, and the only people

[33] Cf. van Bremen, this volume, p. 336.

who get training for the conditions under which we have to compete are those who are trained in the use of military equipment. So later on this discipline [*hoplomachia*, 'fighting in armour'] will be of some benefit in an actual confrontation' (182a).[34] Equally, experience in war could have been, and doubtless was so for the Spartans, a training-ground for the athlete.[35] Yet there are fundamental differences: one did not generally compete to the death in athletics, or at least one did not aim to, and in athletics the primary victor was the individual not the state. It is tempting to admit psychological causal factors too, athletics as a relatively safe outlet for the aggression and rivalry otherwise seen on the battlefield, functioning rather as Aristotle saw Greek tragedy as working on the emotional front. But to see the military side of the ancient Olympics as dominant rather than an aspect can lead to overstatements as Cartledge's suggestion, paraphrasing Clausewitz that, 'The ancient Olympics were the continuation of war with or by other, political means'.[36]

Pindar in *Olympian* 10 (24–85) gives an account of the first Olympics and their origins that has both a military and a religious flavour. Heracles founded them, having gathered together all his army (43–4) after his victory over the Moliones and Augeas, king of Elis, who had refused to pay him for cleaning his stables. They were held in honour of Zeus, to whom he dedicated the best of his victory spoils. The winner of the first stadion, Oionus, is made analogous to Heracles, because he too had come from the Argolid leading his army; Doryclus, winner of the boxing, like Heracles had come from Tiryns; and Niceus, who won the stone-throwing event was applauded by his fighting companions (*συμμαχία* 72). Some have seen an anti-Elean bias in the way Pindar says that Oionus and Doryclus came from the Argolid, and Niceus and Samus (winner of the chariot race) from cities in Arkadia;[37] more likely, he is simply adopting his regular strategy of imbuing the victors with characteristics taken from the mythical figures (here Heracles). The military slant to the presentation of these first victors is also relevant to the recipient of *Olympian* 10 himself: Hagesidamus came from Epizephyrian Lokri in southern Italy, a city famed for its military prowess (*O.* 10. 14–15; 11. 19).

Perhaps the most problematic single event, one which has no obvious military connections, is the long-jump, part of the pentathlon, where *haltēres*, jumping-weights, were used, weighing on average between two and four pounds each. What was the point of these and how were they used? Gardiner claimed, 'The jump in the pentathlon was, it seems, a running long-jump with weights'; Harris thought a running jump was done but that it was a double jump, Swaddling that it

[34] A famous example of a great athlete becoming a great fighter in war is the pankratiast Poulydamas, an Olympic victor who challenged and killed three of the Immortals, the special guard of the Persian kings, in the time of Darius II, 424–404 BC (Paus. 6. 5. 7).

[35] On the interaction between war and athletics, see Hornblower (2004) 50–1.

[36] Cartledge (1985) 113.

[37] Cf. Huxley (1975) 38–40; Hornblower (2004) 113–14.

was a double or triple jump, Ebert that it was a quintuple standing jump, taking their cue from Themistius' comment (on Aristotle, *Physics* 5. 3) that the Greek long-jump is an example of discontinuous motion. A multiple jump would perhaps get us near Phayllus' famed leap of 50 ft. (or 55 ft. according to some sources).[38]

But the problem is that, although either a standing jump or running jump(s) *can* be done holding weights, it is not clear that weights do in fact facilitate such jumps, despite what has been written on the subject.[39] Harris even went so far as to say that weights can help a high-jumper.[40] I myself wonder whether weights were used for a different purpose, to make the event more arduous. This would be in keeping with the ethos of other events in the ancient Olympics which seem to have deliberately been made as hard as possible—for example, running while wearing armour, driving a chariot nine miles, the pankration—and perhaps explains a curious feature of the Olympic programme, the absence of the high jump, it being regarded as too much a matter of skill and too little a matter of physical strength. It is also possible that the use in this way of weights for jumping could have derived from military training: weights were used in order to make the jump harder to perform, because that traditionally was how soldiers had trained to get fitter.[41]

Another odd event was the mule-cart race. But it lasted only 14 Olympiads (500–448 BC), though long enough to prompt Pindar to compose *O.* 6 and (if authentic) *O.* 5 for victors in the event. The event was probably instituted at the instigation of the Sicilian tyrants, Sicily being famous for its mules, as an easy way to boost the country's prestige; it stopped being part of the Olympic programme soon after the end of the Sicilian tyranny.

Despite such novelties, and subsequently competitions for heralds and trumpeters were introduced (396 BC), the programme of events remained traditional and focused on athletics, in contrast to the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games, with their musical and other competitions. But the factors that moulded the nature of the Olympics, religious, political, military, social, moral, were remarkably many, because athletics in the sense of physical competitiveness permeated so many aspects of Greek life. No single causal factor fully explains either why the Olympics originated in the first place, or why the programme developed in the way it did; both their birth and their development were like the birth and development of life itself on earth, explicable but not fully knowable.[42]

[38] Gardiner (1930) 144; Harris (1964) 80–5; Swaddling (1999) 71; Ebert (1963) 62.

[39] Aristotle, *On the Progression of Animals* 705[a]16–17, *οἱ πένταθλοι ἅλλονται πλεῖον ἔχοντες τοὺς ἁλτῆρας ἢ μὴ ἔχοντες*. More recently, Minetti and Ardigó (2002) 141–2.

[40] Harris (1964) 81.

[41] I owe this suggestion to Professor Herwig Maehler.

[42] I am greatly indebted to Professors Catherine Morgan and Simon Hornblower for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

FOUR

Pindar, Athletes, and the Early Greek Statue Habit

R. R. R. Smith

My subject is victor statues at Olympia and elsewhere in the fifth century BC, seen as an early and important part of the statue habit in antiquity. They are a good example of how statues marked special priorities, both by their numbers and by their visual styling. Naked victor statues were to the fifth century what honorific statues wearing the citizen suit of himation and chiton were to the Hellenistic period—defining components of their times. Pindar stands behind the victor statues as a key text for the whole phenomenon.[1]

Athletic contest was special for Pindar's generation. Victory was felt to be exquisitely sweet, and was savoured in extravagant poems and publicly memorialized in astonishing statues. Victory was personal, individual, and intensely desirable because so many wanted what so few could have. The charisma of success (*kleos*) could be achieved in this realm, it was argued by Pindar and his customers, only by an unusual combination of money, training, inborn excellence (good birth), divine favour, and a special kind of swaggering self-assertion. This was a combination of attributes that of course only the very best of men could aspire to.

My purpose is to try to describe some aspects of this time-specific phenomenon through its statues and how the last generation of Archaic privilege rode the back of the contemporary revolution in statue-making. After a few words on the statue habit and this revolution (Sections 1–2), we will look at Olympia and its victor statues and what we can say of their appearance and their makers (3–5). Finally, I focus on monuments for chariot victories, the grandest of athletic dedications, and on two surviving examples—the charioteer statues from Delphi and Motya (6). Pindar is the best way into the thought-world of fifth-century victor statues, all the more so because his poems say so little explicitly about them. The statues were, however, a forceful and unavoidable part of his environment.

[1] This paper was written for two seminar series of autumn 2002, the one in London out of which this volume has come, organized by the two editors, and another in Oxford organized by John Ma and the author on 'The Statue Habit in Ancient Greek Society'. I am grateful to the participants of both seminars for their constructive comments. I offer warm thanks also to François Queyrel and Marcello Barbanera for help in acquiring photographs.

I. THE STATUE HABIT

Statues were everywhere in the ancient world and represent a huge investment in useless public symbols. This habit is a strange phenomenon and was a distinctive feature of Greek and Roman culture. It had a definite beginning, around 600 BC, and a definite end, around AD 600. The statues' unchanging features can be easily summarized. They were big lumps of bronze or painted marble, fashioned in human form, wearing real-looking clothes and hairstyles, standing in life-like postures (Figs. 1, 2).[2] They were set up on separate inscribed bases that gave their identity and specified the role and occasion they marked. A statue without its inscribed base became a piece of anonymous art. With its inscription, it was a functioning image in a particular setting. No other culture before or since has deployed so many large, public, three-dimensional figures of stone and metal—not even ancient Egypt.[3] As a total phenomenon it certainly bears little resemblance to sculpture in the modern era.

The statues were potent markers of various interests. They had no practical function and were made for the most part of materials of low intrinsic worth but worked with detailed elaboration that carried high added value. They were both expensively worked totems and highly articulate figured images. Greek statues, free-standing in real postures in the open, thus attempted a thoroughgoing coincidence of subject and object, of the image and its support. Greek statue use arose from and served a display culture closely orientated around the persons and bodies of the 'best' men and of the gods and heroes who had the same human form and character. In classical statues, support and image, object and subject, signifier and signified, were collapsed before the viewer. The full extent of this identification is evident in the way ancient writers talk of statues as people: 'Near Kleogenes are Deinolochos, son of Pyrrhos, and Troilos son of Alkinoos', writes Pausanias of a group of fourth-century victor monuments at Olympia (6. 1. 4).

The statue habit made a big impact on ancient consciousness and generated a large and diverse literature. There was a whole catgeory of epigram devoted to statues, called *andriantopoiika*.[4] There were statue histories written from the point of view of the craft and lives of the statue-makers (Xenokrates, Antigonos, Duris). And descriptive works were written from the point of view of the function and subjects of the statues (Heliodoros, Pausanias).[5] In Pliny the Elder's universal natural history, nearly two books out of forty are taken up with statues

[2] Aristodikos: Karouzos (1961). Riace: Borrelli and Pelagatti (1984).

[3] There were crucial differences in Egyptian statue practice. Egyptian stone statues were usually attached to a back pillar, and functioned like a high relief, carrying in their form and support a prominent aspect of being an object and a monument. They were also much fewer in absolute numbers, and more often hidden inside temple complexes out of view of the laity.

[4] This is a heading given in the new Posidippos papyrus: Austin and Bastianini (2002) 21.

[5] Excellent introduction to this ancient statue literature still in Jex-Blake and Sellers (1896) xiii–lxxxii; briefer, Pollitt (1974) 73–81.



FIG. 1. Grave kouros of Aristodikos. Youthful naked statue with late Archaic hairstyle and inscribed base. '(sc. *sēma*) of Aristodikos'. Parian marble, H: 1.95 m. From near Mount Olympos in SE Attica, *c.* 500–480 BC. Athens, NM 3938

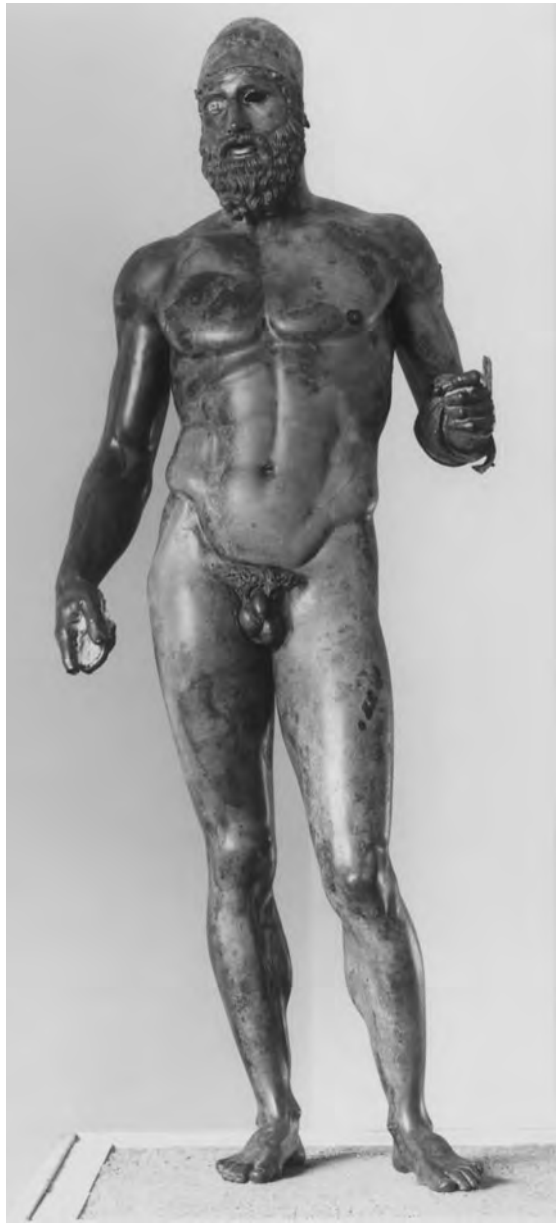


FIG. 2. Riace B. Naked bearded warior, with helmet, spear, and shield (now missing). Bronze statue, H: 1.97 m. From sea off Riace Marina (S. Italy), *c.* 460–50 BC. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale

as exemplars of stones and metals (*NH* 34 and 36). Their part in his encyclopedia is revealing of the large mental space that statues occupied in the ancient imagination.

Numbers, contexts, colour

It is both their character as real-looking figures in the round, standing in the same space as the viewer, and their huge quantities that make the phenomenon so significant, so peculiar. Extant numbers alone are large: there survive, for example, over 200 marble kouroi from the sixth century BC and over 15,000 marble portraits from the first and second centuries AD.[6] And a considerable proportion of the surviving epigraphy of the later Greek and Roman periods consists of inscribed statue bases. Guesses at real totals produced[7] mean less than densities we can grasp at one site or in one locale. For example, on Delos, the dromos that leads from the harbour to the sanctuary of Apollo had about ninety statue monuments (third–second centuries BC) set up in front of the flanking stoas; and the forum of Djemila in Tunisia (ancient Cuicul) displayed about seventy statue monuments (second–fourth centuries AD).[8] The norm was for slow dense accretions of statues in highly significant locations.

Each statue had a specific function and setting—in a sanctuary, cemetery, or public space. Each stood at the centre of a set of relationships and negotiations between (1) the person or collective initiating and paying for the statue, (2) the god, hero, or notable person represented, (3) the statue-maker and his workshop, and (4) the section of public aimed at in that setting. We can reduce these participants to their modern equivalents—patron, subject, artist, viewer—but we miss something of the ancient historical situation in doing so and can easily misconstrue the character, balance, and nature of the negotiations involved. In antiquity the initiator(s) and subject of a statue were primary: the initiator-buyer had to be identified clearly in an accompanying inscription, and the subject could also be named and/or might be identified by the statue's iconography. Adding the maker's name was always optional. The presentation or styling of the figure was shaped by the interests of the initiating buyer and his public, who were informed both by earlier images and by the real and expected appearance of the subject. The maker's *technē*, his art, was not a goal in itself but rather the means to achieve what patron, subject, and public wanted—a collective vision of excellence.

The colouring and real-looking character of ancient statues needs emphasis. For us, ancient marbles bleached white without eyes and hair colour are easily put

[6] Kouroi: Richter (1970), but without much of the fragmentary material, for example from the Ptoion sanctuary. Roman portraits: Fittschen (1996) 751 for informed recent estimate of 15,000–20,000 for the imperial period.

[7] For example, Snodgrass (1983) 21–2 estimates 20,000 for total Archaic kouros production. For Augustus alone, Pfanner (1989) 178 estimates an empire-wide total of 25,000–50,000 portraits produced.

[8] Delos dromos: Bruneau and Ducat (1983) 117–18, fig. 17. Djemila forum: Zimmer (1989) 17–37, fig. 5. See also contextual material gathered in Stemmer (1995) and Boschung (2002).

into the category 'art/sculpture'. With their original colour (painted clothes, eyes, and hair for marbles, polished flesh, inlaid eyes, copper lips for bronzes) they were intended as real functioning presences or substitutes.[9] A primary ancient response to statues was as real persons: they can speak, sweat, move, be tied up, flogged, prosecuted, and executed.[10] For an ancient viewer, white marble statues without painted eyes would be blind. The statues are of course also highly structured and artful compositions, but these aspects, so prominent in our eyes, would be strongly undercut by realistic colouring.

The statues embodied a creative tension between representation of real-life forms and powerful ideological styling that cannot be reduced always to terms of artistic artifice. The statues were so deeply involved as active players in ancient society that we might also see the different kinds of styled human figure as the way those real subjects were actually visualized by ancient society. Changing styles in this perspective represent changing ancient perceptions. They are markers of real historical-mental shifts.[11]

Victor statues, 500 BC–AD 300

Athletic competitions and festivals remained a central feature of Greek city life well into the fourth century AD,[12] and statues of victorious athletes were a regular part of the statue habit up to at least AD 300.[13] For example, out of *c.*250 bases for public statue honours set up at Aphrodisias in Caria in the Roman period, *c.*25 were for athletic victors;[14] few in overall proportion, but still a substantial presence. The statues were set off from those of city notables in the phrasing and conventions of the texts on their bases, and they were also immediately recognizable as athletes, not merely in terms of athletic postures and attributes but in terms of their personal styling, physiognomy, and body definition.[15] This was true of later Hellenistic and Roman representations of athletes more generally, from the Terme Boxer to the mosaics from the Baths of Caracalla.[16]

We see and feel in this difference how in the Hellenistic and Roman period competitive athletics became a separate sphere of life governed by its own rules and associations, somewhat apart from that of city leaders and society's notables.

[9] Polychromy: Reuterswärd (1958); Manzelli (1994); Brinkmann (1987); Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann (2002).

[10] Much material in: Poulsen (1945); Faraone (1992); S.P. Morris (1992) ch. 8, 'Magic and sculpture'; Steiner (2001) ch. 3, 'The Quick and the Dead'.

[11] Similar thoughts more fully elaborated in Smith (2002).

[12] Important study with long view: Pleket (1974). See now König (2005).

[13] Last at Olympia in the mid-3rd cent.: *IvO* 243, with Herrmann (1988) 120. Newby (2005) is a new wide-ranging study.

[14] Texts in Roueché (1993).

[15] Two boxer statues: Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1979) nos. 190–1, pls. 143–4.

[16] Terme Boxer: Smith (1991) 54, fig. 62. Mosaics from Baths of Caracalla: Dunbabin (1999) 68, fig. 71, with further refs. See also the remarkable athletic mosaic from a bath building at Batten Zamour near Gafsa, Tunisia: Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaifer, Slim, and Slim (1996) 190–6, figs. 137–42.

This is useful background to understanding the different role played by athletes and their statues in the early period with which we are here principally concerned.

In the sixth and early fifth centuries BC, the wealthy, the aristocratic, and the class that competed for political leadership also prized athletic contests as one of their defining activities. Athletic victories were among the highest symbols of prestige. The victor's charisma imbued other areas of activity—something peculiar to this early period. The use of statues (and praise song) to give this concrete expression came late, in the late sixth and early fifth century, a period that also saw major shifts in the statue habit. The early victor statues need to be located within the context of these far-reaching changes. Athletic victors in search of the highest symbolic expression of their achievement were as a group both a beneficiary and a catalyst of these changes. New modes of representation made the athletic statue fully possible—statues that represented at the same time personal excellence and an athletic body. The victors' commissions acted as multipliers in the process.

2. SĒMA TO EIKŌN: THE FIFTH-CENTURY REVOLUTION IN STATUE-MAKING

The radical changes in statues in the early fifth century were part of a wide and deep-seated revolution in Greek visual experience and history. The phenomenon has a lot of different aspects, a lot of different opinions around it, and no convincing total theory that will fully explain it.[17] I outline in brief a few necessary basic points with some of my own thoughts and opinions.

Important changes occurred in discrete spheres—in the externals of real life (clothes, hairstyles, beard styles), in the way human figures were seen and represented in images (style, modes of representation), in the technologies and materials of statue-making, and in the functions and contexts of statue display. Some of these changes were connected, but not in obvious or causal ways, and each affected athletic statues in different ways.

Real-life changes

The real-life changes were dramatic and amounted to a revolution of social mores and Hellenic identity. On statues of women, the elaborate hairstyles, ostentatious jewellery, and brightly patterned and revealing twin-set suits of the later sixth century korai were replaced abruptly by plain austere hairstyles, little or no jewellery, and thick sack-like woollen dresses that concealed everything.[18] Statues

[17] Compare, for example—all with good things and differing perspectives: Gombrich (1960) ch. 4; Pollitt (1972) ch. 2; Robertson (1975) 171–97; Boulter (1985); Hallett (1986); S. P. Morris (1992) ch. 11; Hölscher (1998).

[18] Korai: Richter (1968); Schneider (1975). 'Peplos' statues: Tölle-Kastenbein (1980) and (1986).

of men stop wearing the thin chiton under the himation (the chiton was now considered effeminate), and stop styling their hair and instead cut it short: no more thin silky shirts, no more tightly crimped and long-flowing Homeric locks.[19] There were to be no more chitons worn on public statues of men until the later fourth century, and no more artificial male hairstyling until the later first century AD, and then first at Rome, under Nero and Hadrian.[20] If these changes, that stand out so prominently in the statues, did not also represent real-life changes in the personal styling of Greek men and women of the fifth century, then the expenditure on statues was wasted.

Style and theory: visual truth

The statues were also made with a changed mode of representation. They were meant to be real-looking in shape, posture, and proportions. Technically, the change was slight but in conceptual terms it was vast and came with an explicit theory whose terms we know in outline. Its key terms were as follows. *Rhythmos* referred to shape, composition, and postures. *Symmetria*, 'commensurability', referred to consistent overall proportions. And *alētheia*, 'truth', was observed reality, lifelikeness.[21] The new athletic statues were showpieces of the theory.

Statues made in accordance with the new ideas stand in real contingent postures, rather than the abstract symbolic postures of the kouros. They occupy a continuous space with the viewer, and ostensibly they obey the same rules of time, place, and motion as the viewer's. *Rhythmos* referred to this sense of immanent potential movement, to the quality of a lifelike posture whether static or action. Not only do the figures have lifelike individual body parts as kouroi did, they are now composed with a consistent overall proportionality or *symmetria* 'of all the parts to all the (other) parts'.[22] This proportionality or commensurability was based on accurate observation and precise measurement (*akribeia*, meaning accuracy and precision, was also a key term) as opposed to the arbitrary ideological manipulations seen in kouros proportions (huge thighs and shoulders, small arms, tiny wrists and ankles). The modern word 'symmetry' describes the governing principle of kouroi well, but in fifth-century visual theory *symmetria* was precisely what kouroi so conspicuously

[19] Late Archaic male statue wearing chiton, for example: Payne and Young (1936) pl. 102. Hair: Steininger (1912) 2119, and below, n. 83. Geddes (1987) presents well the literary and historical evidence for these vestimentary and social changes.

[20] Hairstyling at Rome, AD 50–100: Cain (1993) 58–77, 80–100.

[21] Essential: Pollitt (1974) 14–23, with texts quoted and analysed s.vv. *alētheia-veritas, rhythmos, symmetria*.

[22] Overbeck (1868) 959 (Chrysippos, ap. Galen); Pollitt (1974) 14–15; Stewart (1990) 265, T 69.

lacked—the relationship of each part to the whole. From this perspective, kouroi were pre-theoretical figures, wilful symbolic constructions.

The touchstone of the whole theory was *alētheia*, which in this context was not some grand metaphysical notion but the more concrete idea of truth to observed reality, lifelikeness, visual truth. It refers both to reality itself and its true or faithful representation.[23] Statues produced in accordance with these ideas will have *kallos* (fine and handsome appearance, the best appearance, beauty).[24] If *alētheia* and *kallos* are translated as though they were philosophical absolutes, truth and beauty, then of course an entirely different kind of interpretation can be pursued.

The idea that images should try to look like what they represent, that they should have a verifiable relationship to their subjects—rather than the open-ended manipulated symbolic relation of Archaic art—was of course deeply radical. Too radical, some felt. Contemporary reaction may be alluded to briefly in conservative praise song: 'Not every precise truth is better for showing its face', wrote Pindar (*N*. 5. 16–17). The metaphor is visual, and picks up two of the key ideas or terms—accuracy and truth—from contemporary visual theory. The statues may not look very real to us (we are more impressed by their coded stuctures) but that is our failure of historical imagination. This visual system was not merely the result of artistic artifice, it was the way the early fifth century saw the best real bodies. In the gap between the aim, lifelikeness, and the result, architectural bodies, lies contemporary social ideology, what was historically specific to the time. In this period, the gap was wide.

The interpretation of this remarkable shift in ways of seeing and representing has all kinds of interesting historical ramifications that need here to be left to one side. The new visual mode and the changed clothes and hairstyles were driven partly by the Persian Wars experience and the consequent re-evaluation of what a Hellene was—different and better. The new mode was recognizably distinct and Hellenic in the way the Archaic manner had not been. Archaic Greek art had been essentially a fractious subspecies of the larger family of Near Eastern visual languages. As a contemporary writer put it: 'One could point to many other instances where the manners of the ancient Hellenic world are very similar to the manners of the *barbaroi* (easterners) today' (Thuc. 1. 6. 6). Art and visual representation was one of those instances. The fifth century invented a style that represented at its beginning an exclusive Greek identity. And if *alētheia* was

[23] Pollitt (1974) s.v. *alētheia-veritas* has the main texts, with good analysis of the main possible meanings, but I do not understand the textual basis for a fourth meaning of *alētheia* (D: the one it is argued Greek sculptors had in mind) as 'a theoretical criterion of excellence' (138), 'a conceptual reality in which sense experience is controlled by intellectual principles' (23). On *alētheia* from a different perspective: Gentili (1988) 144–5.

[24] *Kallos* as goal: Chrysippos, ap. Galen, above, n. 22.

an agreed benchmark, then the new statues as well as being different were also obviously better. Once articulated and realized, few Greeks would oppose it. Who could be against truth and Hellenic identity?

The change was relatively sudden, though some people and places held out against it, especially those with nothing invested in its Panhellenic claims—for example, Etruscans, Lycians, Cypriots, Persians.[25] It is astonishing how easy it is to recognize the products of these decades, *c.*490–450, how time-specific they are. In this period the brash new style informed statues of gods, heroes, and men and women alike. The style itself was the message. It signified and defined a new conception of Hellenic identity, of what was felt to be Hellenic superiority.

The essential lifelike quality that informs all later Greek and Roman statues was consciously felt in this early period as something new and different. Two examples will suffice. First is the fragment of a satyr play, the *Theoroi* or *Isthmiastai* by Aeschylus, that is by now well known in this context.[26] A chorus of satyrs wonders aloud at the lifelike quality of their own portraits that they are taking for dedication to the Temple of Poseidon at the Isthmus. The text is permeated by a 'shock of the new' experienced by the satyrs.

Second, at a more basic and generalized level, there was a striking shift in statue vocabulary that has been less well noted. One of the most common words for 'statue' in use in the sixth century was *sēma*, a 'marker', 'sign', or 'symbol', which subsequently goes quickly out of use.[27] It was a word that privileged function over representation. From the fifth century we find regular use of the word *eikōn*, 'likeness', for statues, which denotes only the character of the representation.[28] *Eikōn* was of course also used widely to refer to other kinds of representation (such as paintings and, later, busts), but it is remarkable that it remained one of the regular words for 'statue'—still, for example, in Pausanias. The shift from *sēma* to *eikōn*, from 'sign' to 'likeness', captures much of the essence of the revolution in statues in the early fifth century.

Technology

Separately, there was also a major shift in materials for prestige dedications, from marble to bronze, and a revolution in the technology of life-size bronze manufacture. Large-scale bronze statuary had been available from the mid-sixth century but had remained lumpy and thick-walled. Thin-walled bronzes were perfected with great speed in the generation after *c.*500. They were big, real-looking figures, with bright polished tan surfaces, that imitate skin, tendons,

[25] Boardman (1994) chs. 2 and 7 has a good overview of some of the material, though from a different perspective.

[26] Text: Smyth and Lloyd-Jones (1963) 541–56 (fr. 78a 6–21 Radt); well discussed for example by Sörbom (1966) 41–53; Hallett (1986) 75–8; S. P. Morris (1992) 217–21; Stieber (1994); Steiner (2001) 45–50.

[27] Full discussion of Archaic use of *sēma:* Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 108–47.

[28] LSJ s.v. *eikōn*.

veins, muscles, inlaid with realist colour for eyes, lips, teeth, nipples, and fine cold-worked engraving for eyebrows, beards, hair, toenails, fingernails (Fig. 2).[29] Bronze technology was not the cause of the revolution, but it responded quickly to the impetus of the new idea, to the new way of seeing.

The gleaming tanned figures were leaded straight onto the top of stone pedestals to look like real figures standing on platforms. Statue bases and real-life platforms looked much like each other.[30] The combination of the hard-hitting lifelike body styling and the sheer technical brilliance of the new big bronzes gave these figures an extraordinary impact. We see this now in the power and bold effect of the two Riace bronzes, our first top-level bronze statues of the first revolutionary generation (Fig. 2).[31]

We also feel the presence and power of the new statues as a public medium in some famous and clearly hostile remarks of Pindar (*N*. 5. 1 and *I*. 2. 46): he is not a statue-maker, because, unlike his songs, statues cannot move around and cannot reach a widespread audience. In what later became a well-worn literary idea, Pindar claimed too that praise poems were eternal in a way by implication that monuments were not (*P*. 6. 10, the poem is an indestructible 'treasure house of hymns'; *P*. 3. 114, verses constructed by wise craftsmen, *tektones sophoi*, endure—whereas unstated those of non-*sophos* craftsmen do not). A statue-maker might have said, unlike songs, statues were on permanent display where it mattered and to a much larger audience, and in fact lasted as well as poems. Praise poets like Pindar clearly felt the competition. Statue-making even appears suddenly at this time as a subject for interested discussion on symposion pottery—among others, for example, on the well-known 'foundry' cup in Berlin (Fig. 3).[32] The new statues had a big contemporary resonance.

Function

The Berlin cup (Fig. 3) shows a large statue of a striding warrior-hero—a votive *agalma*—and a smaller statue representing a pentathlete (jumper or discus-thrower). It picks the two leading categories of contemporary bronze statuary: big votives and victors' statues. They represented new trends in the statue habit, and were part of

[29] On bronze statue technology: Bol (1978); Mattusch (1988); Zimmer (1990); Haynes (1992).

[30] Good illustrations of this in Shapiro (1992).

[31] Borrelli and Pelagatti (1984); most forceful photos now in Moreno (1998).

[32] Foundry cup: Neils (2000); Neer (2002) 77–85, a stimulating recent account, but I see here less 'pervasive facetiousness about the craft of making images' than intense fascination (of painter, buyer, and user) with the new big action bronzes. Sculpting and statue-making on other pots: Beck, Bol, Bückling (1990) 515–17, nos. 15–17. Useful collection of representations of statues on pots: De Cesare (1997). On Pindar and statue-makers, see now the thoughtful contribution of O'Sullivan (2005), on *O*. 7. 50–3, concerning the statue-makers of Rhodes: their statues look as though they live and move but they are ultimately deceptive. O'Sullivan translates the crucial lines as follows: 'Then the grey-eyed goddess herself gave them every kind of skill to surpass mortals with their superlative handicraft. Their streets bore works of art in the likeness of beings that lived and moved; and high was their fame. But to one who knows (OR: in the hands of one skilled) undeceptive art is even greater (OR: art that is even greater is undeceptive).'



FIG. 3. Foundry cup: mortal and divine workshops. Exterior has scenes from bronze foundry. Above, note headless statue of athletic victor under construction at right, in action pose (probably of diskobolos rather than jumper). Below, two clients, or client and master sculptor, both wearing citizen costume, in workshop admiring nearly completed warrior bronze being scraped off after casting. Interior. Thetis, divine customer, visits Hephaistos, divine craftsman, in his workshop. Athenian red-figured cup, W: 30.5 cm. From Vulci *c.*500–480 BC. Berlin, Staatlichemuseen 2294

wider changes at this time in the functions, settings, and dedication of statues. These were by no means exclusive changes but there were marked trends.

At Athens, for example, the late Archaic period had seen huge investments in big aristocratic marble statues on clan graves and in many smaller middle-level marble dedications on the acropolis by eager new money.[33] The acropolis sanctuary in the late sixth century was a forest of small marble korai on pillars, each a personal votive to the goddess for a private or business interest. After the Persian Wars grave statues were either simply banned as part of packages of funerary legislation (at Athens and elsewhere) or they voluntarily declined or disappeared in a collective atmosphere of restraint that marks funerary archaeology in the fifth century.[34] After 480, small marble votives in the main sanctuaries were overshadowed by colossal bronze statues, that is, state and interstate dedications paid for from war booty and public funds.[35] These big statues were strident markers of local and Hellenic identity and its protectors—Athena at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, Zeus at Olympia.

Statuary investment by the aristocracy (self-promotion and self-validation through figured monument) had been concentrated in the late Archaic period on the great family graves at the Dipylon and in the rich mesogeia of Attica.[36] Here funerals, speeches, and marble *sēmata* had celebrated and justified natural supremacy. In the fifth century, when this part of the old statue habit had gone, outlawed or outmoded, aristocratic statue investment seems to have been redirected to the sanctuary sphere where the victor statue came for a brief period, say 500–450 and especially after 480, a new favoured object of personal display by the rich and powerful. It is not necessary to connect these two things causally—the end of grave statues and the rise of victor statues. It may be enough to observe that they happened at the same time and that the early victor statues need to be seen in the perspective of wider changes in statue practice in the early fifth century.

3. VICTOR STATUES AT OLYMPIA

The fierce contests of the crown games, especially at Olympia, had long been a favoured sphere of activity for the interstate aristocracy of the Archaic period. Victory at the games was something of and for itself. It demonstrated personal excellence and superiority in a brutally clear manner and brought immeasurable satisfaction and prestige. Regular gymnasium fitness made a good hoplite, but the kind of punishing body exertion that an aspiring contest champion needed was something altogether different. A champion might of course make a good warrior, but that

[33] Clan grave monuments: D'Onofrio (1998). Acropolis: Raubitschek (1949); Keesling (2003).

[34] From the wide literature on this subject, compare the diverse views and approaches of recent work: Garland (1989); I. Morris (1992*a*) and (1992*b*) chs. 4–5; Engels (1998); Stears (2000).

[35] Persian War dedications collected: Gauer (1968).

[36] D'Onofrio (1988) and (1998).

was not why he trained. Working towards and being a crown games contestant were an independent part of the life and culture of the wealthy, probably prized precisely because the average hoplite farmer could normally have little part in it.[37]

Down to the later sixth century, victors had mostly contented themselves with dedications of simple objects such as a discus or jumping weights and with the prestige provided by collective memory.[38] From the late sixth century, some of the wealthiest and most ambitious victors commissioned the highly elaborate Archaic-style victory songs (epinikian odes) of the kind we have in Pindar and Bacchylides. Outstanding or powerful victors might receive or set up statues of themselves in a sanctuary or the agora of their hometown.[39] And any victors who could afford it might dedicate statues of themselves at the contest sanctuary—especially at Olympia, the top sanctuary hosting the top championships. There were victory statues at the other championship sites—Isthmia, Nemea, and especially Delphi[40]—but nothing like the extraordinary density at Olympia. For the symbolic capital realized by a victor, Olympia was the central bank.

Pausanias at Olympia

Olympia also gives us the best feel of the context and setting of victor statues (Figs. 4, 5). We are well informed textually and archaeologically. Pausanias saw that the victor statue phenomenon at Olympia was important and devoted a whole long section to it (two-thirds of his book 6), separating out the victor statues from all the others, even though they were clearly interspersed with other dedications.[41] He describes nearly 200 victor statues, which he says is a wilful selection, as against twenty-five statues of Zeus which he boasts was all of them.[42] By the second century AD victor statues were clearly an overwhelming presence in the sanctuary. Excavation has brought about 100 inscriptions for bases of victor statues of which *c.*40 are among those mentioned by Pausanias and *c.*60 are additional (Figs. 6, 7).[43] Victor statues were clearly something special at Olympia.

Pausanias was both right and wrong that the victor statues constituted a special category of statue. He tries famously to make a distinction between real religious votives as on the acropolis at Athens and the victor statues at Olympia as something different in principle, 'granted as a kind of prize' (Paus. 5. 21. 1). He was looking back from the later honorific culture of the Roman Empire and saw the victor statues as

[37] Firm defence of this view: Pleket (1992). The few supposedly lower-class champions of the early period, such as Glaukos the Euboiean ploughman (Paus. 6. 10. 1–4), were exceptional. Pleket (1992) 150 rightly suspects legend-building aspects in Glaukos' story. Contrast for example Stephen Miller (2000). Further on Glaukos: below, at n. 49.

[38] Good set of examples gathered by Rausa (1994) 79–80 nn. 15–16.

[39] Herrmann (1988) 120 n. 7. Full and useful list of thirty-three examples in Rausa (1994) 66–73.

[40] Rausa (1994) 52–66 gathers the evidence.

[41] Herrmann (1988) is the indispensable study. Recently on Pausanias: Alcock, Cherry, Elsner (2001).

[42] Herrmann (1988) lists 197 victor statues.

[43] Herrmann (1988) 122–4 n. 19, 177–83, has the details.

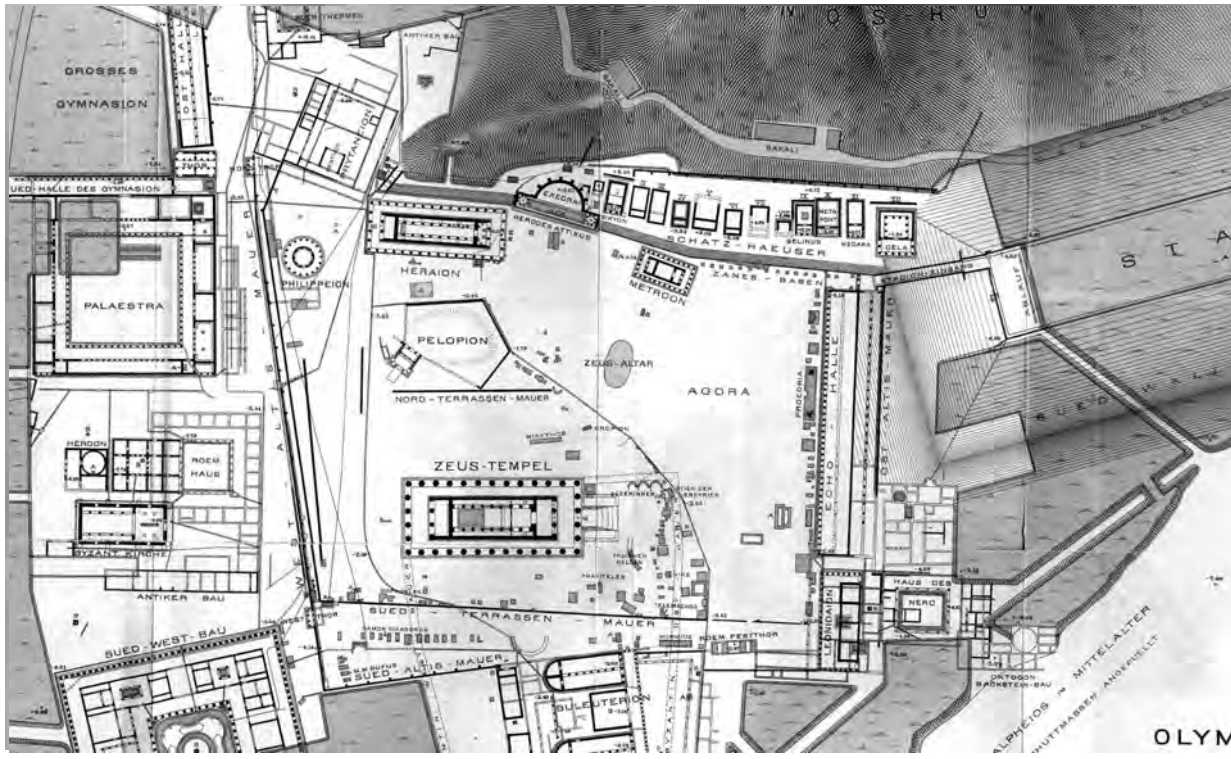


FIG. 4. Olympia. Plan of Altis, main sanctuary area showing bases of statue dedications around Temple of Zeus. North is at top



FIG. 5. Olympia. Model of Altis, view from SW, showing crowded effect of statues, especially at temple's east front (right in picture), where athletic dedications jostled with votives of all kinds

public honours which, of course, was one of their effects.[44] But they clearly were not normally awarded to the athletes by third parties (only occasionally were they set up by the victor's home city). The statues were generally set up as private dedications like any other dedications to the gods, by the athletes themselves (Figs. 6, 7). They were votives, like others, that happen to take the form of the dedicator, and in the fifth century that became ostensibly a highly lifelike form.

Victor statues began then as regular votives of the pious, but soon took on a life of their own that required the controls that Pausanias and others mention (controls of size, number, appearance).[45] Permission or the right to set up a statue therefore came to be seen as part of the prize. Victor statues stood, uncomfortably many felt, between votives to the gods and public honours. In terms of the later norms of the statue habit, they were indeed unusual: the dedicator was usually the same as the honorand.

Pausanias describes some eighty statues of victors down to 400 BC (given in the List appended below, whose running numbers are used in what follows). Several of the sixth-century victors probably received their statues only in the fifth century, and it is clear the practice takes off only after *c.*500 BC. At the end of his section on victor statues, Pausanias describes last of all two wooden statues which he says were the earliest victor statues at Olympia, those of Praxidamas of Aegina and Rhexibios of Opous (1–2), winners in 544 and 536 respectively. We should believe this explicit statement, placed in a prominent place in Pausanias' text. Two statues that he mentioned earlier in his text for victors at the games in the eighth and seventh centuries, Eutelidas (6. 15. 8) and Tisandros (6. 13. 8), were probably set up much later.[46]

As the early statue of the athlete Arrachion that Pausanias mentions at Phigalia (8. 40. 1), these first victor statues, of Praxidamas and Rhexibios, were doubtless kouros-shaped. The dates are strikingly late, and the next victors listed as winning in the sixth century mostly had their statues made by sculptors known to have been working only from the end of the sixth century and into the fifth (Glaukias, Ageladas: 3, 4, 6, 8). The victor statue phenomenon therefore began late and intensified during the generation of the big changes sketched earlier.

Pausanias' route around the victor statues can be established with some confidence.[47] It took him from the south-east corner of the Heraion to the front of the Temple of Zeus, where there was a major concentration of victor and other statues, along the south wall of the Altis, where two in situ bases

[44] Herrmann (1988) 134 n. 75, for this perspective.

[45] Controls: Herrmann (1988) 129 n. 50. The important text is Lucian, *Pro Imag.* 11, on the scale of the statues (not bigger than lifesize—which is borne out by the bases at Olympia: for example, Figs. 6, 7), and on controls implemented by the Hellanodikai. cf. Paus. 6. 3. 6: 'the Eleans allowed him to set up [a statue of] his trainer as well'.

[46] The possibility of earlier victor statues at Olympia (before the mid-6th cent.) is discussed by Herrmann (1988) 120 and Rausa (1994) 77–83.

[47] Following Herrmann (1988) 132–4, with sketch map of route.

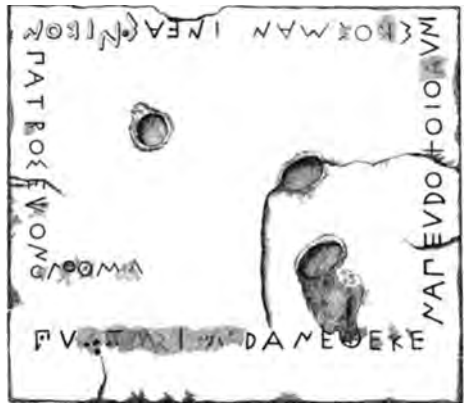


Fig. 6. At Olympia, statue bases show victor monuments were mostly of just life-size scale, of bronze, and set low down with their inscriptions often on their upper, horizontal surface. Upper face of inscribed base for statue of Kyniskos of Mantinea, boy boxer, victor in 460 BC (List 37), by Polykleitos, seen by Pausanias (6. 4. 11). The text is an epigram, written anti-clockwise, starting at the bottom (front) left: 'Winning in boxing, *Kyniskos* from Mantinea, who has the name of his famous father, set this up' (*IvO* 149). The signature of Polykleitos, recorded by Pausanias as maker, was probably (for example) on a missing second, lower step of the base. Marble W: 61, H: 17 cm

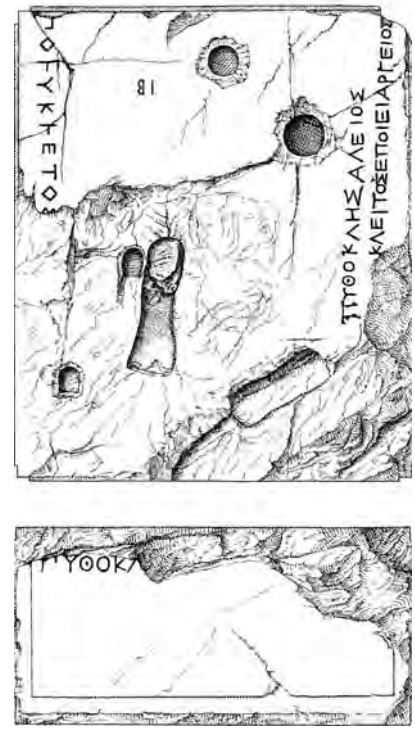


Fig. 7. Front and upper surface of inscribed base for statue of Pythokles of Elis, victor in pentathlon in 452 BC (List 43), signed by Polykleitos, seen by Pausanias (6.7.10). The base had two phases of use that show intense care for (and manipulation of) local statue heritage. (1) The original mid-fifth-century statue faced the short inscribed face that carries the damaged name of the victor, 'Pythokl[es]', while its maker's name runs on top beside the cutting for the right foot, Polykleitos [...], to be read from the left. (2) In the first century BC / AD, after the original statue had been damaged, removed, or stolen (by Nero?), a second statue, with a different foot posture, was set on the base facing the long right side with new feet cuttings and a re-inscription of the now damaged texts of the original on the upper surface: 'Pythokles, Elean. Polykleitos made (it) Argive' (*IvO* 162–3). The two inscribed letters at the (top) back, IB (=12), to be read from behind the base, are probably an inventory number of the same period as the re-inscribed text. Black limestone, H: 24, W: 50, D: 58 cm

provide fixed points, then back from the Leonidaion across the back of the temple and along its northern side to the column of Oinomaos (Fig. 4). Victor statues were set up in a continuous process of accretion and took on new point and new meaning in relation to other statues. We need to reconstruct and imagine how their bodies, poses, and inscriptions responded to and dialogued with other statues. Statues that would have a tedious sameness when viewed in the pictures of a catalogue had a setting in space and time and a changing relationship to other and new statues that gave each one the appearance of an individual monument.

Groups, dialogue, response

From Pausanias we can reconstruct in mental outline some potent groupings, by city, family, political affiliation. There was a dense grouping of dedications by five Spartan chariot victors near the start of Pausanias' route close to the north-east angle of the Heraion (6. 1. 6–2. 3). They began with the victor of 448 and 444 (Arkesilas, 49) and ended with the chariot monument of the Spartan queen Kyniska, victor in 396.[48]

The three statues representing Dameretos of Heraia, his son and grandson, commemorating victories from 520 to 436 (Damaretos 5, Theopompos 18, Theopompos 54), were a family group, as were the five statues of the great Rhodian aristocrat Diagoras and his sons, all great champions in the heavy contests, boxing and pankration, from 464 to 404 (Diagoras 34, Damagetos 44, Akousilaos 46, Dorieus 59, Peisirodos 73). They were political-military heavyweights too, appearing in mainstream Athenian-Spartan history of the fifth century (Dorieus: Thuc. 8. 35. 1 and 84. 2; Xen. *Hell* 1. 5. 19). Pindar composed for Diagoras himself (*O*. 7), and the ode was later made permanent in a gilded inscription in the temple at Lindos (Gorgon of Rhodes, *FGrH* 515 F 18).

A more political group can be reconstructed around the famous chariot monument of Gelon of 488 (16) which is described with statues of the boxer, Glaukos (the *skiamachos*) and his son Philon (3 and 14). Glaukos was the notoriously strong ploughman of Karystos on Euboea, much cited as an example of a proletarian champion, but who is known elsewhere as a henchman of Gelon (schol. to Aesch. *Or*. 3. 189: governor of Kamarina). Since all three statues were made by the same famous Aeginetan sculptor, Glaukias, they were probably a group, with Gelon the moving force behind it.[49]

There was also hostile dialogue. Victor statues could respond to and challenge the claims of other statues. Sometime in the period *c*. 470–450, the Spartans commissioned the sculptor Myron to make a statue of their long-dead champion runner Chionis (40), a supposed *triastēs* of the mid-seventh century (*triastēs* champions—winners in three separate events at the same games—were rare). The statue is mentioned immediately after, and so stood next to or near a statue of the great *triastēs* runner Astylos of Kroton (24), triple champion in the 480s. The Spartan statue was surely a claim to priority, challenging the claim of Astylos' statue. In the same period, in 460, the Achaians set up a statue of their eighth-century runner Oibotas of Paleia (39). Although set up elsewhere, earlier on Pausanias' route, this statue was probably part of the same contest for earliest and fastest, designed to trump the Spartan and Krotonian claims.

There were also important lines of connection between a victor's statue, his person, and his *patris*. This abstract connection was measured by a Spartan victor,

[48] The others were: Polykles, 52; Anaxandros, 58; Lichas, 61.

[49] So Rausa (1994) 46–7, with further evidence on Glaukos (but see above, p. 41 n. 166). On the statue-maker Glaukias of Aegina: Walter-Karydi (1987) 35–9.

a runner, who set up two inscribed stelai, one at Sparta, the other at Olympia beside his statue there, declaring the precise distance (660 stades) to the other stele (Paus. 6. 16. 8). Similarly Achaian athletes sacrificed on the tomb of Oibotas of Paleia (39) before setting out for Olympia, and crowned his statue there if they won (Paus. 6. 3. 8). In the case of Astylos (24), the connection was deliberately severed. He had a statue at Olympia, but his statue in his hometown Kroton was pulled down when he ran as a Syracusan, for the tyrant Hieron. Champions brought prestige to their cities which was concretely embodied in their statues.

Politics and cult

In our period, athletic champions retained a political dimension. The community naturally wanted to capitalize on their champions' prestige, but their contest prowess was highly individual and could be difficult and awkward to contain, to incorporate.[50] The period of the late sixth century and early fifth century, especially *c.*500–470, was the great age of aristocratic victors and titanic champions, such as Milon of Kroton (7), Theagenes of Thasos (25), and Euthymos of Lokroi (27), who passed with their statues into legend and cult. These champions acquired a level of public prestige that without traditional leadership outlets was dangerous for the delicate organisms of political order in the polis.[51] One response was cult honours with attendant myth-making so fully attested for Euthymos and Theagenes.[52] Another response of course was statue honours—brilliant bronzes of the champions by the top statue-makers of the day, such as Pythagoras of Rhegion, set up in the agora. It was later a democratic boast at Athens that no one, except the Tyrannicides, had a statue in their agora (until Konon in the 390s).[53] One fourth-century orator makes the point explicit: other cities have statues of athletes in their agoras, the Athenians have generals.[54]

In the late sixth century, Milon of Kroton had led a whole citizen army in war, dressed as Herakles (Diod. Sic. 12. 9. 5–6), and some champions were still also active in politics in the early and mid-fifth century—such as Theagenes (25) and Diagoras (34), both monstrous-size men. Such figures were equally athletic champions and politically active aristocrats. Lesser known examples are the pankratiast Timasitheos of Delphi (8), winner at Olympia in 516 and 512, whom we find fighting at Athens on the wrong side of the revolution there in 510 (Hdt. 5. 72), and Ergoteles of Himera (31), a champion runner in the 470s and 460s hymned by Pindar (*O.* 12), who was a political exile from Knossos on Crete.[55]

[50] Recent study of tension between champion and community: Mann (2001).
[51] Important study of politics of champions' cults: Bohringer (1979).
[52] New case-study of Euthymos: Currie (2002).
[53] Demosthenes 20. 70; Wycherly (1957) no. 261.
[54] Lykourgos, *Leokrates* 51; Wycherly (1957) no. 268.
[55] The boxer Glaukos of Karystos (3), above n. 49, who governed Kamarina for Gelon in the 480s, is another example. For *O.* 12, see Silk (this volume).

This was also the period when great athletes of earlier days—like the eighth-century Oibotas (39) and the seventh-century Chionis (40) already mentioned—were first honoured in statues. The contemporary myth-making around earlier champions is vividly expressed on the statue base for Poulydamas of Skotoussa in Thessaly, victor in 408 (69), honoured by his *patris* in the mid-fourth century with a statue made by Lysippos. Pausanias (6. 5. 1–9) describes fantastic episodes from his life, including two that are featured in the reliefs on the base found at Olympia.[56] The giant champion kills a lion with his bare hands and defeats members of the Persian king's Immortal Guards, while the Great King and his court women look on in dismay. For contemporaries, these were real events, and we should imagine the same for the fantastic activities earlier of Euthymos or Theagenes.[57]

4. STATUE-MAKERS

Pausanias and the extant bases give the statue-makers great prominence. The most fashionable Archaic statue-makers, such as Aristion of Paros, had been loudly advertised on statue bases.[58] The greatest fifth-century bronze-workers stood even higher. No less than 60 per cent of the fifth-century victor statues at Olympia were signed (see Appendix). They were big names: Onatas of Aegina; Polykleitos of Argos; Kalamis and Myron of Athens; Pythagoras of Rhegion. Most of these made several statues at Olympia. Pythagoras of Rhegion made not less than eight. The quality of the new bronzes and the steeply rising demand for them in the early fifth century (the colossal state votives as well as victor statues) raised the profile of the best statue-makers.

The difference between an adequate bronze statue and a magnificent one with strong impact (like that of the Riace statues: Fig. 2) was wide.[59] There was a sharp and forceful technical/aesthetic effect that the big names provided, and this added value above the cost of the materials and labour was surely expensive.

Prices, workshops, entrepreneurs

Competition to secure one of the handful of big-name sculptors, such as Pythagoras and Myron, with their wonder-working *technē*, probably drove their fees up. We have a few statue prices—and they are high—but not enough to make useful relative comparisons. A scholion to Pindar (*N*. 5. 1, Drachmann III. 89) gives 3,000 drachmas as the price for a bronze statue in Pindar's day. This is the

[56] Relief base: Smith (1991) 52, fig. 46. For a recently identified inscribed fragment from the base: Täuber (1997).

[57] Emphasized by Currie (2002) 39. Their real powers lived on. Statues of Poulydamas, both at Olympia and elsewhere, as of Theagenes, were known later for their healing powers: Lucian, *Council of the Gods* 12; Paus. 6. 11. 9.

[58] Recent study of Archaic 'signatures': Viviers (1992).

[59] An example of a typical adequate bronze of this period might be the statue from Kreusis in Boiotia (the port of Plataia) of *c*.480, now in Athens: Mattusch (1988) 79–81, fig. 4.20; Kaltsas (2001) no. 146.

same price, however, as that given for a standard honorific bronze statue in the Hellenistic period.[60] We may suspect then that the scholiast simply took this later standard price. At a time of greatly increased production, the Hellenistic price was probably *lower* than that of the first generation of the great bronze-casters. The real interest of the scholiast's evidence is not so much the sum mentioned as the clear assumption that the sums needed for a bronze statue and for a Pindar ode were large and the same.[61]

Better and contemporary evidence for this early period (but little noticed) is the implicit but precise minimum price given for a bronze chariot group that was set up on the Athenian acropolis to commemorate the great double victory over the Boiotian army and over Chalkis in *c.*506, as recorded by Herodotus (5. 76). The bronze chariot represented a tenth of the amount received from ransoming the prisoners from the campaign at 200 drachmas a head. There were 700 Boiotian prisoners and an unknown number of Chalkidian prisoners. If we assume for the sake of a minimum calculation that there were no Chalkidian prisoners, the sum (the tithe) works out to be 14,000 drachmas or 2.3 talents. If we assume an equal (and more likely) figure of 700 Chalkidian prisoners, then the tithe-price would be 28,000 drachmas or 4.6 talents. If four horses and a chariot cost between 14,000 and 28,000, then 3,000 for a single statue is a little low but in the right order of magnitude.

These are large sums, and high cost should explain why so many clearly chose *not* to take up the right to dedicate a victory statue at Olympia. Pre-industrial prices make little sense compared to prices today, but on any calculation these ancient statue prices seem high compared to bronzes today.[62] The range of 2.3 to 4.6 talents for a chariot group *c.*500 BC is a large and solid figure. If a chariot group included the charioteer, the owner, and grooms, then probably the price would be considerably higher.

Behind the big-name signatures lay large, well-organized workshops. Pythagoras of Rhegion, for example, made statues for four champions of the games of 484, a boxer, two runners, and an armed runner—though not necessarily in the same Olympiad.[63] The density of attested works, however, far from complete, demands a large workshop.

[60] *IG* II^2 555; Diogenes Laertios 6. 35; Stewart (1979) 109; and most recently Gauthier (2000) 48 and n. 31, with more sources and earlier scholarship on Hellenistic statue prices (a reference I owe to Angelos Chaniotis).

[61] Contrast Gentili (1988) 162–5, emphasizing disparity of remuneration.

[62] A finished bronze statue today costs *c.*60,000 (sterling), and taking for foundry workers a low daily wage and a real daily wage of 80 and 300, then today the statue cost is 200–750 man/days (I thank the sculptor Trevor Proudfoot of Cliveden Conservation for the modern prices). Taking 1 or 2 drachmas as the daily wage in the Greek world, the Hellenistic statue cost is 1,500–3,000 man/days. Stewart (1990) 66–7 does interesting and detailed calculations to suggest that the materials and labour cost of a Greek bronze statue was *c.*1,000 drs, and *c.*2,000 drs was profit to the workshop.

[63] List 20, 23, 24, 27. The runner Dromeus of Stymphalos (23) won also in 480; the runner Astylos of Kroton (24), won also in 488; and the boxer Euthymos of Lokroi (27) won again in 476 and 472, and we know from its base that Euthymos' statue was set up after his third victory. On Pythagoras: Stewart (1990) 254–5.

Clearly these workshop-owners were also successful entrepreneurs. Probably they were on hand at the games, like Pindar, ready to be courted by the wealthiest victors. We should think of preliminary discussions and engagement at the games, followed, as attested later for Macedonian princes (Pliny, *NH* 35. 85 and 105), by visits to the workshops for details, poses, attributes, prices, and contracts. Such a visit is probably what is represented by the citizen gentlemen standing on either side of the warrior statue on the 'foundry' cup in Berlin mentioned earlier (Fig. 3). Their visit and the workshop are compared on the inside of the cup to the visit of Thetis to Hephaistos' Olympian foundry.

The prominence of the statue-makers is striking and important as a social and cultural phenomenon, but their precise role—the technical realization of a defining palpable image of the subject in his most recognizable and characteristic form—was both different from what we expect from artists and in as far as it might be different from another contemporary sculptor's work anyway unrecoverable among surviving statues.

5. SURVIVING STATUES: BODY STYLES AND CONTEST ACTION

The inscribed base specified baldly the victor's name, family, city, and the event he had won (for example, Fig. 6), sometimes also victories won elsewhere on the crown circuit.[64] The statue body represented other and wider concerns. In a victory song, the facts of family and contests won are dealt with in a few lines, leaving the main parts of the poem for juxtaposition with the exploits of heroes and elevated elitist moralizing about good birth, the favour of the gods, and life at the top.[65] Like the poems, the statues describe the personal excellence and superiority that achieved victory and justified a permanent memorial.

What survives of the statues at Olympia and elsewhere to set beside the detailed record of Pausanias and the inscribed bases? On the one hand, few or no surviving statues match recorded monuments at the great sanctuaries. On the other hand, we have so many statues from precisely the championship environment evoked by the bases, by Pausanias, and by Pindar, that precise one-to-one matches of surviving statues with recorded monuments are a luxury we can do without.

Evidence: fragments, small bronzes, marble copies

Of the statues from Olympia, we have thousands of bronze splinters and fragments—ears, fingers, eye cases with lashes, bits of hair and genitals (Figs. 8–11)—the remnants of statues later chopped up on the spot for removal and melting.[66] Even in tiny bits, early fifth-century pieces stand out, recognizable by

[64] *IvO* 142–243; Ebert (1972).
[65] Stimulating recent study of praise poetry and statue epigrams: Kurke (1998).
[66] Excellent catalogue and study of this material: Bol (1978).

FIGS. 8–11 Bronze statue fragments from Olympia. Typical remains of victor bronzes. All early fifth century

FIG. 8. Eye-casings with serrated eyelashes, W: 2.7–4.9 cm. Bol (1978) no. 428–f. For their use and effect, see below, Fig. 31

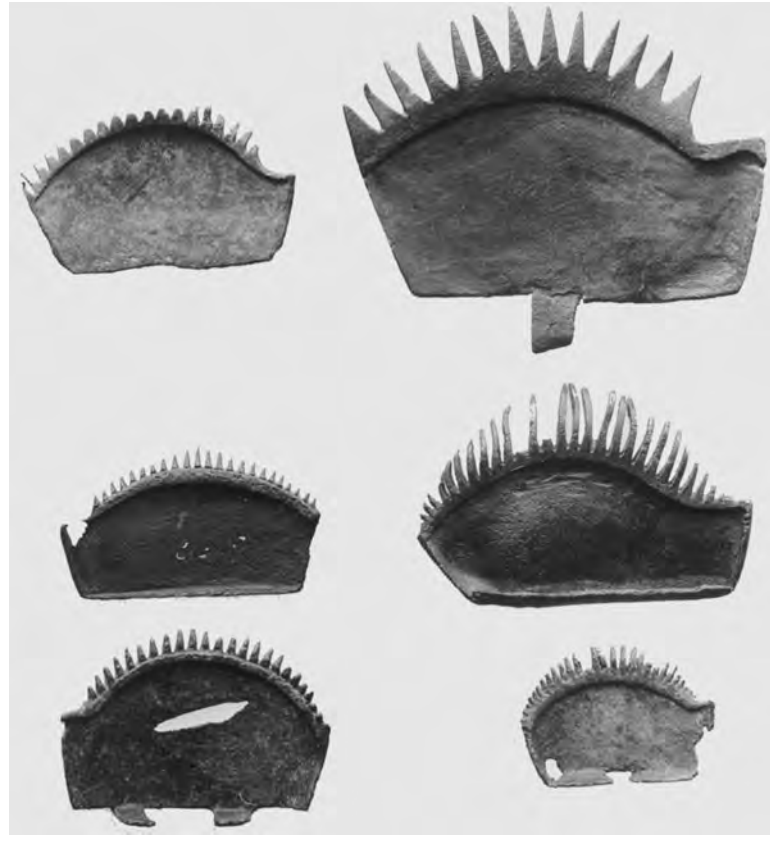




FIG. 9. Left ear, H: 9.5 cm. Bol (1978) no. 131



FIG. 10. Boy's genitals, W: 12 cm. Bol (1978) no. 132. Note closely observed median seam and slight asymmetry in scrotum of pre-pubescent age



FIG. 11. Lower right leg, L: 16 cm. Bol (1978) no.129. Thin casting with remains of iron armature

their bold formal style and precise technique. They are a powerful reminder of the time-specific nature of the phenomenon under discussion. There are a few contemporary marble figures from elsewhere of this period, sadly battered torsos mostly, but recognizable as athletic statues by their action postures—for example, from Thasos and Delos (Figs. 12–13).[67] These torsos too are remarkably time-specific.

The main evidence, however, consists of bronze statuettes and later marble copies of the Roman period. They are from very different contexts but their evidence is complementary.

The small bronzes were sanctuary votives like the big bronzes, set up instead of or in addition to a full statue.[68] They are often, more often than the later marble copies, complete figures and give a good idea of the range of postures, actions, and attributes of victor statues. Their period of greatest density and highest quality falls in the early fifth century. This was *the* period of small fine victor bronzes. They replace the kouros and warrior bronzes of the sixth century and decline in numbers after the mid-fifth century.

The later marbles belong to Roman culture and stood in entirely different contexts—villas, baths, gardens—where classic athletic statues stood for taste, education, and the gymnasium.[69] Many of the marbles are more or less loose essays after earlier statues or statue ideas, but some are clearly scale-replicas made with the intention of looking like close marble versions of fifth-century bronzes. These latter marbles can be used for understanding much about the Greek statues on which they were based and which are entirely lost—provided that expectations of what they can give are not set too high. By comparing the different marble versions of the same figure, we learn about its scale, iconography, pose, attributes, and something of its broad effect. We can then try mentally to translate the figure into bronze in the manner of the Olympia fragments (Figs. 8–11) and the statues from Riace (Fig. 2).

More problematic for us than the status of the Roman marbles as later copies and versions (there is a good method for controlling that status) is their selectivity—the preferences in Greek subjects and figures chosen for reproduction. The selection was far from representative. Among athletic figures chosen, a large proportion were based on works of fifth-century masters such as Polykleitos.[70] And some recognizable reproduction of their 'classic' style was clearly felt to be important. So, for example, not only the pose but also the distinctive formal manner of Polykleitos' spear-carrier was translated in some degree in surviving marbles made after it. This bias, towards early figures and towards reproducing

[67] Three torsos from Delos (including Figs. 12, 13): Hermary (1984) 8–19, nos. 5–7, pls. 4–7. Three torsos from Thasos: Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 248–9, nos. 6–8, figs. 176–8.

[68] Full collection of material: Thomas (1981). Lamb (1929) is still useful. Examples below: Figs. 17, 18, 21, 22.

[69] Some different approaches to the Roman context: Zanker (1974); Vermeule (1977); Ridgway (1984); Neudecker (1988); Gazda (2002). Examples below: Figs. 19, 23–5.

[70] Zanker (1974); Kreikenbom (1990); Beck, Bol, Bückling (1990).

FIGS. 12–13. Marble torsos from athletic statues. From Delos, *c.*490–70 BC. Both have carefully observed new style muscle compositions and old-style pubic 'moustaches', finely-trimmed and shaped



FIG. 12. Figure stood at rest holding, for example, a libation bowl or discus, H: 80 cm. Delos Museum A 4277



FIG. 13. Figure was in action pose, probably throwing javelin, H: 77 cm. Delos Museum A 4275

their distinctive classic style more carefully, of course suits our purpose here. But within that broad choice, there was a clear preference for attractive boys and youths over men (more congenial to the needs of the Roman domestic environmnent) and for obviously recognizably athletic and gymnasium poses. So there is a major bias towards easily recognized discus-throwers and oil-scrapers over armed runners and chariot groups (there are none of these in the copy record). Aware of this, we can restore the balance of different kinds of victor statues mentally, using the small bronzes, the bases, and Pausanias.

More difficult to overcome is the loss of the Greek context. A few statues in the copy record can be securely identified as versions of famous monuments recorded by Roman writers such as Pliny the Elder, but in their Roman environment they became generic icons of great masters: the diskobolos of Myron, instead of, for example, the pentathlete Pythokles of Elis set up at Olympia in 452 (Appendix, 43). The specific

subject and occasion, which were primary in the fifth-century bronze, are elided in favour of the big-name artist mediated through a now generic representation of athletic activity. As the Mona Lisa for us represents Leonardo da Vinci, so the Doryphoros represented for Rome (and now for us) Polykleitos. Here we have to keep the list of names and victories in mind beside the context-less copies—two parallel bodies of evidence whose precise intersections escape us entirely.

Nudity

Probably the most striking and most powerful aspect of the statues is their nudity.[71] They wore no clothes for two reasons, (1) kouroi were naked, (2) because the contests were entered naked. That is, nudity was both real for athletes and a symbolic metaphor that had been central to Greek representation from the beginning. These two things—naked contests in life, and naked statues—were separate, and both were peculiar on an anthropological level. Even for athletics the Greeks themselves had no idea what nudity signified or when it began (for example, Thuc. 1. 6. 5). And concerning the significance of nudity in statues and art, no ancient writer offers any comment or explanation whatsoever.

Nudity had not one meaning, but a set of changing, overlapping, and different meanings in different contexts and periods. It never lapsed into an easy convention but retained its impact despite constant use. It retained impact because the Greeks did not go around naked. On the one hand, nudity in statues did not refer to and was not derived from the nudity of gods and heroes: gods and heroes wore no clothes because they were modelled after the best of men. On the other hand, however, it escaped no one's attention that the bodies of the best of men looked like those of gods and heroes.

There was probably a shift in meaning in the nudity of victor statues in the fifth century (male nudity had existed since the tenth or ninth centuries in Greek representation as the symbol first of gender).[72] For male statues of the sixth century, nudity had been part of their elaborate symbolic quality. Representations of athletic youths on stelai carry discuses and oil bottles and show that kouros nudity was not referred directly to athletics: they carry no attributes tying them to any particular context beyond their aristocratic hairstyles.[73] They occupy an unreal and elevated position—more *sēma* than *eikōn*. They have no narrative. Their nudity signified male Hellene and acted as a metaphorical format in which their styled bodies represented personal strength, power, and potential at the age between youth and manhood.

[71] From a huge literature, the following recent items represent well the main strands of interpretation and approach (heroic, athletic, erotic): Bonfante (1989); Himmelmann (1990); Hölscher (1993); Stewart (1997) ch. 2; Osborne (1997); Golden (1998) 65–9; Stephen Miller (2000); Scanlon (2002) 205–10.

[72] Early nudity: Stewart (1997) 34–9.

[73] Stelai and kouroi in Richter (1961) and (1970). For a different view: Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 252–75.

Since loincloths were an obvious option and since they would not affect most interpretations of nakedness in Greek statues, it was the difference and potency of genital display that was at the heart of the matter.[74] A brief glance at the widespread and deeply peculiar kinds of genital display in Archaic art shows there is something here more than eroticism—for example, in the large category of warrior bronzes that show figures in a contradictory costume of breastplate with naked groin below,[75] or the revealing example of a bronze horseman from south Italy (Grumentum), in which the rider wears a knee-length tunic but with prominent genitals added on top of the tunic.[76] Genital display was clearly a recognized badge of belonging to the special Hellenic club.

Fifth-century statues eliminated only the more farouche Archaic visual contradictions. They combined the symbolic resonance carried over from sixth-century practice with nudity made real and immediate by the fictive narrative of an athletic event—throwing, running, praying, crowning. The athletes and the new statues demonstrated a paradox, that of showing well what should not be shown at all (*ta aidoia*). Outside the appropriate and tightly circumscribed contexts, genitals displayed in public remained shameful and laughable. Such contexts were the brotherhood of the gymnasium, the ritual place of the championships (sanctuaries of the gods), and of course the immediate setting of a magnificent, perfectly disciplined body. The new statues show the body-perfect victor explicitly in the ritual uniform of a Hellene competing before his gods and his peers.

Real bodies and Pindar's body language

Unlike Hellenistic and later representations, fifth-century victor statues do not have strongly athletic-specific body styles—either, for example, as wrestler versus runner, or even as athlete versus hero. They tend to have a monumentally structured body architecture that speaks to the symbolic ideological aspects of the best body: it is hard, disciplined, well-ordered, balanced, strong. These aspects strike us as artificial and 'ideal', as artistic improvements on reality designed to draw attention to themselves as beautiful compositions. But here we should keep those individual names and specific victories in mind: Pythokles of Elis, pentathlete in 452, over Myron's diskobolos. Each statue was a record of one victor's personal *aretē*, and the art of the revolution was put to making his

[74] Loincloths discussed by puzzled Greek writer(s) seeking origins and explanations: Thuc. 1. 6. 5; McDonnell (1991).

[75] Many examples among the bronzes collected in Herfort-Koch (1986).

[76] Langlotz and Hirmer (1965) 259, pl. 26, where Langlotz comments without explanation (and with some self-contradiction): 'The rider wears only a chiton; as is frequently the case in southern Italian figures the penis is unusually powerful'. Rolley (1994) 402, fig. 435, with interesting comment on possible regional affiliations of the statuette's maker, but no remark on this strange and striking feature of its iconography.

body move, breathe, and stand in a real space and to flex with real veins and sinews.

All forms of realism are culturally contingent—styled, socially constructed, framed by different historical parameters—so too this first explicit, theoretically based realism. This is fifth-century Greek realism, different from third-century Alexandrian, first-century Roman, or seventeenth-century Dutch realism, but conceived and viewed as such in its day—not as one possible realism among several, but as the only way of seeing and representing truthfully that was available. The only alternative, the Archaic manner, lacked visual truth. It is for us to work hard to imagine how the fifth-century public and its statue-makers visually and mentally synthesized the finest, hard-trained athletic bodies of their time into these figures. These bodies may look artificial, but youthful male bodies in constant, all-round hard training do look artificial. They are indeed 'made', and the bodily perfection seen in contemporary black-and-white photographs of male models for Armani or Boss, stripped to the waist in our colour supplements, is after all not so far from that of our statues. Modern body-builders of course look even more artificial.

Each statue body was striving, as in life, to look the best. But the point of reference for 'best' was not art or some idea of beauty in the sky but the best real trained and muscle-styled bodies. The particular construction put on these bodies, the aspect that is historically contingent, particular to fifth-century Greece—their hard, brash, bold, elemental quality—can perhaps be approached and understood best through the concepts of contemporary praise poetry. For all their differences and enmities, Pindar and the statue-makers shared one clear aim: to memorialize the body power of outright winners.[77]

Pindar compares his poems to a variety of prestigious artefacts (palace, treasury, phiale, krater, chariot, fillet, stele), but it is striking that his only explicit comparison to statues, mentioned earlier, is negative and opposite: his poems sound everywhere, statues stay silent in one place (*N*. 5. 1). Rivalry and competition with the new bronzes we saw earlier should explain this attitude. It is less surprising that the athletes themselves are never described by Pindar in terms of statues: there was nothing that could usefully be said of statues that could not be said better of the athletes themselves.

In Pindar, victors have inborn ability, something given by the gods. There was no contradiction between divine gifts and inborn aristocratic character (*to syggenes ethos*: *O*. 13.13). They were in fact closely connected: 'what comes by nature is altogether best . . . but when god takes no part, each deed is no worse for being

[77] Compare Steiner (1998), like other recent work, placing the main emphasis on erotic aspects of the poems and statues. For Pindar's celebration of athletic body power, see, for example, *P*. 8. 37, on 'bold-limbed victory', *O*. 8. 19, 9. 65, *N*. 3. 19, *I*. 7. 22, all with variations on the idea of victors' bodies matching their acheivements, and the passages collected below.

left in silence' (*O*. 9. 100, 103–4). A person 'born to *aretē*' can achieve *kleos* with practice and with the help of *theos* (*O*. 10. 20). A victor's abilities are godly, *daimonioi aretai* (*N*. 1. 9). Inborn qualities carry weight; their opposite, learned or acquired ability, is shadowy and ineffectual (*N*. 3. 40; *O*. 2. 86; *O*. 9. 100–4).

As men of birth, victors are propertied. Wealth and possessions are assumed and warmly praised (*P*. 2. 56 and 6. 44). Theron for example has wealth 'embellished with virtues', *ploutos aretais dedaidalmenos* (*O*. 2. 53). Only by spending this wealth (*dapanai*) can aspiring victors develop and hone their abilities. They should 'rejoice to spend money competing with Panhellenes' (*I*. 4. 29). With no need to make money, they can devote themselves to disciplined preparation.

The victor's body is shaped by hard practice, by labour and toil, *mochthos* or *ponos*. *Ponos* was a key term for hard training, for exertion, for pushing oneself to the limit. Few have won joy without *ponos* (*aponon charma*: *O*. 10. 22). To be remembered, a noble deed (*kalon*) needs to be accomplished with exertion (*O*. 6. 12). True success takes *makros ponos* (*P*. 8. 73), *makros mochthos* (*I*. 5. 57). Achievement requires suffering, *pathein* (*N*. 4. 32). *Ponos* leads to delight, *terpnon* (*N*. 7. 74), to foresight, *promatheia* (*I*. 1. 40). Hard training and unstinting spending are often linked (*I*. 3. 17 and 5. 57). *Ponos* and *dapanai* strive for *aretai* (*O*. 5. 15); they 'accomplish divinely fashioned deeds of excellence', *theodmatous aretas* (*I*. 6. 10).

The champion is constructed and shaped by the trainer, who is a *tektōn* of athletes—a craft metaphor: the trainer is literally 'a fashioner' of bodies (*N*. 5. 49). The victor's body (*demas*) or 'physical nature' (*phyē*) is handsome, beautiful (*kalos*), it has fine form (*morphē*), it is finely shaped, *morphaeis* (*I*. 7. 22). A fine body produces fine deeds, *kallista* (*O*. 9. 94). Action and character are said repeatedly to correspond to appearance. Being *kalos*, the victor performs deeds to match his beauty, *morphē* (*N*. 3. 19). His deeds (*ergon*) match his looks (*eidos*) (*O*. 8. 19); his *aretē* is equal to his *phyē* (*I*. 7. 22). Body form and contest-excellence guarantee and 'produce' each other.

Fine bodies are always good to look at (*to thaeton demas*: *N*. 11. 11; *O*. 8. 19), especially the bodies of young victors, 'beautiful in form, imbued with the youthfulness that once averted ruthless death from Ganymede' (*O*. 10. 103–6). They have 'splendour', *aglaia* (*P*. 6. 46), the 'youthful excellence', *neara aretē*, of Achilles (*I*. 8. 47). The appearance of a victor as he passes through a festival crowd can cause astonished wonder: he is *thaumastos* (*O*. 9. 96). Victors' bodies are fast, powerful, 'with . . . nimble legs', *dexioguios* (*O*. 9. 111), and 'bold-limbed', *thrasyguios* (*P*. 8. 37). The victors are like heroes, 'resourceful' (lit. 'bold-scheming'), *thrasymēchanos* (*O*. 6. 67), 'straight-fighting', *euthymachos* (*O*. 7. 15), and 'straight-talking', *euthyglōssos* (*P*. 2. 86). They have endless amounts of force, strength, boldness, and daring, *bia*, *sthenos*, *thrasos*, *tolma*.[78]

[78] *Bia*: *N*. 11. 11. *Sthenos* and *thrasos*: *P*. 2. 56 and 5. 110, *N*. 1. 25 and 5. 39. *Tolma*: *I*. 4. 45, *N*. 7. 59.

Victors are emphatically goal-directed: men have various *technai* but champions go by the straight road (*eutheiais hodois*: *N*. 1. 25). They go straight for things, with *tolma* and *dynamis* (*O*. 9. 82). Victors take risks: no honour attends risk-free achievment, *akindynoi aretai* (*O*. 6. 9). They strive for and achieve the ultimate, beyond the common measure, they push to the limits. Pindar is full of expressions of furthest edges and highest peaks. One victor family 'by its ultimate manly deeds has from its home grasped the pillars of Herakles' (*I*. 4. 12), as too does Theron of Akragas (*O*. 3. 44). Olympia is the 'summit of the ultimate contests, the highest ordinance of Herakles' (*N*. 10. 33). Victors embark on 'utmost deeds of mankind' (*N*. 3. 19–20), they 'tasted of toils' and 'reached the summit of excellence', *akron aretēs* (*N*. 6. 23). Victors have gone beyond norms, reached highest and furthest—through their unique combinations of divine favour, money, birth, ability, exertion, and bold daring. Their bodies achieve and express supremacy.

It was such culturally specific values, concepts, and words that informed the peculiar character of fifth-century victor statues: perfect and real-looking figures, presented in a sharp, bold, in-your-face style. This was an Archaic thought-world in which the biggest, strongest, boldest, bluntest man was also the best man. The fruits of the visual revolution were co-opted to make this message more vivid, immediate, and effective.

This Archaic world-view also promoted championship athletics to the same plane as fighting in war. A hero's work can be called *athla* (*I*. 6. 48; *P*. 4. 220), and Pindar frequently couples *athla* and *polemos*, *athla* and *machai*, as equal activities (*I*. 1. 50; *O*. 2. 41; *N*. 1. 16; *P*. 8. 25 and 5. 19). This absurd claim received scornful contemporary criticism in some quarters,[79] but it is interesting that the body-styling of athletes in this early period remained very close to, usually indistinguishable from, that of heroic warriors. This is easily demonstrated by the countless torsos and even complete statues—such as the Polykleitan Diskophoros and Doryphoros—in which it is still vigorously contested whether athletes or heroes are represented.[80] There is no need to rush to decide: in this context it is enough to observe the ambivalence of these and many other fifth-century figures. Heroes, warriors, and athletes are closely associated throughout the poems, and the equal status of games and war promoted by the sixth- and fifth-century aristocracy was a premiss informing the statues.

[79] Xenophanes fr. 2 = Athenaeus 10. 413c–414c; Euripides, *Autolykos* = fr. 282 Kannicht.

[80] See for example Stewart (1990) 160–2; Rausa (1994) 106–8; with material collected in Beck, Bol, Bückling (1990) 111–17 (P. C. Bol), 195–8 (H. von Steuben), with 518–28, nos. 19–30 (Diskophoros) and 537–51, nos. 41–58 (Doryphoros); Kreikenbom (1990) 21–44, 59–94, pls. 1–71 and 104–209. Particular identifications (the Diskophoros sometimes as Theseus, the Dorpyphoros often as Achilles) are logically premature while it remains unknown whether athletes or heroes are represented.

Hairstyles, long and short

The most obvious real-life components tying the figures to their immediate time and society were their hairstyles. Sixth-century aristocratic youths had worn long, flowing, artificially styled hair in a wide array of different formations. In the later sixth century, some started to wear it mid-length or shorter but still styled with rows of curls in front and behind (Fig. 1). After the Persian Wars, most Hellenes cropped their hair short, some aggressively short. Although some images of sixth-century wrestlers and boxers do show them with short hair, in the generation after the Persian Wars, short hair was not an 'athletic' hairstyle[81] but was widespread and at first part of a social-political choice. It was part of a more masculine, anti-eastern, anti-aristocratic comportment. Some Greeks maintained long hairstyles—most conspicuously the Spartans and aristocrats sympathetic to the Spartan way.[82]

The political point and cultural importance invested in hairstyles is represented in a range of contemporary evidence. For example, part of the myth-history surrounding the ancient 'Battle of the Champions' between the Argives and the Spartans, recounted by Herodotus (1. 83), was surely invented to explain the long hairstyles of the Spartans, which of course had been normal at the time of the battle and had become unusual only in the fifth century. The aristocratic significance of styled long hair is also clear in the monuments, and is represented on an Athenian ostrakon against Megakles son of Hipponikos, who is identified as *Megaklēs Hipponikou neas komēs*, that is, Megakles 'of the fancy (lit. new) hairdo'.[83]

Short-cropped hair was widespread but by no means universal, and of course was adopted quickly across a wide range of the social-political spectrum. The portrait of Pindar, for example, of perhaps the 450s shows him with a short plain hairstyle. Only his complex beard arrangement, twisted in a tight knot under his chin retains a personal styled and conservative/aristocratic aspect.[84]

Styled body hair

As striking and informative, but little noticed and little discussed by writers ancient or modern, is the styling of pubic hair (Figs. 14–16). Sixth-century kouroi can look pre-pubescent but their pubic hair was carved in low relief or painted on

[81] So rightly Serwint (1987) 244–82, at 251–2.

[82] Spartan long hair: Hdt. 7. 208; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 11. 3; Plut. *Lys.* 1 and *Lyk.* 22. 1. Others, for example, Kimon at Athens: Ion of Chios, *FGrH* 392 F 12. cf. Steininger (1912) 2119.

[83] Brenne (1992) 166–71, figs. 4–6, with this and another contemporary ostrakon picturing a long-haired 'portrait' head and with good discussion of contemporary male hairstyling.

[84] Richter and Smith (1984) 176–80, s.v. Pindar; identified by late version from Aphrodisias, Smith (1990) 132–5, no. 1, pls. 6–7. Interpretation of beard knot as designed to keep long beard-hair out of lyre during performance by Himmelman (1994) 71–4 seems to me not convincing; cf. Bergemann (1991).

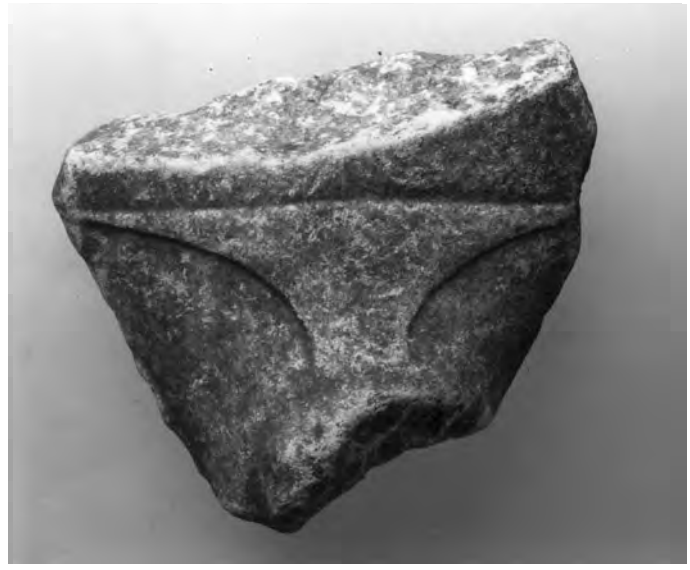


FIG. 14. Archaic body-hair style. Pubis fragment from large kouros, with flat-trimmed hair styled with razor in shape of anvil. Marble, W: 16 cm. From Samos (found 1984), mid-later sixth century BC. Samos P 143

FIG. 15. Torso fragment from youthful male statue. Marble, H: 32 cm. From Athenian Acropolis, *c.*480 BC. Probably from same statue as 'Blond Boy' head. Athens, Acropolis Museum 6478



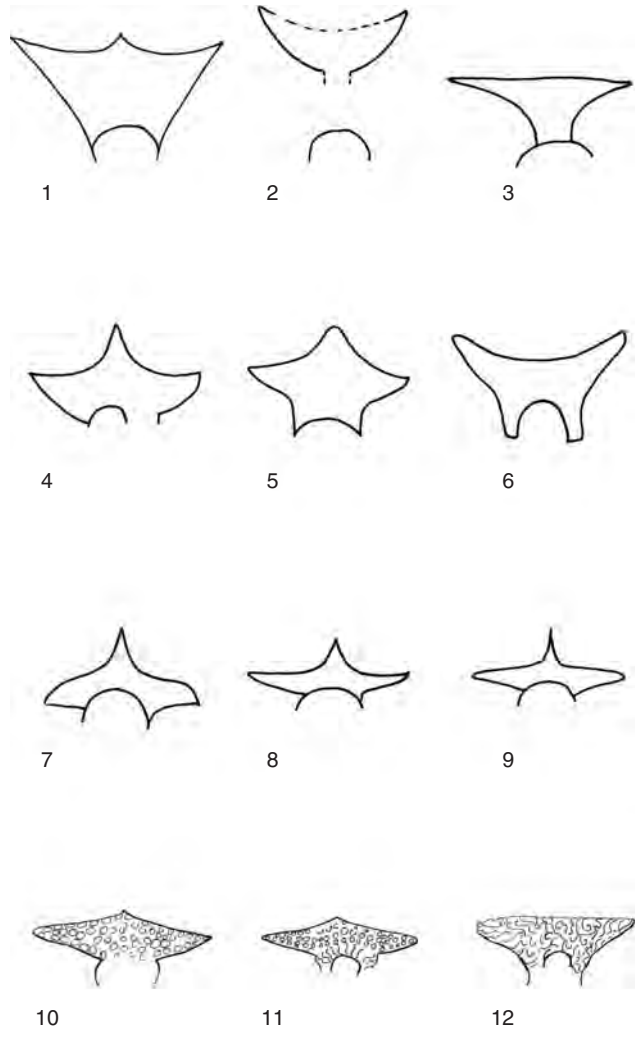


FIG. 16. Pubic hair styling, sixth and early fifth century: (1) Isches kouros, Samos: Kyrieleis (1996). (2) Kroisos kouros, Athens: Richter (1970) no. 136. (3) Kouros fragment, Samos: Kyrieleis (1996) 23 = Fig. 17. (4) Kouros torso, Samos: Freyer-Schauenburg (1974) no. 139. (5) Aristodikos kouros, Athens = Fig. 1. (6) Bronze Apollo, Piraeus: Mattusch (1988) 74–9. (7) Warrior, Agrigento: Barbanera (1995). (8) Torso, Delos = Fig 15. (9) Torso, Athens Acropolis = Fig. 18. (10) Miletos torso, Louvre: Richter (1970) no. 192 (11) Ludovisi diskobolos = Fig. 24. (12) Riace B = Fig. 2. (1)–(3): early to later sixth century. (4)–(6): late sixth/early fifth century. (7)–(9): early fifth century. (10)–(12): early/ mid-fifth century

in a wide range of different, sometimes elaborate artificial forms. These are usually considered, if at all, to be sculptors' stylizations which help in dating the statues. This seems to me unlikely. They surely represent styles of body hair from real life.

Christos Karouzos in his classic work on the Aristodikos kouros (Fig. 1), in an appendix with the elevated and untranslated title *medea lachmoēnta* (it means 'hairy genitals'), gave an elaborate phase by phase developmental chronology of late Archaic pubic stylizations.[85] Following hints from Ernst Langlotz and an unnamed 'Frenchman of high social rank', an early viewer of the Aristodikos

[85] Karouzos (1961) 72–83.

statue, he was aware that this phenomenon might have to do with something more than statues, but dismissed the matter quickly as too complicated.[86] I cannot find other scholarship that has pursued the subject.

In later Archaic representation, great liberties were taken in manipulating narrative, costume, and the proportional economy of the human figure, but the individual components of a body—hands, toes, knees, ears—are at least loosely, and often closely, based on their real-life counterparts. The painted pubic hair of the Kroisos kouros (Fig. 16.2) or the carved pubic hair of the Aristodikos kouros (Fig. 16.5) or that of a recently discovered fragment from Samos (Fig. 14)[87] come not even close to a natural counterpart. Instead of invoking convention or artistic stylization, we might rather think anthropologically.

If genital display was the defining aspect of the athlete's naked uniform, such razor styling (what is surely represented) could do several things—in life and in art. It enhanced and drew attention to a figure's genital display. It prolonged and accentuated the appearance of being precisely at the prized age between youth and manhood, at the acme of bodily power and beauty. And in a uniform that allowed room for variety only in muscle development and hairstyles, it became a locus of difference, of individualizing elaboration (Fig. 16). This was an area of strange, competitive self-styling. Archilochos captures the flavour in his lines about elegant generals: 'I do not like a tall general . . . proud of his curly locks and partly shaved (*hupexurēmenon*)'.[88] This body-styling phenomenon was widespread and highly varied. If its variety was that of fashion and of individual choice in life, rather than that of artistic period mannerism, it is less likely to have followed a chronological pattern.

Most interesting in the present context is perhaps that this distinctive piece of Archaic self-fashioning was the last to be dropped. It survived on the athletic figures we are considering through and after the Persian War period, long after the other parts of Archaic styling in life and art had been superseded. In the period *c.*500–480, the pubic shape is still highly stylized, narrow, and trimmed close and short (Fig. 16.7–9), with individual peaks and flourishes, as on the torso fragment from the Athenian acropolis broken from the same statue as the Blond Boy (Fig. 15).[89] In these statues, the hair was cut so short that it is not represented

[86] Karouzos (1961) 72.

[87] Samos fragment: Kyrieleis (1996) 23 n. 57, pl. 37.3.

[88] Archilochos fr. 114 W = Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33. 17. It is not clear what part of an elegant general's body was commonly 'partly shaved', but at the end of the same oration in which this fragment is quoted (the first oration to the people of Tarsus, upbraiding them for their low morals), Dio calls on a Homer or an Archilochos to denounce pervasive improprieties in male self-styling, in particular shaving the body to look young and elegant: 'The first innovation consisted in trimming the beard . . . the next step was to shave (as far as) the cheeks . . . next they shaved the legs and chest . . . then they progressed as far as the arms; then shifted to the genitals . . .' (*Or.* 33. 63–4). It is clear from the context that for Dio these were practices originating in the old days.

[89] Blond Boy torso: Richter (1970) no. 191.

in the marble: it is a plain relief shape that would stand out sharply when painted. After *c.*480, the styled patterns became more uniform, with the standard shapes of a horizontal bar or a flattened diamond, and they now have a fuller growth of hair represented by heavier relief carved or engraved with small tight curls (Fig. 16.10–11).[90] Then around the mid-fifth century the artificial razored patterns were abruptly abandoned in favour of an unstyled natural growth, again I mean both in art and life (Fig. 16.12).

It is significant that this curious old-fashioned habit was widely represented on the first generation of statues in the new manner. Since it was clearly a phenomenon of real life, not of sculptors' artifice, we can see that it was a visible part of the old aristocratic culture of Pindar's generation. In the present context, it was a striking real-life component, along with the short-cropped hairstyle, that kept these magnificent-looking body structures tied to their real world, to their precise time.

Statue actions and contest narratives

A new range of actions and postures was used for victor statues in the fifth century. They constructed pseudo-narratives or mental contexts that characterized the victors as different kinds of athletic champion. As mentioned already, distinctively athletic body styles, prominent in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, are absent in the fifth century, and still in the fourth century the posthumous statues of two fifth-century Thessalian athletes from the monument of Daochos at Delphi were little styled by the needs of a runner (Agelaos) and a pankratiast (Agias).[91] There was already from the early fifth century a well-developed Herakles iconography available for the heavy athletes, but its example was not appealed to as far as we know in fifth-century victor statues.[92] The main distinctions conveyed by pure body style were age-groups, principally boys versus men, the two championship categories at Olympia.

Other distinctions were made by narrative pose and by attributes, or not at all. Specification of the contest could be left entirely to the inscribed base, and the statue posed as though praying or sacrificing before the games or adjusting the crown on his head after victory. Praying, libation-pouring, and crown-adjusting were probably common statue motifs (Figs. 17, 18).[93] They might have been useful choices for runners, who had no athletic attributes to display. Runners

[90] The body-hair style of the Athenian Tyrannicide statues, dated 477/6, is of this kind: Brunnsåker (1971).

[91] Best illustrations: Dohrn (1968) pls. 10–25.

[92] The Herakles-like 'boxer' statuette of the early 5th cent. in the British Museum (Thomas (1981) 58–9, pls. 23.2–24) held something (probably a bow) in its outstretched 'boxing' hand, and is therefore probably not a boxer but a Herakles: so rightly Walter-Karydi (1987) 36–8, figs. 37–9.

[93] Thomas (1981) 97, pl. 53.1–2 (New York, praying, Fig. 17); 114, pl. 56.1 (Syracuse, libation-pouring, Fig. 18).



FIG. 17. Athlete with right hand raised in attitude of prayer. Bronze statuette, H: 29.8 cm. From art market in Smyrna. *c.*470s BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum 08.258.10



FIG. 18. Athlete pouring libation. Phiale would have been held in right hand. Note inlaid eyes (missing) and short-cropped hair. Bronze statuette. H: 19.5 cm. From Adrano, Sicily, *c.*470s BC. Syracuse, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 31888

could be posed in action, like Myron's famous Ladas or later the bronze runner from Kyme,[94] or they could concentrate on the intense moments before and after the event (sacrificing, crowning).

Attributes might specify. One remarkable statue of the mid-fifth century, of hard perfect body form, brilliantly put together in the copy register by Walter Amelung, wears *amphōtides* or scrum-cap-like ear-guards that identify the subject as a wrestler (Fig. 19).[95] The ear-guards are here probably a genre motif alluding to hard training rather than a contest narrative. The genre motif of oiling and scraping also alluded as much to gymnasium training as to contests. It is well known in fifth-century athletic representations (for example, on vases and on the scraper grave stele at Delphi),[96] but not in statues until the fourth century. Oiling probably became a contest-specific narrative for statues of champions in the 'heavy' contests, in wrestling and the pankration.[97]

Boxers might be characterized by their *himantes* (boxing leathers) or by pose, as in the early statue of Glaukos of Karystos (3) that showed him shadow-fighting or sparring (*skiamachos*), that is, in a narrative where the viewer supplied the opponent.[98] The kind of physiognomical characterization of a heavy boxer seen in the well-known bearded fourth-century bronze head from Olympia is absent from the fifth century.[99]

The race in armour, in which competitors wore a helmet and carried a shield, was a prestigious running contest but added only late to the Olympic programme, in 520.[100] It was the last race on the last day of the games at Olympia. Few statues are recorded commemorating hoplite victors, and to avoid visual confusion with statues of warrior heroes (such as the Riace heroes), who also wore helmet, shield, and nudity as their uniform, they needed to have a running narrative. Such a narrative is seen in the early fifth century on vases, in a bronze statuette in Tübingen, and probably in a well-known fragmentary marble statue from Sparta ('Leonidas') (Figs. 20, 21).[101] Hoplite runners are non-existent in the copy record, both because they would be difficult to distinguish in a statue programme from warriors and perhaps too because the connection between athletics and good soldiers that they embodied was generally denied in Roman culture.[102]

[94] Ladas: Overbeck (1868) nos. 542–3. Kyme runner: Uçankuş (1989).

[95] Amelung athlete: Rausa (1994) 103–4, 178–80, no. 5, pl. 5.

[96] Vases: Boardman (1975) 220, figs. 4 and 24.3. Delphi stele: *Guide de Delphes*, 64, fig. 24; Rolley (1994) 358–9, fig. 375.

[97] Oiler statues: Rausa (1994) 34.

[98] On the 'boxer' statuette in the BM, above n. 92.

[99] Olympia boxer head: Bol (1978) 40–3, 114–15, no. 159, pls. 30–2; Lullies and Hirmer (1979) pls. 228–9.

[100] First victor was Damaretos of Heraia (Paus. 6. 10. 4): List 5.

[101] Louvre amphora: Hauser (1887) 100. Other vases: Boardman (1975) 220, figs. 79, 82, 230. Tübingen bronze: Hausmann (1977). Sparta statue, naked with helmet, greaves, and shield: Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) no. 217, with references.

[102] Tac. *Ann.* 14. 20 is a classic passage for this attitude. Good account in Friedländer (1965) II. 122.



FIG. 19. Amelung Athlete. Victor in training puts on ear guards (*amphōtides*). Motif indicates heavy athlete (wrestler or pankratiast). Plaster reconstruction by Walter Amelung combining casts of two separate Roman marbles: (1) head in Stockholm, National Museum 59; (2) torso, restored with alien head of L. Verus, in Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, 2217. After bronze victor statue of mid-fifth century. Height of reconstruction, head to kness: *c.*130 m. Rome, Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Museo dell'Arte Classica, Gipsoteca 269



FIG. 20. Hoplitodromos. Armed runner at start, with helmet, shield, and greaves. Single figure on one side of Athenian red-figure amphora, attributed to the 'Berlin Painter', *c.*500–480 BC. Paris, Louvre G 214



FIG. 21. Hoplitodromos. Armed runner at start, wears helmet and late Archaic hair and beard style. Shield on left arm is missing. Bronze statuette, H: 16.4 cm, *c.*500–480 BC. Tübingen, Universitätssammlung

Pentathlete figures are abundant. They were made immediately recognizable by characteristic actions and attributes, especially javelin-throwing and discus-throwing. They are easily identified in small bronzes, in later copies, and in battered action torsos of the early fifth century.[103] None of the other contests of the pentathlon were suitable. The long jump is obviously not statue-friendly, while running and wrestling were shared with other contests, so unsuitable to characterize a champion pentathlete's statue. Both javelin-throwing and discus-throwing, however, are visually striking and statue-friendly in terms of pose and composition. A vigorous discus-throwing figure was even chosen to symbolize local games on coins of Kos (Fig. 22).

Discus-throwers are the most recognizable and abundant in both the small bronzes and the copies. They begin in the bronzes in the late Archaic period and continue with several striking, bold, and gauche figures in the early fifth century—such as the statuette in New York (Fig. 23).[104]

The earliest full-scale, fifth-century victor statue we have is a pentathlete discus-thrower known in several marbles of the Roman period: the Ludovisi diskobolos. A headless version from Side in Pamphylia gives the full pose; the Ludovisi herm (Figs. 24, 25) preserves the posture of the head on the body and gives something of the power of the torso; and a head in the Vatican is a weaker, smoother, but more complete version of the 'portrait' (Fig. 26).[105] The figure held the discus up above the head with both hands, poised at the top of the first swing, a remarkable momentary pose, which exposes and stretches the powerful torso muscles. This was clearly an extraordinary harsh and hard-hitting figure, with cropped hair, low Neanderthal brow, and jutting chin.[106] The statue should be of the 470s and among the first brash avatars of the revolution—that is, it is of the time and style of the statues of the Athenian Tyrannicides and of Pythagoras of Rhegion.[107] This should be what the statues of legendary victors of the 470s were like—such as Euthymos of Lokroi and Theagenes of Thasos (List 25 and 27). This statue's raw, ungainly display of discus-action and fierce *ponos* is an essential backdrop to the fluent singing action of Myron's discus-thrower, a decade or so later.[108]

[103] Torsos: above, Fig. 13 and n. 67.

[104] New York diskobolos: Thomas (1981) 40–1, pl. 15.1–2.

[105] Side statue: Inan (1975), 13–18, no. 1, pls. 6–7. Ludovisi herm: Rausa (1994) 98–9, 171–2, no. 1, pl. 1. Vatican head: Lippold (1956) 463–4, no. 23, pl. 201.

[106] The resemblance of the jutting chin and head-shape of the Ludovisi herm (Fig. 25) to those of the brilliant young English footballer Wayne Rooney (playing at time of writing for Everton) demonstrates clearly that even the most simplified, artificial-looking 'ideal' Classical image might have its main points of reference and meaning in reality.

[107] Tyrannicides: Brunnsåker (1971).

[108] Myron's diskobolos: Robertson (1975) 340–1, pl. 114a; Lullies and Hirmer (1979) pl. 127.



FIG. 22. Youth throwing discus, with tripod prize to left, stands for prestigious local games. Obverse of silver tridrachm of Kos. Diam: *c.*2.4 cm, *c.*450 BC. Kraay and Hirmer (1966) no. 639

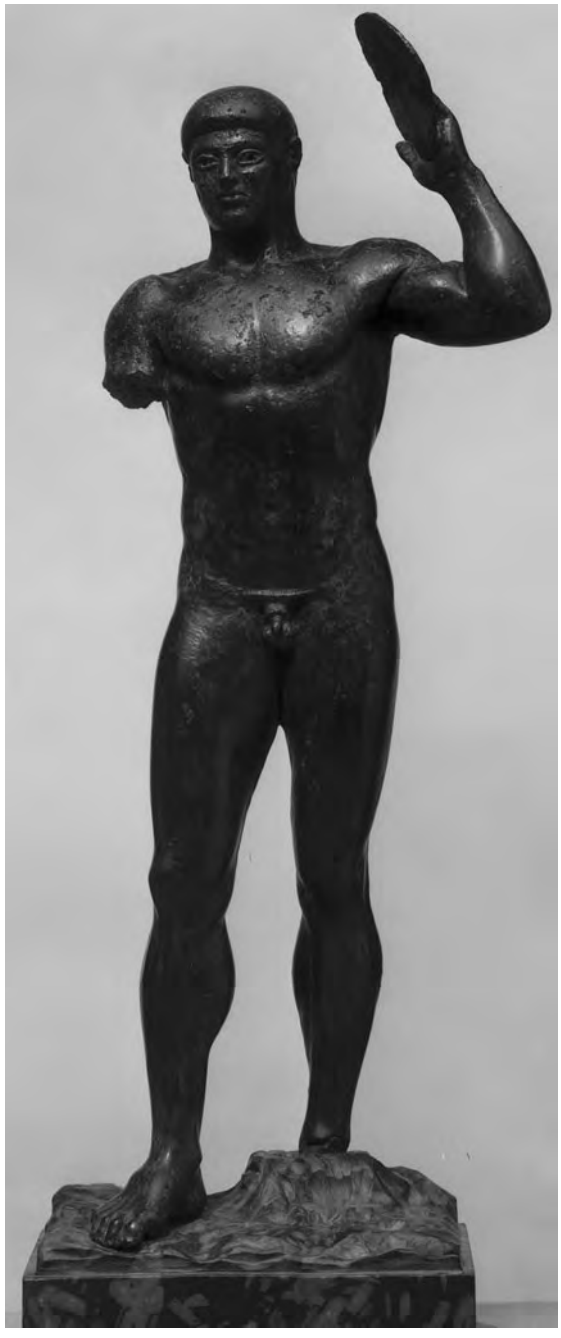


FIG. 23. Athlete with discus in raised hand. Bronze statuette, H: 23.5 cm. Supposedly from Peloponnese. *c.*470s BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 07.286.87



Fig. 24. Ludovisi diskobolos. Youthful pentathlete with close-cropped hair raising discus above head with both hands, at top of first swing. The muscles are an aggressive display of hard athletic training (*ponos*) in the manner of the 470s. The pubic hair is naturally 'full', but still styled in a flat diamond shape. Hip herm (that is, the support below the groin is a herm pillar) of second–first century BC, after bronze of *c*.480–70 BC. Pentelic marble. Full H: 1.96m. H head to groin: c.90 cm. From Rome (acquired 1621), Rome, Museo Nazionale 8639 (Ludovisi collection)

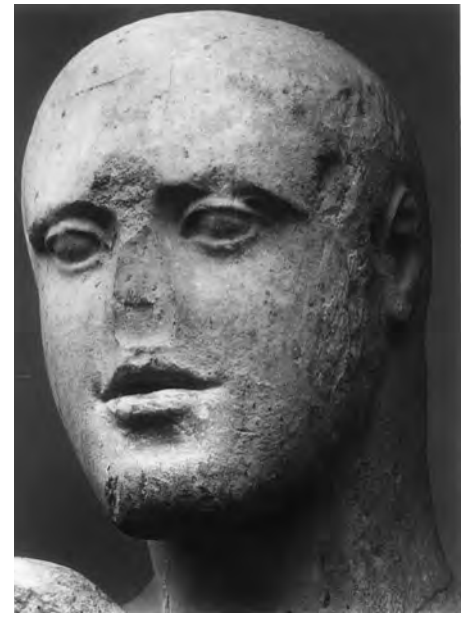


Fig. 25. Detail of Fig. 24

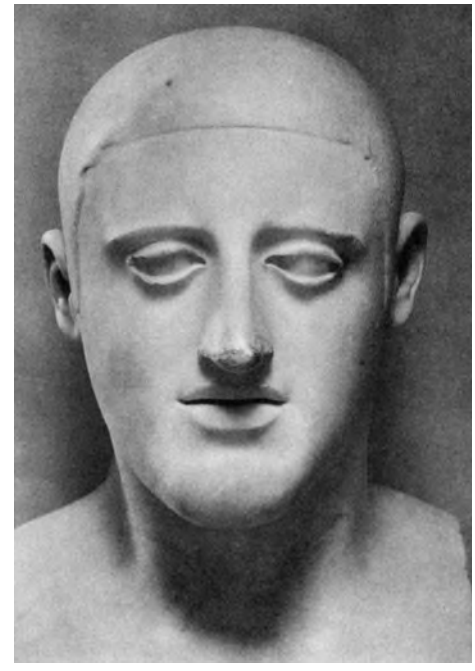


Fig. 26. Head of Ludovisi diskobolos: second version. Smoother, leaner, weaker interpretation, emphasizing bronze character of original (especially in eyelids). The plain, close cropped cap of hair was no doubt painted. From Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, second century AD. Mounted on modern herm. Also restored: both ears, end of nose. Marble, height of ancient part 28 cm. Height of head, chin to crown: 23 cm. Vatican, Galleria Geografica 28866

6. HORSES, CHARIOTS, CHARIOTEERS

The racehorse and chariot events (the single flat race, two-horse chariot, mule-cart, and four-horse chariot), though not 'athletic' in our sense, were of course fully part of the same games programme and the same intense contest environment. Single racehorse victories are prominent in our minds because both Pindar (*O.* 1) and Bacchylides (5) wrote victory songs to celebrate in grand terms the racehorse victory of Hieron of Syracuse, at Olympia in 476 with Pherenikos, the 'storm-paced horse' (Bacchyl. 5. 39). But single racehorse monuments were not common, and what Hieron really wanted was a chariot win.

As today, the wealthy owner and the horse were the winners and the objects of admiration, not the jockey, and in a racehorse monument the owner might be included standing by the horse (Paus. 6. 14. 12), just as the owner was regularly included in chariot groups (below). We have one bronze racehorse later, an astonishing work from Cape Artemision now in Athens, a fast and noble horse with a boy-slave jockey.[109] A Pherenikos statue would probably have looked more like the well-known bronze statuette of a horse of *c.* 480–460 from Olympia.[110] In the early period, the boy jockey was optional but usual. At least that seems the implication of the riderless horse monument of Pheidolas of Corinth (508 BC, Paus. 6. 13. 9–10), for which an explanation was later felt necessary—that the horse had won without its rider.

Chariot groups in Pausanias

The four-horse chariot race was the Formula 1 event, held first at Olympia on the first day of the games, and victory carried the biggest prestige of all. Since as many as 41 chariots (according to Pindar, *P.* 5. 49) could compete at once, victory was really worth having. Chariot monuments were the grandest, most contest-specific victor symbols at Olympia and Delphi. They were expensive (between 2.3 and 4.6 talents we saw earlier for a chariot group in *c.*500), and there were not many of them.

Although Pausanias says he was selective in his account of victor monuments at Olympia and omitted lesser and later examples, he seems to have been very interested in the chariot victors. The early monuments of chariot victors that he mentions may well include all of them. Before 400, Pausanias gives only ten chariot victors (that is, owners and breeders of the horses) who set up statues at Olympia, and of these dedications only four were life-size groups with full chariot-teams and personnel.[111] All four were made by big-name bronze-workers. They are as follows.

[109] Artemision horse: Kaltsas (2001) no. 603, with earlier literature.

[110] Olympia horse: Mallwitz and Herrmann (1980) no. 111—though it has a chariot harness.

[111] Of the other six, four were the dedications of early Spartan chariot winners that stood near the later chariot monument of Queen Kyniska, and it is clear or implied from Pausanias' wording that they were single statues of the owners: (1) Arkesilas (49), victor in 448 and 444, statue not specified; (2)

1. The monument of Kleosthenes of Epidamnos (6), victor in 516 (Paus. 6. 10. 6). The chariot group was made by Ageladas of Argos (teacher, according to some, of Polykleitos), active into the early fifth century. It included the four-horse chariot team, Kleosthenes himself, and a nameless charioteer. Pausanias says explicitly this was the first statue (*eikōn*) of a chariot-owner at Olympia. The chariot itself carried a verse epigram quoted by Pausanias, and the name of each of the four horses was inscribed separately on the base (Phoinix, Korax, inner; Knakias, outer right; Samos, outer left).
2. The monument of the Sicilian tyrant Gelon (16), victor in 488 (Paus. 6. 9. 4). It was made by the prized Aeginetan bronze-worker Glaukias, and consisted of a chariot team and Gelon himself. Three inscribed blocks survive from its base (Fig. 27), which may (or may not) go on top of the square foundation for a chariot group in situ in front of the Temple of Zeus (Fig. 28).[112]
3. The monument of Hieron tyrant of Syracuse (30), victor in 468 (Paus. 6. 12. 1). This was probably the grandest of the chariot groups. It was commissioned from Onatas of Aegina and Kalamis of Athens, and was set up by Hieron's son in 467. In addition to the chariot and four-horse team, the group included two statues of racehorses with boy jockeys on them that represented Hieron's *kelēs* victories (single racehorse) with his stallion Pherenikos in 476 and 472. Onatas made the chariot team, while Kalamis made the two (presumably flanking) horses. These victories of Hieron at Olympia and those at Delphi too were heavily publicized also in victory poems commissioned from Pindar (*O.* 1 and *P.* 1) and Bacchylides (3–5).
4. The monument of Kratisthenes of Cyrene (36), who won in 464 (Paus. 6. 18. 1). He commissioned Pythagoras of Rhegion to make it, and the group consisted of a chariot and team carrying figures of Nike and the owner himself.

Pausanias records no other full chariot groups until the famous monument of the Spartan queen Kyniska, victor in 396, which was made by one Apelleas and consisted of a chariot, four-horse team, charioteer, and the queen herself (Paus. 6. 1. 6). Full chariot groups are even less common thereafter.

Polykles (52), victor in 440, his statue holds a ribbon in the right hand; (3) Anaxandros (58), victor in 428: is represented praying to the god; and (4) Lichas (61), (controversial) victor in 420: set up *tēn eikona*. The remaining two are: (5) Timon of Elis (77), victor in 400, who set up a statue of himself and one of his son on a horse—the son being a racehorse (*kelēs*) winner and owner-jockey: the *eikones* were made by Daidalos; and (6) Polypeithes of Sparta, victor in 484, who set up an expressly small-scale chariot group, mentioned by Pausanias later and separately from the main grouping of Spartan chariot victory dedications (6. 16. 6), which included on the same base (*stēlē*) a statuette of his father Kalliteles (22), a victorious wrestler.

[112] For: Eckstein (1969) 54. Against: Mallwitz (1972) 60–1. Walter-Karydi (1987) 35, pl. 5 B shows the foundation in situ with the three blocks placed on it.



Fig. 27. Gelon at Olympia. Three surviving inscribed blocks from the base of Gelon's chariot monument (List 16), seen by Pausanias (6. 9. 4); text can be restored with certainty from Pausanias and translated as: '[Gelon son of Deinomenes Gele]os (i.e. from Gela) dedicated (sc. this monument). Glaukias, Aeginetan, made (it)' (*IvO* 143). Blocks 2 and 3 were clearly consecutive, blocks 1 and 2 not necessarily. Whether or not they belong to the large square foundation in front of the Temple of Zeus (Fig. 28), they were from a monument of the same kind. Found in or near the palaestra at Olympia. Parian marble, H: 26 cm, W: 82–4 cm. Combined W: 2.50 m

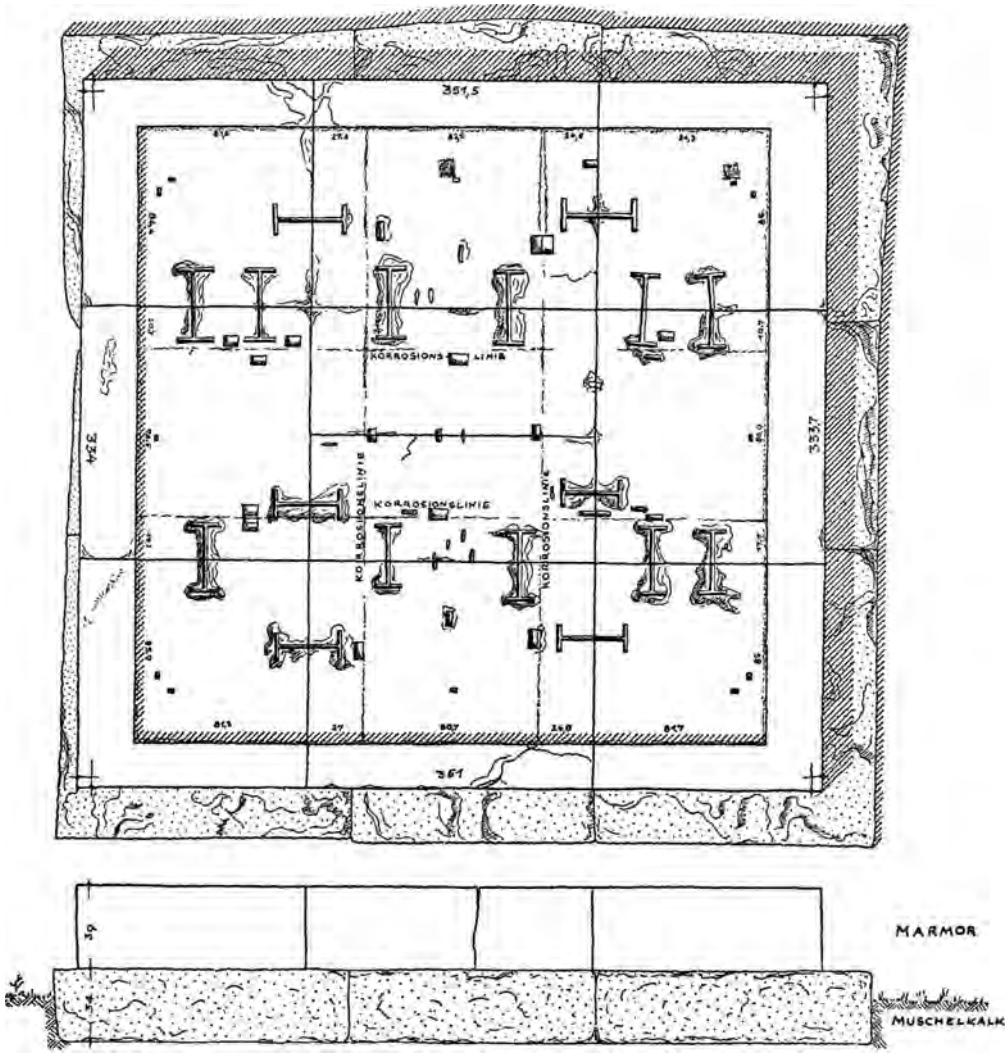


Fig. 28. Chariot monument at Olympia. Foundation in situ in front of SE corner of Temple of Zeus (see Figs. 4–5). Kind of base and position occupied by chariot group of Gelon (Appendix 16 and Fig. 27) and Hieron (List 30). Upper course is marble, lower course limestone, W: 2.74 m

Sicilian chariot groups

What do we have of such chariot monuments? The east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, featuring the preliminaries to the race between Pelops and Oinomaos, shows two four-horse chariot teams with their drivers, grooms, and their owner-heroes.[113] The groups are of the time and style of Hieron's monument (460s).

Victorious four-horse chariots, as well as mule-carts, are also featured on the coins of several Sicilian cities. In the period 500–450, the chariots are always static or walking quietly forward, driven by real-looking charioteers, with Nike sometimes in attendance (Fig. 29).[114] In contrast to the better known dynamic racing chariots driven by Nikai on the coins of these cities in the later fifth century, these early coin depictions probably drew on the form and style of the big bronze monuments, such as those of Gelon and Hieron at Olympia, indeed they may well commemorate such groups. For owners to be included, as we will see, the chariot groups had to be static.

The cities and tyrants of Sicily were passionately engaged in the crown games in old Greece, and especially in the prestigious chariot events. Like Sparta, Syracuse wanted to be known for its chariot victories.[115] The tyrants worked the games hard in practice and in the public media (statues, coins, poems) for the standing and legitimacy they brought. We have two very different, top-quality statues from Sicilian chariot monuments of precisely this time, the Delphi and the Motya charioteers, both of the 470s and both perhaps connected to victories hymned or referred to by the poets.

Polyzalos' chariot monument at Delphi

The Delphi charioteer (Figs. 30–5)[116] has the second half of a two-line inscription on the one surviving limestone block from the monument's base. The second line was a dedication to Apollo. The first line, mentioning a ruler of Gela as the dedicator, was erased and re-inscribed naming Polyzalos (brother of Hieron) as the dedicator. The arguments about the intention of the first version and the reason for its erasure and re-inscribing are complicated and controversial. On the most widely accepted hypothesis (of F. Chamoux), Polyzalos was also the unnamed ruler of Gela in the first version, and the text was adjusted later in more democratic times at Gela to remove objectionable mention of his overlordship of

[113] Ashmole and Yalouris (1967) 14, pls. 28–30.

[114] Chariot groups on coins, 500–450: Kraay and Hirmer (1966) nos. 13–16 (Leontinoi); 36 (Catana); 70 (Himera); 72–8, 83, 85, 93 (Syracuse); 157–8 (Gela). Mule bigas: Kraay and Hirmer (1966) nos. 51 (Messana), 281 (Rhegion).

[115] Pausanias 6. 2. 1 notes intense Spartan interest in *hippotrophia* and chariot-racing after the Persian Wars.

[116] Most useful detailed studies are: Chamoux (1955); Rolley (1990); F. Chamoux in Bommelaer and Laroche (1991), 180–6.



FIG. 29. Sicilian chariot coin. Four-horse chariot team is driven at prancing walk. The fine-limbed, throughbred character of the horses is emphasized in their long, thin, mannered legs. They have finely trimmed, crested manes, and their heads are held in and high. The charioteer wears a short-cropped hairstyle and a charioteer's ankle-length chiton. He leans forward in driving posture, and Victory flies above: this is a narrative scene, close to but not a transcription of a statue monument. Obverse of silver tetradrachm, diam: 2.55 cm. Syracuse, *c.*470–460 BC. Kraay and Hirmer (1996) no. 83



FIG. 30. Delphi charioteer, 470s BC. Wears high-belted, long chiton, and fillet around head. Stood in the chariot monument dedicated at Delphi, first by a ruler of Gela (Hieron in 482 or 478?), then re-inscribed as a dedication of Polyzalos (Hieron's brother) in 478 or 474. Bronze, H: 1.80 m. Delphi Museum 3484, 3520, 3540

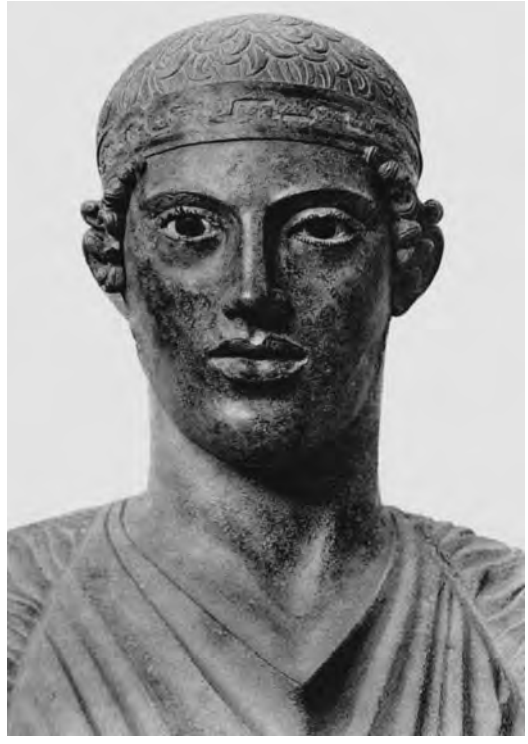


FIG. 31. Detail of Fig. 30. Upper front teeth and meander pattern in fillet were inlaid with silver. For the serrated bronze eyelashes, compare Fig. 8



Fig. 32. Delphi chariot monument. Fragment of horse's tail, with sharp cold-work typical of early fifth century: long overlaid strands of hair, finely chiselled and engraved. The tail projected slightly form the horse's rump, showing its carefully rendered, tapering tail muscle underneath. Bronze, H: 29.8 cm. Delphi Museum 3541



Fig. 33. Delphi chariot monument. Two rear legs from thoroughbred team: elegant and closely observed with separately added bronze 'chestnuts'. Bronze, H: 71 cm (left), 69.5 cm (right). Delphi Museum 3485 and 3538

the city. This is fragile on several points, but it is enough to observe that Polyzalos' name is unlikely to have been erased in one part of the line only to be re-inscribed in another.[117] Contrary to the most accepted view, therefore, Polyzalos is unlikely to have been also the first dedicator (he is in fact nowhere attested as ruler of Gela). The most likely candidate, as argued most recently and convincingly by H. Maehler, is Hieron, who ruled Gela from 485 to 478 before taking over Syracuse. This victory could have been in 482 or 478.[118]

The re-dedication of the monument by Polyzalos would have involved, Maehler suggests, a ceding of the victory by Hieron to his brother (as Kimon the Elder had ceded his Olympic victory of 528 to Peisistratos: Hdt. 6. 103. 2). Alternatively and less drastically, we might suggest that it might have been only the *monument*, not the victory itself, that was ceded by Hieron, in order to allow Polyzalos to commemorate a victory he (Polyzalos) had won himself. Polyzalos' victory could have been in either 478 or 474. For Hieron, his brother's need for the monument at a particular juncture might have been more urgent than his own: he had plenty such monuments, poems, and prestige, and he could make, or may already have had made another, maybe grander monument for himself.

[117] This is an acute observation of Ebert (1972) 62.

[118] Maehler (2002). Rolley (1990) also argued for Hieron on different grounds and with a less convincing hypothetical reconstruction that puts the original monument later—a dedication of Hieron set up in 467/6, commemorating his racehorse victories at Delphi in 482 and 478 and his chariot victory there in 470, taken over later by Polyzalos after the fall of the Deinomenids—on which, see Maehler (2002) 21.

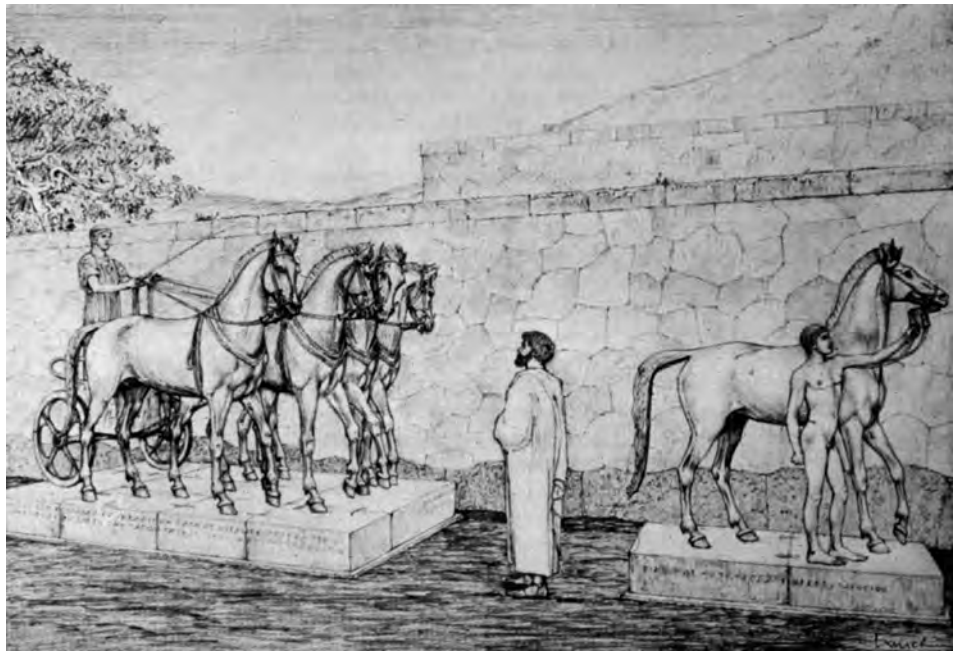


FIG. 34. Delphi chariot monument. Old reconstruction (R. Hampe) that shows well the scale and effect of such a monument, set on a low base in the same space as its viewers. Some details are wrong: the separate racehorse and groom should be on the same base as the chariot (see Fig. 35), and the whole monument was probably set up on the terrace above the polygonal wall, not as here on the temple terrace below it

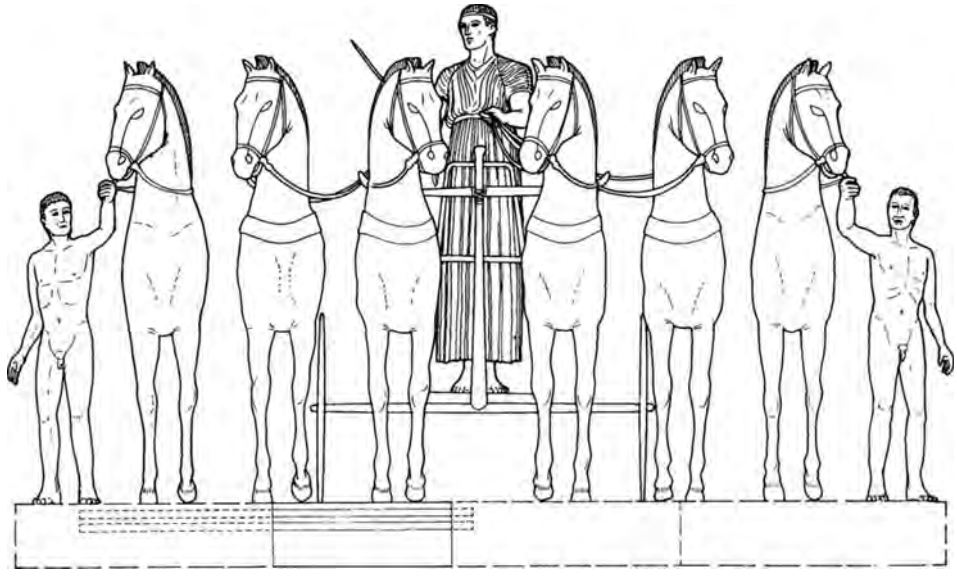


FIG. 35. Delphi chariot monument. Recent reconstruction (C. Rolley, 1990), based on new study of the fragments, restoring two flanking racehorses and grooms

The chariot group probably stood on the tall terrace overlooking the temple from the north where the base block, the charioteer, fragments of the horses and chariot, and a boy's arm were found buried. It was once an elaborate group, including beside the well-preserved driver at least the chariot, four horses, and one or more grooms (Figs. 34, 35). We come close here to Hieron's famous group at Olympia in time and effect. The charioteer is beautifully worked, with inlaid eyes, fine lashes, a fillet with a meander pattern inlaid in silver, silver teeth (now difficult to see), and astonishingly realistic feet (Figs. 30, 31).

The horses, of which we have some legs and a tail, were, however, even finer, more elegant, more closely observed (Figs. 32, 33). In relation to the charioteer they were the real subject. The horses are at a standstill or gentle mannered walk—like the bronze statuette from Olympia (n. 110), the temple east pediment (n. 113), and the early fifth-century coin images (n. 114 and Fig. 29). This was a fictive moment before or after the race, a moment above all at which the owner could be present.

None of the modern reconstructions of the group shows an owner figure (Figs. 34, 35), but all four of the chariot groups described earlier, set up between 516 and 464, and Kyniska's set up after her victory in 396, included horses, chariot, and owner. (For the following, see the references given above.) It was the charioteer who seems to have been optional, not the owner. The owners Kleosthenes, Gelon, Kratisthenes, and Kyniska were all included. The figure of a man said by Pausanias (6. 12. 1) to be standing in Hieron's chariot should also have been the owner, rather than a charioteer, whom Pausanias always seems to specify as such. This figure (Hieron?), Kratisthenes, and Kyniska are furthermore said to be on or in their chariots. For Kleosthenes and Gelon, Pausanias is not clear whether they are in or beside their chariots. There is therefore a presumption both that Polyzalos the victor-owner should be included and that he should be in the chariot with the surviving charioteer. The charioteer's wilful blankness takes on, therefore, more significance: he is expressionless, stiff, motionless, and would probably be slightly smaller than an owner figure. He defers visually to his employer.

Motya charioteer: style, costume, subject

The second statue, from Motya in west Sicily, found in 1979, came as a great surprise: an extraordinary, vigorous, top-of-the-line Greek-style marble statue from a Punic colony (Figs. 36–9).[119] But it is hardly the puzzle that many have found it to be. Punic identifications of the unusual figure (as a priest of Melkart, a Punic cult official, or a leader such as Hamilcar) have been driven by the rational

[119] Bonacasa and Buttitta (1988) for the basic documentation, with a wide range of more than twenty different learned opinions represented that identify the statue as: a Punic priest, a cult official, Hamilcar, Ikaros, a slinger, and various charioteers. The best and most careful of more recent studies is Bell (1995).

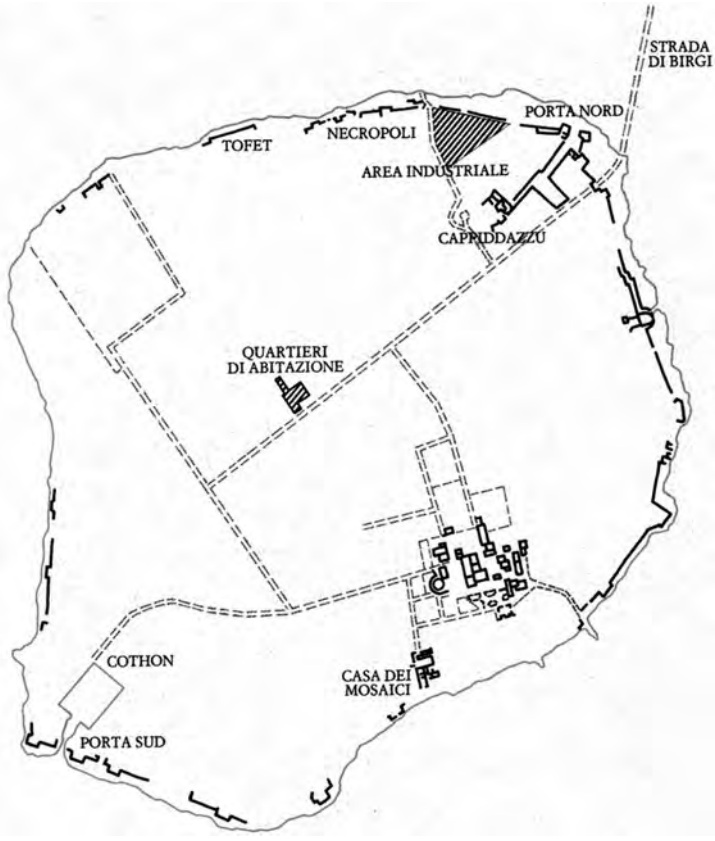


FIG. 36. Motya, plan (north at top). The charioteer statue was found at the NE of the island, immediately to the north of the Cappiddazzu complex. Minimum–maximum width of island: 659–900 m

desire to match the figure's meaning with the Punic context, but they have poor support in the form, style, and iconography of the figure.

With the find-place for the moment left to one side, the thin high-belted costume is obviously the abundantly attested foot-length chiton of a charioteer (*chitōn podēros* or *xystis*: Fig. 29). The date is early in the new manner (*c.*470s): the head has the late-Archaic-style snail curls on nape and brow (a small cap or helmet was added separately in metal), and puffy eyelids and features like those of the figures in the Olympia pediments. The prominent veins stuck on the upper arms like strips of tape are gratuitous, rudimentary, and early. Veins were an exciting novelty in this period, said to have been represented in statues more convincingly, *diligentius*, for the first time by Pythagoras of Rhegion (Pliny, *NH* 34. 59). The swinging new-style pose has an exaggerated swagger, one foot forward, one hand on hip, the other raised. The aim was to show at all costs the form and character of the body under the thin chiton.



FIG. 37–8. Motya charioteer, *c.* 470s BC. Figure wears thin, high-belted charioteer's chiton that reveals hard-trained athletic body forms beneath. Left hand on hip, right hand raised probably crowning head. Marble, H: 1.81 m. Marsala, Museo Archeologico



FIG. 39. Detail of Fig 37. Head wore cap or light helmet attached by bronze pins to rough surface and late Archaic hairstyle of three rows of tight snail curls at front (two rows at back), similar to hairstyle of Fig. 1. In contrast to Delphi charioteer (Fig. 31), features have modulated forms and portrait-like effect.

From this styling of the figure, we might deduce two things. (1) The figure was a self-sufficient statue-monument—not, as sometimes restored, standing in a chariot.[120] The turn of the statue in its own real space—from all views—signifies an independent figure. In terms of chariot narrative, the subject is out of the chariot, the raised right hand adjusting his victory crown or helmet. (2) Second, the display of muscle development and athletic body line (note in profile the swinging S-curve of the back and the hard prominent backside) are designed to show that this charioteer is not merely a driver but a youthful, well-muscled,

[120] For example in Bonacasa and Buttitta (1988) pl. 44.

hard-trained athlete with all the excellence (*aretē*) of character and body of a champion contestant: discipline, poise, hard work, good breeding are all on display. The statue was of a specific person: this charioteer had a name.

The contrast with the Delphi charioteer (Figs. 30, 31) is not then between a figure of the mainland and one of the western colonial frontier, nor is it one of date. It is in fact not possible to be sure on our present evidence which is earlier than the other. The contrast is to do with the status of the subjects and the character of the monuments to which they belonged. The Motya statue was a stand-alone figure, a great champion in a charioteer's costume, with aristocratically styled hair. He was the whole subject of his monument. The Delphi figure was a subsidiary part of a large group, partly concealed inside the chariot, and wearing a plain short hairstyle. The real subject in the Delphi monument was the horses and probably too, as argued above, the owner. The Delphi charioteer is one of the many drivers who failed to appear in Pindar's songs for chariot victors—nameless, generic, expressionless.

The Motya statue might represent a champion driver of the kind who achieved a big name, wealth, and mentions in praise poetry—a man like Karrhotos, the driver for King Arkesilas of Cyrene (*P.* 5), or Nikomachos of Athens, who drove for the tyrants of Akragas (*I.* 2. 22). Alternatively, it might be the monument of one of the rarer breed of aristocratic owner-drivers—a man like Herodotus of Thebes (*I.* 1) or Thrasyboulos of Akragas, nephew of the tyrant Theron, hymned hotly by Pindar (*I.* 2 and fr. 124a, b), who is said by the Pindar scholia to have driven for his father.[121] There is, however, no need to choose a precise name. The statue loudly asserts hard-trained athlete and independent champion. It represents a champion from the games in Greece found in Sicily, and this is enough to make it one of our most important and closely Pindar-connected monuments.

Context on Motya: booty or local monument?

What was this monument doing in a Punic stronghold? One common hypothesis is that it arrived as booty from the Carthaginian sack of one of the Greek cities of western Sicily in 406 and 405 BC. This hypothesis could well be correct. Selinus, Himera, Akragas, and Gela were all sacked and great quantities of booty taken from temples and homes and shipped to Carthage. Paintings and statues are mentioned in the case of Akragas, and a large statue of Apollo in the case of Gela (which was shipped to Tyre).[122]

Large marble statues, however, require cranes, large crates, and much careful packing to move them: they make poor booty. They are awkward, intrinsically worthless, and if broken, totally worthless. Bronzes were of course another

[121] Full details for a hypothetical identification as Thrasyboulos: Bell (1995).
[122] Diod. Sic. 13. 57 (Selinus); 13. 62 (Himera); 13. 90. 4, 13. 96. 5, 13. 108. 2 (Akragas); 13. 108. 4 (Gela).

matter. The large Apollo statue taken from before Gela and shipped to Tyre is explicitly said to have been a bronze. It might also be worth noting that the sculptured decoration of the temples at Akragas, which would have been of marble or other stone, were not taken but deliberately mutilated (Diod. Sic. 13. 108. 2). They would have been troublesome to move. What could be one of these broken temple sculptures from Akragas survives in a high-quality marble torso of a warrior of *c.*470–460 found in the city near the Olympieion.[123]

Although booty from a Sicilian Greek city remains a possible explanation, others should not be excluded and the context on Motya should perhaps not be so quickly rewritten. The statue was found in the northern part of the fortress island, at 'Sector K' (Fig. 36).[124] It had been broken: there was no plinth, no feet, and no arms. The statue had therefore been moved but not necessarily far. Close by was a large open agora-like or sanctuary-like space and a large religious-style building complex (its local name is the Cappiddazzu complex). This would make a natural display setting for such a figure—toppled (on anyone's view) in the terrible sack by Dionysios' army in 397 (Diod. Sic. 14. 47–53). Why should this not have been its first and only context?

The question 'why a Greek charioteer statue in a Punic settlement?' is perhaps posed too starkly. Both the material record and the literary record attest to a strong Greek presence on Motya in the fifth century BC.[125] The resident Greeks appear prominently in Diodorus' account of the 397 sack (Diod. Sic. 14. 53. 4). They were singled out for special punishment by Dionysios—probably their monuments too.

Such statues set up away from the victory site generally marked the hometown of the victor. And we have seen that in the fifth century even at Olympia chariot victories were often commemorated by single-figure monuments. The easiest reading then that combines the information expressed forcefully by the statue with its find-place on Motya might be a monument of or for a local resident (a Greek more likely than a Phoenician, but not certainly) who acquired fame, fortune, and aristocratic pretensions driving in the games in Greece. It need not be anyone we have heard of. The bronze runner from Kyme now in Izmir and the bronze athlete crowning himself from Fano now in Malibu are probably later examples of far-flung victor monuments from the champion's hometown.[126] Examples less remote from the sanctuaries of the crown games but precisely contemporary with the Motya statue might be figures such as the marble youths with hair tied up from the acropolis at Athens ('Kritian Boy', 'Blond Boy') and the

[123] Akragas warrior: Barbanera (1995).

[124] On the excavation and find context: G. Falsone in Bonacasa and Buttitta (1988) 9–24.

[125] D. Asheri estimates that in the 5th cent. Greeks were half the population of Motya: Asheri (1988) 744.

[126] Kyme: Uçankuş (1989). Fano: Frel (1978); Rolley (1999) 331–2, figs. 344–5.

marble statue of an armed runner from the acropolis at Sparta ('Leonidas'), all probably of the 480s or 470s.[127]

Motya charioteer and Herodotus of Thebes

There were probably few charioteer statues like the Motya figure in the sanctuaries of the crown games because the chariot victory monuments there were generally set up by the owners. Their monuments, we have seen, featured the named owners and their horses (also sometimes named, Kleosthenes 6), and optionally an unnamed charioteer. But if Herodotus of Thebes, the owner-driver for whom Pindar wrote *Isthmian* 1, had set up a statue at the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmos after his victory there, it could well have looked like this.

This poem, *Isthmian* 1, provides some help in interpreting the statue. The winning owner-driver, Pindar says, achieved *aretē* through *dapanai* and *ponos*, excellence through spending and hard training—three key concepts, as mentioned earlier, often joined by Pindar. We see the discipline of hard training (*ponos*) in the body, wealth and expenditure (*dapanai*) in the fine costume and in the expensively trained muscle-development. This kind of body-fashioning was costly: it required a life without other work. With its fine costume and perfect athletic physique, the champion's body and statue take on the 'luxuriant grandeur', *kudos habron*, won in games or war, which praise-song was meant to bring (*I.* 1. 50) and which a life-size statue made concrete. The swaggering whole embodied agonistic *aretē* as conceived in the early fifth century.

7. CONCLUSION: VICTORS STATUES, 500–450

The statue habit pervaded Greek and eventually Roman and Mediterranean society. Statues marked priorities (here, winning in the games) and negotiated important relationships (here, between the victor and his community). They were markers of different kinds of power (body power as a symbol of wealth and personal discipline) and they define for us whole periods of ancient culture (here 500–450 BC).

Athletes maintained a constant place in the statue population of cities and sanctuaries down to the third century AD. However, both athletes and their statues occupied a particularly prominent place in the fifth century, especially in the still-aristocratic generation of 500–450. In this period, aristocrats exploited the lifelike revolution in statue-making that occurred at this time and maintained a prominent position in the symbolic economy of statues when other avenues of

[127] 'Kritian Boy': Payne and Young (1936) pls. 109–17; Hurwit (1989). 'Blond Boy': Richter (1970) no. 191 and here Fig. 15. 'Leonidas': Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) no. 217.

self-promotion were being denied to them. The new-style statues were able to express the twin ideas of real athletic champion in particular contests and the best of men in mind and body. Pindar gives the most direct way into their strange backward-looking thought-world. The Motya statue, the home-monument of or to a champion driver, is a powerful example that expresses loudly both charioteer and aristocratic body supremacy.

Appendix: List of victors with statues at Olympia, to 400 BC

Ol.	Name	Contest	Maker	Paus. (H)	Base
544	1. Praxidamas (Aegina)	boxer	—	6. 18. 7 (196)	
536	2. Rhexibios (Opous)	pankratiast	—	6. 18. 7 (197)	
520	3. Glaukos (Karystos)	boxer	Glaukias (Aegina)	6. 10. 1 (96)	
	4. Anochos (Tarentum)	runner	Ageladas (Argos)	6. 14. 11 (140)	
516	5. Damaretos (Heraia)	armed runner (2)	Eutelidas (Argos)	6. 10. 4 (97)	
	6. Kleosthenes (Epidamnos)	CHARIOT	Ageladas (Argos)	6. 10. 6 (102)	
	7. Milon (Kroton)	wrestler (6)	(a Krotonian)	6. 14. 5 (136)	
512	8. Timasitheos (Delphi)	pankratiast (2)	Ageladas (Argos)	6. 8. 6 (85)	
	9. Pheidolas (Corinth)	horseracer	—	6. 13. 9 (126)	
508	10. [Sons of 9]	horseracer	—	6. 13. 10 (127)	
504	11. Philon (Corcyra)	boy runner	—	6. 14. 13 (144)	
500	12. Agametor (Mantinea)	boy boxer	—	6. 9. 9 (95)	
	13. Meneptolemos (Illyria)	boy runner	—	6. 14. 13 (143)	
496	14. Philon (Corcyra)	boxer (2)	Glaukias (Aegina)	6. 9. 9 (94)	
492	15. Hieronymos (Andros)	pentathlete	Stomios (from ?)	6. 14. 13 (145)	
488	16. Gelon (Gela/Syracuse)	CHARIOT	Glaukias (Aegina)	6. 9. 4 (93)	3 base blocks: IvO 143
	17. Agiadis (Elis)	boy boxer	Serambos (Aegina)	6. 10. 9 (106)	
484	18. Theopompos (Heraia)	pentathlete	—	6. 10. 4 (98)	
	19. Epikradios (Mantinea)	boy boxer	Ptolichos (Aegina)	6. 10. 9 (104)	
	20. Mnaseas (Cyrene)	armed runner	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 13. 7 (123)	
	21. Polypeithes (Sparta)	chariot	—	6. 16. 6 (170)	
	22. Kalliteles, father	wrestler	—	6. 16. 6 (170)	
480	23. Dromeus (Stymphalos)	runner (2)	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 7. 10 (72)	
	24. Astylos (Kroton/Syrac)	runner (3)	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 13. 1 (113)	
476	25. Theagenes (Thasos)	pankratiast	Glaukias (Aegina)	6. 11. 12 (107)	
	26. Theognetos (Aegina)	boy wrestler	Ptolichos (Aegina)	6. 9. 1 (86)	
472	27. Euthymos (Lokroi)	boxer (3)	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 6. 4 (59)	signed base: IvO 144
	28. Kallias (Athens)	pankratiast	Mikon (Athens)	6. 6. 1 (53)	signed base: IvO 146
	29. Tellon (Arkadia)	boy boxer	—	6. 10. 5 (105)	base: IvO 147–8
468	30. Hieron (Syracuse)	CHARIOT	Onatas, Kalamis	6. 12. 1 (108)	
464	31. Ergoteles (Knss/Himera)	runner (2)	—	6. 4. 11 (49)	fr. brnz. plate: Ebert no. 20
	32. Protolaos (Mantinea)	boy boxer	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 6. 1 (51)	
	33. Pytharchos (Mantinea)	boy runner	—	6. 7. 1 (60)	
	34. Diagoras (Rhodes)	boxer	Kallikles (Megara)	6. 7. 1 (65)	fr. base: IvO 151
	35. Pherias (Aegina)	boy wrestler	—	6. 14. 12 (131)	fr. brnz. plate: Ebert no. 19
	36. Kratisthenes (Cyrene)	CHARIOT	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 18. 1 (194)	
460	37. Kyniskos (Mantinea)	boy boxer	Polykleitos (Argos)	6. 4. 11 (48)	signed base: IvO 149

(*Continued*)

Ol.	Name	Contest	Maker	Paus. (H)	Base
	38. Sostratos (Pellana)	boy runner	—	6. 8. 1 (74)	
	39. Oibotas 756 (Paleia)	runner	—	6. 3. 8 (29)	
	40. Chionis 664/56 (Sparta)	runner (3)	Myron (Athens)	6. 13. 2 (114)	
456	41. Timanthes (Kleonai)	pankratiast	Myron (Athens)	6. 8. 4 (79)	
452	42. Leontiskos (W-Messana)	wrestler (2)	Pythagoras (Rhegion)	6. 4. 3 (40)	
	43. Pythokles (Elis)	pentathlete	Polykleitos (Argos)	6. 7. 10 (73)	signed base: IvO 162–3
448	44. Damagetos (D, Rhodes)	pankratiast (2)	—	6. 7. 1 (64)	fr. base: IvO 152
	45. Lykinos (from ?)	chariot	Myron (Athens)	6. 2. 1 (12)	
	46. Akousilaos (D, Rhodes)	boxer	—	6. 7. 1 (62)	
	47. Cheimon (Argos)	wrestler	Naukydes (Argos)	6. 9. 3 (91)	
444	48. Alkainetos (Lepreon)	boxer (2)	—	6. 7. 8 (67)	
	49. Arkesilas (Sparta)	chariot (2)	—	6. 2. 1 (13)	
	50. Charmides (Elis)	boy boxer	—	6. 7. 1 (61)	fr. base: IvO 156
	51. Ikkos (Tarentum)	pentathlete	—	6. 10. 5 (100)	
440	52. Polykles (Sparta)	chariot	—	6. 1. 7 (9)	
	53. Gnathon (Dipaia-Arkadia)	boy boxer	Kallikles (Megara)	6. 7. 9 (70)	
436	54. Theopompos (Heraia)	wrestler (2)	—	6. 10. 4 (99)	
	55. Philippos (Pellana)	boy boxer	Myron (Athens)	6. 8. 5 (82)	
	56. Pantarkes (Elis)	boy wrestler	—	6. 10. 6 (101)	
432	57. Lykinos (Elis)	boy boxer	—	6. 7. 9 (71)	
428	58. Anaxandros (Sparta)	chariot	—	6. 1. 7 (8)	
424	59. Dorieus (D, Rh. / Thurii)	pankratiast (3)	—	6. 7. 1 (63)	fr. base: IvO 153
	60. Hellanikos (Lepreon)	boy boxer	—	6. 7. 8 (68)	base: IvO 155
420	61. Lichas (Sparta)	chariot	—	6. 2. 1 (14)	
	62. Aristeus (Argos)	runner	Pantias (Chios)	6. 9. 3 (90)	
	63. Xenombrotos (Kos)	horseracer	Philotimos (Aegina)	6. 14. 12 (141)	fr. base: IvO 170
	64. Theantos (Lepreon)	boy boxer	—	6. 7. 8 (69)	
	65. Amertas (Elis)	boy wrestler	Phradmon (Argos)	6. 8. 1 (75)	
416	66. Androsthenes (Mainalos)	pankratiast (2)	Nikodamos (Mainalos)	6. 6. 1 (54)	
	67. Nikostratos (Heraia)	boy wrestler	Pantias (Chios)	6. 3. 11 (32)	
408	68. Eubotas (Cyrene)	runner	—	6. 8. 3 (78)	
	69. Poulydamas (Skotoussa)	pankratiast	Lysippos (Sikyon)	6. 5. 1 (50)	
404	70. Promachos (Pellene)	pankratiast	—	6. 8. 5 (84)	
	71. Symmachos (Elis)	wrestler	—	6. 1. 3 (1)	
	72. Eukles (Rhodes)	boxer	Naukydes (Argos)	6. 6. 2 (55)	signed base: IvO 159
	73. Peisirodos (D, Rhodes)	boy boxer	—	6. 7. 2 (66)	
400	74. Xenodikos (Kos)	boy boxer	Pantias (Chios)	6. 14. 12 (142)	
	75. Baucis (Troizen)	wrestler	Naukydes (Argos)	6. 8. 4 (80)	
	76. Euthymenes (Mainalos)	boy wrestler	Alypos (Sikyon)	6. 8. 5 (81)	
	77. Timon (Elis)	chariot	Daidalos (Sikyon)	6. 2. 8 (17)	
	78. Aigyptos (Elis)	horseracer	Daidalos (Sikyon)	6. 2. 8 (18)	
	79. Antiochos (Lepreon)	pankratiast	Nikodamos (Mainalos)	6. 3. 9 (30)	
	80. Damarchos (Parrhasia)	boxer	—	6. 8. 2 (77)	

Winners with statues are listed under their victory year, and under their latest victory year if they won more than once (a statue set up after three victories is expressly attested, for example, for **Euthymos** (27)). Numbers of victories are given in brackets after the contest. Victory dates are from Herrmann (after Moretti). Circuit-victors (*periodonikai*) are underlined. **Oibotas** (39) and **Chionis** (40) were winners in the eighth and seventh centuries respectively. The date of Oibotas' statue is fixed (460), that of **Chionis** is placed *c.*460 with the floruit of its maker (Myron). The statues of Eutelidas and Tisandros, winners in the late seventh and early sixth century (Herrmann, nos. 157 and 125), probably set up much later, are omitted. Other statues (especially of sixth-century winners—for example, no. 4, by Glaukias of Aegina) are likely to have been set up some time later than the victory year. Some fifth-century winners are known to have had statues set up only in the fourth century (for example, **Cheimon** (47), **Poulydamas** (69)). Only one (possible) victor statue of the period down to 400 BC is recorded outside Pausanias, by a fragmentary bronze plate—for Pantares of Gela, victor (in chariot?) in 508: *IvO* 142; Ebert (1972) no. 5; Herrmann (1988) 177, List II, no. 1. Chariots are all four-horse. 'CHARIOT' marks a full chariot group with horses and figure(s) of life size. 'Chariot' marks a victor in the four-horse chariot race commemorated with a single figure or, in the case of **Polypeithes** of Sparta (21), an expressly small chariot group. D = a Diagorid. H = Herrmann (1988) 151–76, List I. Ebert = Ebert (1972).

This page intentionally left blank

FIVE

Fame, Memorial, and Choral Poetry: The Origins of Epinikian Poetry—an Historical Study

Rosalind Thomas

Pindar's choral odes leave no doubt that they brought a victor fame in his lifetime, and memory far beyond it: to quote only *Nemean* 6:

> Guide straight upon this victor, Muse, a glorious breeze of song.
> For when men have passed away, songs and tales (*logoi*)
> carry home for them their noble deeds. (*N.* 6. 28–30; my tr.)

His odes also tend to portray the victor in a generalized—and so all the more powerful and seductive—aura of blessedness and happiness, a felicity which is often quite explicitly linked by the poet to the victor's ancestors and a hereditary excellence born from past heroes. This is a central aristocratic ideal, and the epinikian odes do much to elevate these victors, even while they mention the victor's toil. Most victors must have hailed from the very wealthiest echelons of Greek society.

The starting points of this chapter are various attempts to set the fully-fledged victory odes of Pindar in relation to large-scale changes in Greek society and politics from the late Archaic period. Were these victory odes giving eloquent voice to the last vestiges of aristocratic (and Archaic) Greece? Are they contributing to an aristocratic display culture that celebrated the values of hereditary wealth and birth as a reaction to the new democratic ideas of Athens? Is Pindar even much interested in the values of the Greek city-state as opposed to the achievements of individuals and their families?[1] Interesting suggestions have been made, for instance, that the rise of the victory ode is in some kind of counterbalance to the growth in civic festivals; aristocratic families getting their own back in the face of their declining cult power.[2] Or that as city-states tried to curb aristocratic ostentation and extravagance in other spheres, particularly in funerary rituals, the victory ode became an increasingly acceptable substitute for

[1] Note, however, that Kurke (1991) shows convincingly his interest in the polis.

[2] Kurke (1991) 258–9 and ch. 1 generally; cf. also Kurke (1998) ch. 7, esp. the end. Hubbard (2001) suggests that it was a genre whose aristocratic characteristics were particularly attractive to new wealth.

either the extravagance or the family symbolism, or even for the poetic performances connected to the upper-class funeral.[3]

Peter Rose argued, in an avowedly Marxist literary interpretation which draws the battle lines most clearly, that the aristocratic ideology as voiced in Pindar was connected to the rise of democracy and talked of an 'escalation of ideological warfare responding to the more threatening aspects of relatively "democratic" tyrannies'.[4] But already in this forceful analysis there was a worrying vagueness about quite which 'democratic' tyrannies were envisaged, and a slip from mention of democracy to the quite different phenomenon of 'democratic' tyrannies, which might conceivably include the Peisistratids or the great Sicilian tyrannies Pindar was happy to celebrate. A further more sophisticated version of his thesis ten years later elaborated the argument that when Pindar celebrated a victor's achievement, he was doing so in terms that glorified the values of the ruling class, the virtue of aristocratic excellence, and that this was responding to the challenge to aristocratic Greece from the new Kleisthenic democracy, as well as from new wealth and Presocratic critiques of the status quo. While he also shows how Pindar elevated the power and voice of the poet above all this (so the poet does have the last say after all), he sees the victory ode even in its earliest stages as 'already an arena of political struggle'.[5] Several interpretations, then, see the victory ode as a vehicle for aristocratic ideals as other ideals rose in challenge; and as an opportunity for aristocratic display and predominance as other avenues were fenced off by the polis.

It is clear that the Pindaric victory ode is a phenomenon mainly devoted to the aristocratic and wealthy elite of Greece, and celebrates what are essentially aristocratic values, *aretē*, beauty, athletic prowess. But it is worth remembering that the Athenian people applied just the same set of aristocratic ideals to itself, the democratic *dēmos*.[6] There is also little sign of much self-conscious democratic ideology (though much anti-tyrant feeling), at least in the early stages of the democracy. The idea that these values were deliberately elevated by Pindar in antagonism to the new democratic ideas seems stretched. Besides, as Hubbard points out, there is some likelihood that Pindar, while aware of the training involved, might have given aristocratic attributes to some who did not have a cast-iron pedigree.[7] There are some problems also with the nature of the evidence available and with the selectivity of modern scholarship, which raise interesting questions. Concentrating so exclusively on the odes of Pindar is risky, not least since the earliest datable Pindaric ode dates to 498 BC and few historians of Archaic Greece would wish to see aristocratic anxiety about erosion of power

[3] Implied by Nagy (1990); Kurke (1991) 258–9.
[4] Rose (1982) 55.
[5] Rose (1992) 159 (we hear nothing now of tyranny).
[6] Rosalind Thomas (1989) 213–21.
[7] Hubbard (2001).

emerging so late in Greek history.[8] Pindar wrote few epinikians for Athenians (note *Pythian* 7), yet you might expect to hear more from him about embattled aristocrats from Athens itself if this antagonism was a fundamental basis to his craft. There is also a clear tendency by literary scholars to compare Pindar and his world mainly with that of Athens, rather than that of Sparta, say, Sicily, Thebes, or Aegina. Certainly Athens provides the richest political and literary evidence from the latter part of the fifth century, but it is still strange to find that Kurke in her interesting book talks of the impetus behind the victory ode as 'a kind of counter-revolution on the part of the aristocracy', a counter-revolution against the increase in civic festivals, as opposed to family rituals and aristocratic display, initiated by Solon of Athens.[9] One might add that Solon's laws were at least a century older than Pindar, and that aristocratic families generally managed to maintain a large role in civic festivals even at Athens.

There are also important questions here about how victories were celebrated earlier than Pindar's time, whether in stone, ritual, or song; and about the relation of victory in the games to political and social prestige. The wealthy victor had other opportunities to celebrate and memorialize his victory, including those gigantic monuments of stone and bronze which only now survive in fragmentary pieces—while the epinikian was nicely aristocratic in tenor, it was by no means the only way to flaunt victory. The political or social implications of victory and victory celebration may lie along a rather different grid from the simple democratic/aristocratic antithesis. As every reader of Herodotus knows, the threat inherent in spectacular victory could often lie in another direction—not in hazy aristocratic or anti-democratic values, but in tyranny. The victor in the late sixth century—and indeed earlier—might be a potential tyrant, able to upset the current political status quo, whatever it was: he could have quite dangerous power.[10] As early as the late seventh century, Kylon, whose attempted coup at Athens indirectly led to the Alcmaionid curse, was an Olympic victor, a fact mentioned as if it gave him a political boost (Hdt. 5. 71. 1). In the sixth century, Miltiades, member of the ancient Philaid genos traced back to Ajax, is introduced by Herodotus as from 'a family able to compete in the four-horse chariot race' (Hdt. 6. 35: *ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου*). By the time he left Athens to found a colony, he had won the race at Olympia, making him even more of a threat to the current tyrant Peisistratos. His half-brother Kimon was in exile under the tyranny and also won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia (from exile). When he won a second time, he prudently allowed the victory to be declared in favour

[8] Cf. the complaints and claims of Theognis (*passim*), Solon (e.g. fr. 4 W), Alcaeus: Murray (1993) chs. 8–12; note Eric Robinson's important study (Robinson 1997) for early democratic impulses.

[9] See Kurke (1991), also Hubbard (2001), esp. 389–90 on the 'problematized elite'.

[10] Cf. also Kurke (1998), who resurrects the idea of the talismanic power of the athlete (and references there).

of Peisistratos on condition he be allowed home; he won a third time with the same mares and was murdered by Peisistratos' sons (6. 103), or at least that is how the story goes. He was too prominent and successful for comfort. Herodotus adds that his famous mares were even buried near his tomb. These traditions imply that the successful victor might be an overbearing presence in the city-state and a potential threat to the citizens as a whole as well as to the aristocracy and elite.

The rest of this chapter will examine the early development of victory celebration, asking what kind of victory celebration was possible in the period before Pindar's odes; and make some suggestions about other kinds of impetus behind the escalating nature of victory celebration in the sixth and early fifth centuries.

THE CELEBRATION OF VICTORY

Victory celebration was nothing new, of course, in the late sixth or early fifth centuries and if we are looking for the beginnings of praise and celebration of a mortal athlete, we have to look at the fragmentary indications of pre-Pindaric celebration. It is important to distinguish songs *in honour* of a victor and songs which go so far as to celebrate the victor.

As early as Homer there were celebrations of victory, with songs in honour of the victors. In *Iliad* 23, Homer describes the contests of athletes in Patroklos' funeral games: while not formal victory songs, these verses show that already athletes victorious in games were thought a 'worthy subject for song', though since they are legendary heroes, one might think they were an exceptional category already worthy of song even without the games.[11] Rather different are songs expressly in honour of the victor, and these need not be about the victor himself. In the late sixth and fifth centuries, the song by Archilochos could be sung for victors without a special victory ode in their honour, the so-called 'kallinikos' or *τήνελλα* chant, which was sung as an off-the-peg victory song. This is mentioned by the scholia to the start of Pindar's *Olympian* 9,

> *Τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος*
> *φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίᾳ*
> *καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς*
> *ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι*
> *κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροις·*
> *ἀλλὰ νῦν . . .*
>
> The song of Archilochos
> resounding at Olympia,

[11] See Instone (1996) 7. Hesiod sang at the games in honour of Amphidamas (*Works and Days* 654–9), but there is no indication that this was celebrating Amphidamas personally.

> that triumphal hymn swelling with three refrains,
> sufficed for Epharmostos to lead the way by Kronos' hill
> as he celebrated with his close companions,
> but now . . . (*O.* 9. 1–5)[12]

As the scholiasts tell us, the song was a hymn to Herakles. The refrain of τήνελλα imitated lyre strings and τήνελλα καλλίνικε was repeated three times as a refrain. It began, ὦ καλλίνικε χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες, according to Eratosthenes (schol. Pi. *O.* 9.1, Drachmann 1. 268. 18–23), and the singing involved leader (the victor himself) and a chorus of komasts—companions escorting the victor. There were various theories in antiquity about how *tēnella kallinikē* became a separate cry, but even if Eratosthenes is right about it beginning as a hymn to Herakles rather than an epinikian, it seems to acquire the role of an epinikian at some point, a celebratory song *for* the victor but not about the victor himself. It is interesting that Pindar's *Olympian* 9 begins with the *mēlos* of Archilochos as a foil to his own celebration, implying that it was still used and still familiar, though the individualized epinikian would be far superior. It also carries on being used as a victory chant, appearing several times in Athenian comedy at moments of victory celebrations, as at the end of the *Acharnians*, for instance.[13] The victor then presumably disappears off in a rowdy Komos, singing with his companions in a makeshift 'chorus'.

When do victory odes tailored to the individual victor and celebrating that victor come into fashion? This might indicate a growing 'cult of the victor' (and of the individual), which I mean in the modern sense, without any implication of cult rituals, a shift from a celebration of the gods who made it possible to the individual. The earliest epinikian that is datable is thought to be by Simonides, for Glaukos of Karystos, winner in the boys' wrestling in 520 BC.[14] There were certainly many epinikia by Simonides known to antiquity, and they were eventually grouped together in books by the event involved:[15] *Epinikia for Runners*, for example (e.g. fr. 506 *PMG*), or *For the Horse Race*, *Pentathletes*, etc., and attested poems cover victors from Karystos, Eretria, Kroton (Astylus), Thessaly (Skopas); other patrons were Sicilian. The surviving fragments imply a kind of jokey informality (Krios), or hyperbole (Glaukos compared to Herakles and Polydeukes) very far from the lofty tone of Pindar's odes, and they include more description of the race itself.[16] They were clearly numerous, at any rate, and

[12] The fragment is Archilochos fr. 324 W.

[13] *Acharnians* 1227–9 (*tēnella kallinikē*); *Birds* 1763–5, sung by chorus. Cf. Macleod (1983) 49–51 on the encomium of the hero in comedy, including by the chorus. Schol. to *O.* 9, Drachmann 1. 266–8 for Archilochos and related theories.

[14] Kurke (1991) 59; Bowra (1961) 311 (implied). But this is a highly problematic poem and even attribution; see references at Ch. 1 above, p. 166 [41 n. 166].

[15] See Obbink (2001) 76–7. Mann (2001) has an appendix on Simonides' epinikia.

[16] Bowra (1961) ch. 8, esp. 310–17; Hutchinson (2001) 286–8.

this would pull back the period of the victory ode to the period of the generation before the Persian Wars, say *c.*520 (Simonides' life spans *c.*550–470/460).

Simonides is the first composer of victory odes we know of, though not necessarily the inventor,[17] and he may have been responsible for some degree of transformation in the genre. The scholia merely say that Simonides was the first to compose victory odes for a fee (*misthos*).[18] This is mentioned as a gloss to the opening words of Pindar's *Isthmian* 2, in honour of Xenokrates of Akragas and addressed to his brother Thrasyboulos: he contrasts ancient poets who sang for whoever they wished:

> ἁ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδής πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις
> For in those days the Muse was not yet greedy for gain nor up for hire.
> (*I.* 2. 6)

The scholia take this as a reference to Simonides with his reputation for greed. If they are right then clearly there were individual victory songs before this, and Simonides represented a further development in poetic composition as a commodity which could be commissioned. It is tempting to see this as a symptom of a growing fashion for more and more elaborate celebrations of the victor. Payment would presumably widen the potential pool of those able to acquire an ode in their honour. We may add to this that Pindar himself implies in *Isthmian* 2 that the victory song is far older than he (or Simonides), as he harks back to 'men of ancient times' (οἱ μὲν πάλαι ... φῶτες, line 1). In *Nemean* 8, he also declares that the *epikōmios hymnos* existed in ancient times, even before Adrastos (*N.* 8. 51–3; cf. also *O.* 10. 76–8, the first Olympic Games). Given the Greek propensity to see ancient origins in everything they respected, however, this perhaps cannot be pressed far.

Moreover, Barron has suggested that some new fragments of Ibykos which have an agonistic tinge could be parts of victory odes. This would take the attested victory ode even earlier than Simonides.[19] Hailing from west Greece, Ibykos was associated at least with the court of Polykrates the magnificent tyrant of Samos (from *c.*535 BC)—and Barron points out that it would be surprising if great victors were 'content merely with the ritual cry of τήνελλα until the time of Simonides'[20] (what is acceptible to Archaic sensitivities is another matter, to which we return). It certainly seems significant that Ibykos was the author of a poem praising Polykrates, thus he was no stranger to personal praise poetry, and claimed outright

[17] As e.g. Kurke claims (1991) 59, 258 n. 5. Cf. Barron (1984) 20 on the orthodoxy.

[18] Schol. Pi. *I.* 2, Drachmann III. 214, on 9a: Simonides.

[19] Barron (1984) 20–2 on *P. Oxy.* 2735 (at p. 20 citing Page and Bowra): one might be for an athlete from Leontini, and he suggests—but this is quite uncertain—that the Kallias is the Athenian Kallias victorious at Olympia in 564 BC.

[20] Barron (1984) 20. Cf. also Hutchinson (2001) 228–31.

in that poem that his song would give Polykrates fame.[21] Some curious lines in Tyrtaeus, however, are suggestive of even earlier poetic celebration, the lines in which he redefines what is acceptable as *aretē*, fighting for the city (fr. 12 W, 1–14): he begins by saying he would not celebrate an athlete 'for prowess in the foot race or the wrestling'. This implies that poets were already celebrating athletic victors in the seventh century, if not necessarily the genre of the victory ode.

If, then, we are looking for a habit of poetic celebration glorifying the victor by name, we seem to be able to reach further and further back into the sixth century, probably back into the 530s and very possibly earlier to the mid sixth century. The remains of victory monuments and epigrams give a similar picture. The 'ideological' content of these early odes is unknown, but the idea of excessive glorification of a living individual might be regarded as overstepping the mark by comparison with the usual Archaic reverence to the gods, and that seems to deserve some explanation in moral as well as political terms.

The suggestion that the impetus behind the victory ode was in part the democratic threat was tightly tied to the datable first ode of Pindar and the establishment of the moderate democracy at Athens in 507 BC. The earlier one finds victory odes the more dubious this correlation looks. But Rose also mentioned the longer developments of Archaic society in which the aristocracy had been losing the monopoly on military achievement, and hoplite warfare had been diffusing the possibility of military achievement and outstanding courage through the whole of the citizen body. This seems at first an attractive suggestion, with achievement in the games flowing in to fill the gap left by changing military roles. But we are then talking about a long-drawn-out set of changes beginning in at least the early seventh century. In any case generals tended to go on being drawn from the elite, even in Athens. Historians of Archaic Greece are familiar with the idea of the aristocracy (either aristocratic clans or very wealthy old families) resenting or resisting the claims of citizens to have more say in the running of the developing city-states, but this was evident already in the seventh century. Archaic poets, themselves prominent in their poleis, voice this resentment frequently, from Alcaeus to Theognis or Solon (e.g. Solon frs. 5, 6 W). Polis institutions and laws are often preoccupied with preventing individuals seizing absolute power. Matters are complicated still further by the fact that many tyrants seems to have arisen from the aristocracy but had wider popular support, or claimed to (see Alcaeus and Pittakos). The tyrant Peisistratos of Athens was the successful one of three leaders of factions led by aristocrats in the sixth century. It is not obvious that anything so clear-cut as 'aristocratic' versus 'democratic' ideals was involved in the rash of tyrannies. The spectacular development of civic festivals in the sixth century, the building of ever more

[21] Ibykos fr. 1a (282 *PMG*), lines 47–8.

magnificent temples (e.g. Samos, Athens), the architectural accoutrements of the polis, all imply a growing magnificence in the public sphere, often (or always) supported and financed by magnificently rich families for the polis. Such buildings and festivals are often connected with tyrants themselves and tyrant patronage, and one imagines that these moves were intended to cement the identification of the tyrant with his city and the magnificence of his city, enhancing popular support and entrenching his position of power.[22] When we also remember that an athletic victory—and particularly one in the chariot race—could be seen virtually as a declaration of political ambition, then we are dealing with an inextricable mixture of power, prominence, ambition, and athletic success, all of which were open to rival aristocrats, and perhaps would-be aristocrats, in any city-state. As the games became more important in the sixth century, they could become more and more the focus for these ambitions.

Rose's view was premised partly on the Marxist dialectical view of history, aristocratic ideals being voiced in counterpoint to an opposing set. There may be something in this in many periods, but the theoretical framework seems to be too constricting for this period. As we see in the sixth century, political developments do not form a clear-cut opposition between aristocratic and democratic, and the whole is complicated by the spate of tyrannies, often populist, and by fear of tyrannies. The aristocratic ideal of hereditary excellence was so entrenched that it was adopted even by the radical democracy at Athens, which formed an idea of a kind of aristocracy of the people, the demos accepting the dominant values of aristocratic excellence and adapting it to themselves.[23]

There were, in any case, surely other tensions involved. There was potential conflict between the successful individual and the polis which was developing as a political community—over-mighty individuals might threaten the stability of the polis and often did. A tension between Archaic reverence for the gods and fear of hubris and the overweening success of the athlete must also be visible. There must be competition between rival aristocrats. And we might wonder if Pindar's stress on innate excellence and heredity is in part a reaction to the way the games themselves were changing and becoming more prestigious (rather than simply to a declining aristocracy): as the circuit developed, training and an increasing professionalism also must have followed eventually, though it is hard to specify when. A disdain for mere training is linked to the larger and vaguer aristocratic idealization of birth, certainly, but it is quite specifically tied to the games on a practical level also.[24] A Pindaric ode could turn a victory that was the result of

[22] See e.g. on the Peisistratids at Athens: Shear (1978).

[23] See n. 6 above—not to mention the new wealthy.

[24] Trainers sometimes visible in Pindar, e.g. *N.* 5. 46–7, but as pointed out by Cathy Morgan in this volume (p. 226), they almost all occur in Aeginetan odes and particularly for boy athletes. Cf. Hubbard (1985) 107–4 on the complex relationship between *physis* and *technē* in Pindar.

long toil and training into a grander evocation of timeless athletic prowess and divine favour.

I would like to dwell particularly on one form of 'dialectical' tension which bears on the origins of the victory ode. One suspects that there is an almost hidden competition with other forms of celebration, and between the effectiveness of the poet and the effectiveness of more physical marks of achievement in the form of victory monuments and statues.[25] The poets occasionally imply that they see themselves as competing with stone or bronze in their claims to bring the victor fame, and they were surely right. As R. R. R. Smith's chapter emphasizes, a glance at the development of victory monuments, even in the sixth century, is enough to dislodge the idea that the peak of aristocratic ostentation and display (rather than poetic excellence, of course) was necessarily to be found in the odes of Pindar, rather than in the physical monuments.

So in *Nemean* 6, with which we started, the metaphor of movement is used to convey the sense that the news—and the song—will travel far in the present and far into the future (*N.* 6. 28–30).[26] In *Nemean* 5. 1–5, the comparison is explicit:

> I am no maker of statues (οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ')
> Who fashions figures to stand unmoved
> On the self-same pedestal.
> On every merchantman, in every skiff
> Go, sweet song, from Aigina,
> And spread the news that Lampon's son
> Pytheas has won the wreath of victory.
>
> (Bowra, adapted)

Pindar's songs travel, unlike mere statues which remain on their pedestal, and the claim is made strikingly at the very start of the ode. One can perhaps see the same range of implied imagery in *Isthmian* 2. 44–6, where he exhorts the victor not to keep silent about his excellence, nor about these poems: 'never keep silent about your ancestral *aretē*, nor these hymns, for I did not fashion them to stand still' (*I.* 2. 44–6). There is an interesting implication that the poem will be spread around by the victor's friends.[27] It is also worth noting the Aeginetan emphasis of *N.* 5. Since Aegina was the home of a major school of athletic sculptors, any reference to competition with sculpture might have an edge particularly acute for an Aeginetan audience.[28]

[25] Some remarks in Thomas (1995) 113–17.

[26] See Kurke (1991) ch. 2 for the significance of the metaphor of carrying home safe.

[27] The scholiast to *N.* 5, 1a gives an anecdote which sounds like a back formation from this opening, that the Aeginetans think a bronze statue would be better value than an ode, then change their mind, Drachmann III. 89—but it does at least conceive of people weighing their relative merits.

[28] I owe this suggestion to Cathy Morgan: see her chapter in this volume, and the list included in that of R. R. R. Smith.

Leslie Kurke has discussed the opening of *Nemean* 5 along with *Isthmian* 2, stressing that Pindar in both is using the language of the *tektōn*, or craftsman, to claim the superiority of the poet. She is concerned to point out that this *tektōn* imagery underlines 'the theme of *megaloprepeia*' and the relationship between victor and community, the poet 'erecting' as it were, poetic monuments and dedications to commemorate public service.[29] I wonder though if this is not an unnecessarily oblique approach (though the polis-perspective is well taken). Is it just the *language* of the *tektōn*, or is the metaphor a living, vivid one which reflects the reality that stone statues and monuments were to be seen crowding every shrine, every public place, and that they too, claimed to confer fame and memory? Similarly when Pindar uses the imagery of sanctuary dedications and works of art of his own poetry: *Pythian* 6 opens with the image of 'a Pythian-victory treasury of hymns' (*P.* 6. 5–9: *Πυθιόνικος ἔνθ' . . . ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς . . . τετείχισται*), and goes on to assert that it will never be destroyed (10–14). *Nemean* 8 pictures the poet as a suppliant to the hero Aiakos, fastening onto Aiakos' knees 'a loud-sounding Lydian headband' (i.e. his victory ode) as an *agalma*, a dedication (*N.* 8. 13–16).[30] (If *agalma* at this time still tends to denote more vaguely something pleasing to the gods, rather than specifically a 'dedication', that widens the reference for Pindar's poetry, but the two senses obviously converge.)

In her interesting discussion, Kurke saw these passages in terms of the importance of *megaloprepeia*, and therefore the contractual and civic/polis context of the poet's activity.[31] I would prefer to see them more directly as reflections of a world in which the poet elevates his poetry by comparing it to, or imagining it in terms of, the monuments, statues, treasuries, and the victory dedications which were the most common means to memorialize a victor's achievement. The poetry strengthens its case, as it were, by taking on as metaphor the images of stone monuments and dedications which were the most obvious and directly visible signs of victory in any shrine or city.[32] The interactive relationship might be even stronger if these poems were performed, as is very likely, alongside the stone monuments themselves. A subtle and detailed analysis of Pindar's 'speaking objects' by Deborah Steiner also shows the extent to which Pindar's poems use

[29] Kurke (1991) 250–1; note also on these passages Svenbro (1976) 190, and Race (1987*a*) 154–5. Hubbard's idea (2001) 392 that Pi. is promoting Aeginetan commerce seems excessive.

[30] Cf. *P.* 7. 1–4, for the Alkmaionidai, but here it is Athens which is the foundation course (*krēpis*) of songs.

[31] See esp. Kurke (1991) 188–92, with a good collection of examples of dedication imagery used of Pindar's work; p. 192: 'the ethos of *megaloprepeia* generates the imagery of concrete *agalmata* and *anathemata* as a means of expressing simultaneously the enduring quality and communal scope of Pindar's poetry'.

[32] This still leaves room for elaborating on the possibly similar attitudes to the victory poems and monuments as contributions to civic life.

the imagery of statues of his own activity, and in some cases perhaps incorporate hints of real-life statues of victors into his portrayal of victory celebrations (clasping the knees of (the statue of) Aiakos, in *Nemean* 8 is a good example).[33] She argues that Pindar is not simply dismissing the statues in favour of his poetry, and tries to show that he incorporates not merely the imagery of statues and *agalmata*, and also uses the custom and nature of dedicatory objects to voice further praise. But in a way we could see this imagery precisely as an indication of the enduring force of the visible monuments and perhaps their equal or greater power in the popular mind by comparison to that of the poet.[34]

Homer had already sung of the power of the poet to confer fame and memory. As Alkinoos remarked gloomily to Odysseus, the gods have spun out doom for men 'so that there may be song for those to come' (*Od*. 8. 203–4). The connection between poetry and fame may perhaps have been intensified in the sixth century: it would certainly be helped by the development of genres of poetry which celebrated living individuals as opposed to long-dead heroes. Tyrtaeus had implied that a man acquired fame from the city by fighting and dying for it (fr. 12 W). Ibykos had claimed that it was he, the poet, who conferred fame upon Polykrates (above), the first of such claims we still have for a living person. But many others evidently thought a lasting memorial could be preserved in stone, with the victor's name simply and prominently engraved. This is the assumption that Simonides mocks in his poem about a grave inscription on Midas' tomb by Kleoboulos of Rhodes, one of the Seven Sages: a stone inscription might seem imperishable, but 'that stone even a man's hand could smash. The man who thought this was a fool' (frag. 581 *PMG*).

Towards the end of *Nemean* 8, for Deinias of Aegina, Pindar calls his poem a stone memorial, literally 'a loud-sounding stone':

> But for your homeland and the Chariadai, I can erect
> a loud-sounding stone (λάβρον ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον)
> of the Muses in honour of those twice famous pairs of feet. (*N*. 8. 46–8)

So the song is a marker stone, perhaps like a marker stone of a tomb, that is, a *sēma*, or perhaps more likely a commemorative stele such as were dotted around the Panhellenic sanctuaries and whose inscriptions are hinted at in the opening to *Olympian* 10, 'Read me the name of the Olympic victor . . . where it is written in

[33] Steiner (1993). Some of the cases where she sees an implied reference to a real statue, however, seem rather far-fetched: e.g. on *N*. 5. 48–9, or *N*. 8. 44–8 (a real statue as well as a metaphorical statue), at pp. 161–5. See also Steiner (2001) 222–34 on the spectacle of the athlete, live or as a statue, and the power of the image.

[34] Especially since Steiner's demonstration of the presence of real statues in Pindar's odes is not as convincing as that of their metaphorical force.

my mind'.[35] (Here the poet starts as if implying a victory inscription, then admits he has forgotten the commission.)[36]

This still seems to leave the very strong possibility of rivalry between poet and monuments, especially when we recollect the earlier history of victory commemoration. While the poet incorporates the imagery of the monuments into his poetry, we surely should accept that the physical dedications, monuments, statues, were so central a part of Greek life and athletic commemoration that they are there in the victory odes because they still had a power and a memorializing force that the poet had to contend with. The scholiast's story about the beginning of *Nemean* 5—that Pindar began it thus because his client was shocked by the price of an ode and contemplated a bronze statue instead[37]—is a crude and literal-minded explanation of Pindaric imagery, but the competition and comparison is there on the more prosaic level in Greek society nonetheless, and one suspects from the mass of victory dedications, that many Greeks thought the only really imperishable memorial was a stone one.

Let us turn now to these monuments, concentrating on those of the sixth century.

VICTORY MONUMENTS

Victory dedications certainly develop alongside the victory ode and most probably well before. When a man won a contest, he would dedicate an offering to one of the sanctuaries: it could be the prize itself, set up on a pillar as a thank-offering, or a specially commissioned statue (small or large) of the god, of the horse or chariot, or of the victor. During the sixth century there seems to be a shift from statues which form dedications to the god, to statues which are outright representations of the victor himself. Many objects dedicated in sanctuaries before the sixth century may well be dedications in thanks for a victory including some tripods.[38] Without inscriptions, however, or with only words such as 'X dedicated this to Zeus', we cannot be sure that we are dealing with a victory dedication as opposed to a thank-offering for some other achievement, unless it is accompanied by a prize object. It is the pillars, columns, and

[35] Steiner (1993) 164, 171 discusses *N.* 8. An alternative reading, translated as 'it is easy to erect a stone of the muses' does not affect our argument here. Cf. Steiner (1993) 167–2 for the idea that Pindar's victory goods have inscriptions.

[36] Other examples of monument imagery: *N.* 3, metaphorical *agalma*; *N.* 2 (base); *I.* 8. 61–5 (will be discussed later, p. 163), agonistic and funerary. Further related imagery in Steiner (1993).

[37] See above, and Steiner (1993) 159 for the details. For the price of a victory ode see Smith (this volume) 101 f.

[38] There are too many large tripods in 8th-cent. Olympia for all to be victory dedications. See Morgan (1990) 43–7; also Amandry (1987); Philipp (1994).

huge stone bases with tantalizing holes for the statue in the top of base or column which tend to survive, and again, many of these carry the simplest dedicatory inscription with name of dedicant and deity (see Figs. 6, 40). Statues of victors begin to be erected certainly by the mid-sixth century, possibly before. Pausanias contradicts himself about the first statues at Olympia since he also mentions two very early statues, one a victor of 628 (6. 15), and another of the early sixth century. However, both the statues of early victors could have been erected later,[39] and most of the statues he describes at Olympia belong to the latter part of the sixth century: he mentions eleven between 544 and 504 BC, including the renowned wrestler Milon of Kroton, though two of these are of the victorious horse only, and there are two more for the year 500 BC. Though Herodotus

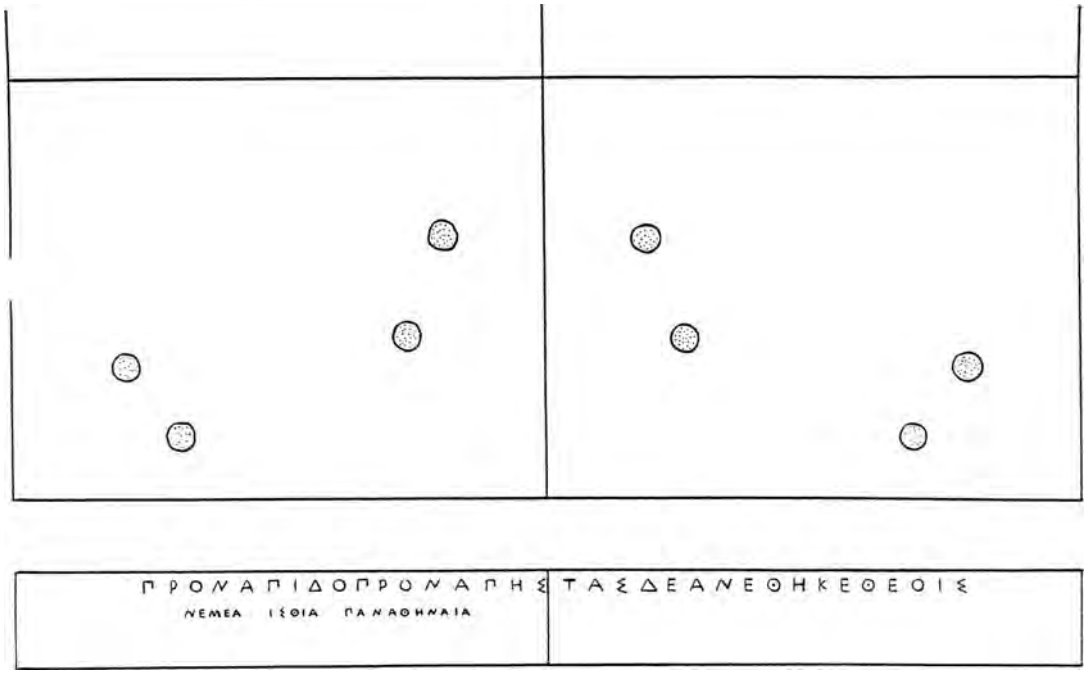


FIG. 40. Restored base (chariot group) and inscription for Pronapes of Athens: Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek (1949) no. 174)

[39] The two early ones are Herrmann (1988) no. 157 (Eutelidas of Sparta) and no. 125 (Tisandros). Smith (this volume) thinks neither likely to be genuinely that early: see his chronological list of victor statues. Philipp (1994) 80 believes statues were erected from the 7th cent. citing Herrmann. But the inscr. of Kleombrotos of Sybaris which she mentions as the earliest surviving agonistic inscription from an Olympian victor, first half of 6th cent. (= *CEG* 394) has been dated later: Jeffery (1990), 456 no. 1a (Achaian colonies) with p. 458 dates it to the 2nd half of the 6th cent.; cf. Dubois (2002) Sybaris, no. 5, prefers the earlier date (for the interesting use of the Homeric phrase *Ἴσο(μ) μᾶκός τε πάχος τε*, see Hornblower (2004) 366). It calls the statue a tithe to Athena.

saw a Theban victory inscription in 'Kadmeian letters' of the time of Oedipus (5. 60), inscriptions on dedications which mention or boast of a victory start to appear (on present evidence) in the first half of the sixth century, and they are well under way by *c.*550 BC.

The simplicity and gradual development of these sixth-century inscriptions are instructive.[40] Some of the earliest are written on a lead or stone weight, the *haltēr* or weight held in the long jump, or on a sandstone weight of a weight-lifter dedicated with a simple inscription giving name of victor and a marking of the dedication.[41] The custom of marking the victory with an inscription gathers steam rapidly (not made clearer by the way the scholarly collections tend to collect one type of inscription only—e.g. victory epigrams). By the mid-sixth century the habit of victory dedications with identifying inscriptions seems well established, though they are not necessarily statues of the victor, and by the end of the century such dedications could be magnificent.

In the mid-sixth century, for example, Aristis of Kleonai dedicated something, probably a statue, with an inscription which explains, 'Aristis dedicated me to Zeus Kronion *anax*, four times victor in the Pankration of Nemea. Son of Pheidon of Kleonai' (Moretti (1957) no. 3). Alkmaionides of Athens left two victory dedications: one on the Athenian Acropolis, dated by its script to *c.*550–540, consisted of a pillar with bowl or tripod: the *boustrophedon* inscription boasts that Alkmaionides was winner in the pentathlon and the *hippios dromos*[42] (Fig. 41), and the incomplete text seems to mention another victor (Anaxileos?). Alkmaionides, son of Alkmaion, is of course a member of the prominent Alkmaionid family, contenders for power in Athens for much of the sixth century. In the fifth century, another Alkmaionid, Megakles, commissioned a Pindaric ode which even in its short span mentioned that the family had eight victories at the great games. The sixth-century Alkmaionides celebrated another victory, in the Panathenaia, around the same date at the Ptoion in Boiotia, where a Doric column was found with an iambic epigram announcing,

> I am a beautiful *agalma* (image?) of Phoebus son of Leto.
> Alcmeonides, son of Alcmaeon
> Set me here after victory with swift horses,
> With a chariot driven by Knopidas, son of . . .
> When Pallas' festival was held in Athens.[43]

[40] Victor inscriptions are collected by Moretti (1953) and by Ebert (1972). For the Athenian acropolis inscriptions, see now Keesling (2003).

[41] Moretti (1953) no. 1 (*c.*580–570); no. 2, weight-lifter; Ebert (1972) no. 1, first half of the 6th cent., another example of an unknown pentathlete. Ebert (1972) no. 9 is another example.

[42] Moretti (1953) no. 4; Raubitschek (1949) 317 (I follow Raubitschek's version of the victory).

[43] Moretti (1953) no. 5; Ebert (1972) no. 3.



FIG. 41. Inscribed capital for pillar dedication by Alkmaionedes son of Alkmaion, and probably another man, 550/49 or 546/5 BC. Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek (1949) no. 317)

We may note that while the inscription is boastful, and makes the name of the victor clear, the statue is a statue of the god, not the victor, and is primarily a thank-offering.

Other prominent late sixth-century inscriptions accompanying dedications now lost include a dedication by Kleosthenes, son of Pontis, from Epidamnos, of a bronze four-horse chariot, plus victor and charioteer. Pausanias saw it at Olympia, and said Kleosthenes was the first horsebreeder to dedicate a portrait at Olympia. It celebrated a victory of 516 BC and while the statue group itself must have been spectacular, we may note that the simple verse inscription merely mentioned the victor and the occasion, the victory at Olympia.[44] A bronze plate found at Olympia might have been attached to a small statue of a horse and proclaimed the victory of Pantares, son of Menekrates, from Gela: the victory occurred in the very late sixth century,[45] the victor father of the first tyrant of Gela, Kleandros (Hdt. 7. 154), and of Kleandros' successor Hippokrates (498–491 BC). Another horse statue was dedicated by Pheidolas of Corinth towards the end of the sixth century—the horse threw her rider and proceded to win all the same, as Pausanias describes it. The inscription has been preserved.[46] Another horse plus epigram was dedicated by Pheidolas' sons with a boast about victory numbers that Pausanias questions.[47]

To these early victory dedications, we may add an inscription put up by an unknown Tegean at the end of the sixth century, proclaiming a *mnēma* for

[44] Paus. 6. 10. 7; Ebert (1972) no. 4.
[45] Ebert (1972) no. 5; Jeffery puts it *c.*525: Jeffery (1990) 273 no. 48 with n. 1, and illustration, pl. 53.
[46] Ebert (1972) no. 6; Paus. 6. 13. 9. [47] Ebert (1972) no. 7; Paus. 6. 13. 10.

a victory with the four-horse chariot at Nemea;[48] the late sixth-century very fragmentary dedication at Delphi by Alcibiades I for victory in the chariot-race.[49] There were also victory statues described by Pausanias at Olympia which we have not so far mentioned: the boxer Praxidamas of Aegina (544) and pankratiast Rhexibios of Opous (536), who had what Pausanias calls 'the first athletes' statues' (εἰκόνες) at Olympia, both made in wood (6. 18. 7); then slightly later victors, the boxer Glaukos of Karystos, the runner Anochos of Taras, the armed runner Damaretos of Heraia, the wrestler Milon of Kroton, the pankratiast Timasitheos of Delphi, and the boy runner Philon of Kerkyra.[50]

What can we say so far? Many of these sixth-century dedications were quite modest at least in form, even when the victor is clearly prominent and powerful: inscriptions are very brief, often barely more than the name, and the dedications often either statues of the god, or of the horse. But even now, some victory dedications were clearly spectacular: statues of Apollo on a Doric column, a four-horse chariot with victor and charioteer, and statues of the victor himself. The earliest statues at Olympia were of wood (to go by Pausanias 6. 18. 7), leaving the first stone statue of an athlete reliably described by Pausanias dating to 520. There is clearly an escalation in the extravagance and daring of these victory dedications. The pillar dedication by Alkmaionides on the Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek (1949), 317, above; Fig. 41) gives an indication of the sheer size of some of the original monuments. The surviving fragment is a Doric capital which holds the inscription, and Raubitschek calculated from the size of the capital that the column itself must have been very high and the column, capital, and tripod or metal bowl on top would have reached a height of 4.5 metres (or about 14–15 feet).

If we are thinking purely in terms of extravagance, ostentation, and exuberant boastfulness on the part of the victor, then the victory odes of Simonides must have been trailing the development of ostentatious victory dedications in stone, bronze, or wood. Pindar's odes themselves would have been contemporary to the further dramatic development of the victory statue in the fifth century (see R. R. R. Smith's chapter). This development was not merely in numbers but with the new style and the dramatic use of bronze rather than stone (cf. the restoration of the whole group belonging to the Delphic charioteer, *c.*476 BC: Fig. 35). If we are considering sheer display, these late sixth-century monuments were offering visual display of a spectacular kind long before Pindar's own mode of victory celebration. If we consider the verbal detail of the epigrams, the numbering

[48] Ebert (1972) no. 8 (it does not seem to bear a large statue or statue group).

[49] Jeffery (1990) 75, no. 39, *c.*525–500. Daux (1922) 439–45.

[50] Add further 6th-cent. victory epigrams in Friedländer (1965) nos. 155 and 156, both dedications of prizes at Tegea and Delphi respectively (no. 95a, statue of man with weights, is for victory in battle). See n. 39 above for two 'earlier' statues in Pausanias.

of victories and the emphasis on sets of family victories, both prominent in Pindar, are already there in the sixth century (Alkmaionides, Aristis), and both become far more prominent in the fifth century. In other words the poets were right to fight their corner in the business of commemoration. The development of the epinikian was adding the element of elaborate performance to a tradition already under way of ostentatious dedications and spectacular display of the victor's achievement.

Another way to approach this is to consider the visual appearance of a particular site where victory memorials were erected. Raubitschek's convenient corpus of *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* catalogues all inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries on the Acropolis which seem to belong to dedications.[51] The vast mass of them are on columns or pillars, or on stone bowls, but nos. 59–177 (that is, almost 120) are on low stone bases which would have served as bases for marble or bronze statues. No. 174, for Pronapes, son of Pronapides, is a good example (see Fig. 40 for the restored base), which reminds us just how large these monuments originally were (cf. also the base from Olympia for Kyniskos, son of Kyniskos, *c.*460 BC: Fig. 6). He numbers 384 dedications in all, most of which have a simple formula, 'X dedicated to Athena', and then sometimes the name of the sculptor. Amidst this forest of dedications it is hard to tell how many were for victories, since they say nothing about the reason for the dedication. Some would be for choregic victories. But fourteen are certainly athletic victory monuments, several on huge marble bases, and there are another nine which might be for victories.[52] The editor must surely be right that many more were commemorating or giving thanks for a victory than the inscriptions make clear. The Acropolis alone, then, over the sixth and fifth centuries housed a considerable number of elaborate monuments and many lesser ones, including immense pillars (above). The inscriptions say very little: virtually the whole impact is left to the monument itself.

It is also interesting to compare some dedications which would have been contemporary to our fifth-century victory odes, a further means of seeing beyond the beguiling circle of Pindaric celebrations and celebrants, and gaining some point of comparison to Pindar's victors. The victory dedications erected in the early fifth century could be magnificent. That for Hieron tyrant of Syracuse (horse race 482, 476; chariot race 468) at Delphi was one of the greatest, created when Pindar and Bacchylides were at the peak of their popularity. Pausanias saw the massive monument at Olympia (6. 12. 1, 8. 42. 8), and it is very probable that the Charioteer and chariot group at Delphi dedicated by Polyzalos was also in his

[51] See also Keesling (2003) for recent discussion of their social and political significance.

[52] See e.g. no. 120 is regarded as a victory monument because Pausanias mentions it as one, but the inscription alone does not reveal this.

honour (Rolley 1990). Hieron also commissioned victory odes for the various victories, keen to use all means in his power to advertise his success (*O.* 1, *P.* 1, *P.* 2; Bacch. 3).

What about the epigrams and inscriptions of the first half of the fifth century? Their contents and omissions are often striking. Fifth-century agonistic inscriptions are longer and more elaborate than in the sixth. The dominant tone is that of a triumphant mark and memorial, and some can be very crude. Even the odd, quirky ones are expressive of what it was thought permissible to boast of in public. Philon, son of Glaukos, of Kerkyra, for instance, boxing champion twice at Olympia, simply says:

> *πατρὶς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομα, εἰμὶ δὲ Γλαύκου*
> *υἱὸς καὶ νικῶ πὺξ δύ' ὀλυμπιάδας.*
>
> My country is Corcyra, the name is Philon. I am son of Glaukos and I was victor in boxing twice at Olympia.[53]

Dandis of Argos, victor sometime after 472 in stadion and diaulos, was more arrogant: an epigram attributed to Simonides which declared he had brought glory to his homeland (patris) and 'won twice at Olympia, thrice at the Pythia, twice at the Isthmus, fifteen times at Nemea' (if the text is correct), and countless others:[54]

> Dandis from Argos, runner in the stadion, lies here,
> who by his victories brought fame to his horserearing city,
> twice at Olympia, thrice at the Pythia,
> twice at the Isthmus, fifteen times in Nemea;
> and other victories not easy to count.

It is at one and the same time an agonistic epigram and a funerary monument, a matter we shall return to. No dedication, no thanks to the gods, and a highly dubious claim about victories at Nemea or elsewhere.

It is striking that they echo in simpler form many of the themes visible in Pindar's odes. For example the victory crowns his city. Theognetos of Aegina, uncle of the wrestler Aristomenes celebrated in Pindar, *Pythian* 8, won in the boys' wrestling at Olympia in the first half of the fifth century. A statue of him at Olympia proclaimed his beauty and skill, and 'he crowned the city of his excellent ancestors'.[55] Dandis of Argos had declared the same feat, and the runner Oibotas from Paleia in Achaia (*c.*460) declared that his victory 'adds to the renown of his

[53] Ebert (1972) no. 11; cited by Paus. 6. 9. 9 who attributes couplet to Simonides.

[54] Ebert (1972) no. 15, *Anth. Pal.* 13. 14: Alan Griffiths (pers. comm.) has an ingenious theory that the text should refer to five Nemean victories and thus that the epigram is a clever 'metrical palindrome'.

[55] Ebert (1972) no. 12, with Paus. 6. 9. 1 on statue.

fatherland Paleia'.[56] Or along a similar strand of ideas, they are a memorial of excellence for their home city. Ergoteles was an exile from Crete who had settled in Himera in Sicily. A victor at Olympia, he had a Pindaric ode, *Olympian* 12, as well as a later bronze inscription and probably a statue at Olympia. The ode referred in general terms to his unfortunate exile and celebrated his new city. The epigram lists the victories and declares that he brought 'an imperishable memorial (*mnēma*) of his excellence' to Himera, his newly adopted city:[57]

> Ergoteles, son of Philanor, dedicated me,
> who beat the Greeks running in the dolichos twice at the Pythia,
> and twice at Olympia, twice at Isthmia and twice at Nemea,
> and gave to Himera an imperishable memorial of his excellence.

A fragmentary inscription set up by someone possibly called Damnippos and his son, from Crete in the mid-fifth century said simply, 'he made his city more famous'.[58] These exactly match the sentiments in many odes of Pindar that the victor was bringing fame and glory to his city as well as to himself and his family. The boast was not confined to the Pindaric ode.

The verbal component of both inscription and ode could present these more nuanced estimations of the way the victor fitted into his city and contributed to the fame of his fatherland. But many do not take the opportunity for advertising the breadth of benefits of their victory and simply give a list of the places of victory, blatantly pushing forward the victor by himself with only the place of dedication to remind the viewer of the role of the gods. Kallias on the Athenian Acropolis, for instance, simply gave a list of the victories on a large round marble base: 'Kallias [son of Didymios dedicated this]: Olympia; Pythia twice; Isthmia five times; Nemea four times; Great Panathenaia'.[59] The famous athlete Euthymos of Lokri in Italy had a fine statue set up at Olympia with an epigram proclaiming that he had won three times at Olympia and 'set up this image for mortals [i.e. mere mortals] to see'. He also had a statue at Lokri, and indeed was probably offered a hero cult even while he was alive.[60]

The impression of these victory monuments is that they are creating not so much aristocrats as heroes, outstanding individuals who might stand on their own or who might bring glory to their cities. I do not mean the type of hero who

[56] Ebert (1972) no. 22, Paus. 7. 17. 6–7; victory in footrace, *c.*460. Cf. the same theme in Ergoteles' epigram, Ebert (1972) no. 20 and perhaps (restored) Ebert (1972) no. 19.

[57] Ebert (1972) no. 20, *CEG* 393; cf. Paus. 6. 4. 11. See Silk, this volume, p. 181.

[58] Ebert (1972) no. 27; cf. also Ebert (1972) no. 24 and perhaps also no. 31, for 'first of the Ionians'.

[59] Moretti (1953) no. 15 = Raubitschek (1949) no. 164; *c.*450–440. Cf. Moretti (1953) no. 12 for a similar list, *c.*475 BC.

[60] For the epigram, Moretti (1953) no. 13, Ebert (1972) no. 16, *c.*470; Pliny, *NH* 7. 47 for his statue at Lokri. Fontenrose (1968) looks at a group of stories surrounding hero-athletes like Euthymos: Kleomedes of Astypalaia, Euthykles of Lokri, Theagenes of Thasos, Oibotas of Dyme. For the most recent, important study of Euthymos' honours, see Currie (2002).

received a cult, but the closeness of some victors to such heroes is clear from the fact that a few athletic victors did receive a hero cult in the fifth century and before: athletic heroes were the kind of men who might overstep the bounds of mortal existence. Philip of Egesta was honoured with a cult in the late sixth century, 'Olympic victor and the most beautiful of all the Greeks of his time' (Hdt. 5. 47. 1); Kleomedes of Astypalaia was eventually offered a cult after he went mad with grief when his victory was denied because he accidentally killed his opponent (Paus. 6. 9. 6–7); we have already noted the remarkable Euthymos of Lokroi.[61] There is not room here to consider in depth the matter of heroization of athletes,[62] but it is a phenomenon which probably deserves to play a more central part in historians' picture of Greek society and politics in the fifth century. Similarly, with the sixth-and fifth-century phenomenon of the astoundingly successful athlete victor who did *not* tip over the edge and create devastation (as Kleomedes of Astypalaia did on his way to becoming a hero), but whose presentation of himself in these monuments and epigrams is anything but modest.

Such self-display was perhaps all the more enticing in a military system which dramatically levelled the citizen body and elevated the solidity of the phalanx. What I find striking is that it is from about the mid-sixth century that dedications begin to be found which clearly identify themselves as victory dedications with the name of the victor prominent and remarkably little about the deity, and that this intensifies in the fifth-century examples. This 'cult of the victor' perhaps developed in tandem with the development of the circuit of Panhellenic games, and with the increasing complexity of the games, the ways invented to celebrate victory seem to become less and less a matter of thanking the gods, more of promoting the victor. Competition between individuals and cities did the rest. So while some very prominent men used victory as a stepping-stone to further political power, it is surely also the case that victory was an end in itself. The very memorials themselves imply this. Victory could bring honours from the city, respect, even fear, but—a very simple point—it was worth it in its own right. The set of values voiced by the epigrams and monuments as well as by Pindar include the desire for fame, glory, and memory against the certainty of death. As Pindar put it of Pelops' choice in *Olympian* 1. 82–4, 'But since men must die, why would anyone sit in darkness and coddle a nameless old age to no use, deprived of all noble deeds?'

Let us, then, turn finally to the question of whether the victory celebrations and in particular the victory odes bear any relation to changes in funerals. There are hints in the more sociological approaches to the victory ode that it develops partly in response to a crackdown on funerary extravagance by the city: as the

[61] See above, and n. 60.

[62] See, for instance, Bohringer (1979); Boehringer (1996); cf. Kurke (1998) and Currie (2005).

polis curbs the aristocratic ostentation at funerals, they seek recourse instead to more elaborate victory celebrations.[63] One element of the funeral would have been the dirge or *thrēnos*, and there might be a possible link between the decline of funeral dirges and attempts to perpetuate memory via the epinikian ode. In another connection, Nagy suggested that the funerary epigram was a counter-development in response to Solon's curbing of funeral extravagance and especially of the *thrēnos*.[64] The funerary epigram at least would be some compensation for the loss of poetic celebration; moreover it would be more permanent on the gravestone, read by passers-by rather than heard only once. However, the picture seems considerably more complex: the funerary epigram does not suddenly emerge in the late or mid-sixth century, and Alexiou had suggested more subtly a shift in tone and expression in the funerary epigrams. She suggested that in the late sixth to fifth centuries the funerary epigram became more personal, less laconic and restrained, more expressive of personal loss and grief.[65] They move from being simple markers of death, with name and father, to moving poems of grief.

As for the *thrēnos*, it is not at all clear that it was restricted in many places in sixth-century Greece: Solon's prohibition of the singing of set dirges is widely cited (Plut. *Solon* 21. 4), but his Athenian legislation of *c.*594 BC can hardly be seen as a wider phenomenon replicated in the rest of Greece. Checking through the rather extensive evidence for funerary legislation, I can only find two examples of a place limiting the singing of dirges: the Labyadai clan at Delphi whose sacred law of the late fifth century, possibly repeating an earlier one, is inordinately preoccupied with limiting noise of all kinds at funerals, from mourning to dirges.[66] Another relatively late law from Ioulis of Keos of the second half of the fifth century also limits the women, insisting that they must carry the dead in silence as far as the tomb.[67] But in any case we know that *thrēnoi* go on being fashionable in the late sixth and fifth centuries because both Pindar and Simonides wrote them and many were preserved.

The phenomenon of the changing funerary epigrams and the continuing *thrēnoi* imply we are dealing with something more profound than elite or aristocratic quests for display. The reductionist character of these explanations, whether for the development of the funerary epigram or the victory ode, is highly unsatisfying. It is as if one form of display is as good as another, as if having

[63] Implied tentatively by Kurke (1991) 258–9 with n. 7.

[64] Nagy (1990) 18 with n. 7, 152–3, citing Alexiou (1974); followed by Aloni (1997) 20.

[65] Alexiou (1974) 106.

[66] Sokolowski (1969) 77C: corpse to be carried in silence; no wailing at turnings of road or outside houses; no dirges; no lamenting at tombs of those long dead. See Alexiou (1974) 14–23, generally on funerary legislation and the *thrēnos*. Restrictions on funerary rites are also mentioned in the late traditions about Charondas' legislation for Katana.

[67] Ioulis of Keos law: Sokolowski (1969) no. 97.

realized the social importance of certain symbolic actions, the historian can replace one with another in a scheme of explanation that implies ostentatious actions are solely about display. In one case, we are dealing with responses to death, in the other, celebration of victory. In both, there may be a common factor in the attempt to leave a memorial, but death and victory are hardly interchangeable events. The changes in funerary epigrams imply some changing fashion or changing perceptions about how much personal feeling could be expressed about the deceased in stone and memorial. It seems not only to be a matter of loss, but making some kind of compensation in the memorial for that loss. It is very striking how many funerary epigrams and stelai mark a death that was regarded as in some way premature: young men cut off in their prime, young women dying before they had married or had children. Some of the most famous and elaborate, for instance the memorial to Phrasikleia, are to those who suffered an 'untimely' death. A moving epigram to Thessalia in Thessaly on a stele erected by her parents in the late Archaic period (?) reads as follows:

> I died when a child; nor yet did I reach the flower of my days, but came beforehand to tearful Acheron. Her father Cleodamus, son of Hyperenor, and her mother Corona placed me here as a monument (*mnama*) to Thessalia their daughter.

(Friedländer no. 32; F's trans.)

In another, dated by Jeffery to *c.*550–525 BC, Damotimos is given a tomb by his mother:

> This tomb was made for Damotimos by his loving mother. For no children were born in his house. Here too is the tripod which he won from the footrace in Thebes . . . unharmed and she set it up over her son.

(Friedländer no. 30; his trans. adapted)

These are not isolated examples, though they are slightly longer and more moving than most. A brief analysis just of the Archaic epigrams collected by Friedländer shows that the vast majority of grave epigrams are set up by parents or older people to men or women or children who are prematurely dead, and that the epigrams make this clear (i.e. it was something to draw attention to).[68] One might say that the more elaborate ones are precisely those which are memorable (and which enter collections), but that is presumably the point. The grave marker and epigram were going beyond the bare minimum to commemorate an even

[68] Since epigrams are usually categorized via metre it is hard to give clear numbers. For instance Friedländer nos. 60–93 are all sepulchral epigrams with a single elegiac couplet: of these the vast majority are set up by parents for son or daughter, whether the son has been killed in war or not, the exceptions being: nos. 66, 67, 69a, 74–9, 83–9, 93. Nos. 91 and 92, and possibly no. 90 actually call the death 'untimely', *ἀώριον*.

greater loss, someone who had died too young. They were attempting through the inscription to give the deceased the slightly longer memory, the slightly surer memorial that they would otherwise lack now they had died without offspring for the next generation.

By contrast with death, of course, victory was a rare event: if a wealthy family were to wait for a victory for an opportunity for ostentatious extravagance and the reinforcement of family solidarity, they might wait several generations. This alone makes it implausible to understand a shift in elite display from funerals to the victory celebrations. In fact victory celebration and funerary monuments share one thing, which is the preoccupation with memory and fame (*mnēma*, *kleos*): both were, in a way, trying to avoid oblivion. If we are to try and see these monuments in terms of Greek values and what the Greeks felt was acceptable in public display, as well as larger political developments, then memory and fame are central. Sometimes the agonistic and the funerary are combined in one monument or ode, and the sense is perhaps of a life well led in courage and achievement. If we return to Damotimos of Troezen and his immense grave marker (Friedländer no. 30), we see the funerary marker and the victory monument together: his grave stele, topped by the tripod, was huge (see Fig. 42). Here is a young man who died prematurely: his mother set up the stone and inscription for he had no children. It did not need underlining that his line would therefore die out. So his main chance of being remembered, along with his achievement, rested on this vast monolith with its epigram and victory tripod. There are occasional hints elsewhere of the same combination in funerary epigrams.[69] Towards the end of *Isthmian* 8, Pindar turns to a memorial (*mnēma*) of Kleandros' cousin Nikokles who also won a victory—both a funerary and agonistic monument (61–5).[70] The epigram for Dandis of Argos (above) was both a tomb epigram and a victory memorial. The epigram of Ergoteles of Himera, set up by Ergoteles himself, nevertheless calls the monument 'an everlasting memorial (*mnama*) of his excellence for Himera'.[71]

CONCLUSION

The origins of the victory ode go far back into the sixth century. It was well enough established as a genre for Simonides to compose a great many epinikians. He may have established it himself, or more probably he inherited the idea, if

[69] Friedländer (1965) no. 136, funerary epigram which also mentions Hyssematas' victory; cf. also Ebert (1972) no. 17, set up at Olympia for Hieron by Hieron's son (Paus. 8. 42. 9).

[70] Steiner (1993) 175 on this example (and 172–178 on the wider issue of engaging an audience).

[71] Ebert (1972) no. 20; also no. 24, for Charmides of Elis (at Olympia). Two other later cases where victory celebration and burial are combined are Paus. 6. 4. 6 (late 4th cent.) and Ebert (1972) no. 65, (3rd cent.) (with Kurke (1993) 147–8).



FIG. 42. Grave marker for Damotimos of Troezen (originally carrying a tripod). Troezen. c 550–525 BC

Ibykos composed them also. Even before that, victory had been accompanied by celebration in song.

The victory ode does not, therefore, have any clear relationship as a genre to the rise of democracy at Athens, though that is not to say that Pindar and his victors were not keen on their aristocratic image and ideals. It seems essential to look at the development of the victory ode in conjunction with the other methods of celebrating victory, by monument, epigram, memorial. When these are added to the picture, we see that the Archilochos hymn was probably an early (and continuing) way of celebrating in song, but that perhaps in the first half of the sixth century, certainly by *c.*550–540, celebration of the victor was beginning to become more focused on celebrating the victor himself personally and explicitly, rather than chanting a hymn which was generic or giving dedications which were thank-offerings to the gods. Epigrams flaunting the victors' names and victories were under way by the second half of the sixth century and statues of

victors set up in the sanctuaries and elsewhere are reliably attested from *c.*544, or at least for a victory of 544 (with the statue erected rather later). So for an extravagant and permanent celebration of the individual's achievement, it may have been the victors' statues which led the way, the 'individualized' odes of Simonides perhaps following close behind, and Pindar was able to take for granted an already firmly established genre which he could elevate still further.[72] The poets' celebrations developed in tandem with monumental ones and they were conscious of a degree of rivalry. Perhaps once the Archaic barrier to individual glorification was broken by sculptors, poetic celebration could more easily follow. The shift from the tradition of choral lyric in the service of the gods and of the polis, to the glorification of a single individual would seem to be a very significant one.

In a way what is really striking is the arrogance and boastfulness of both statues and the early and fifth-century epigrams. The monuments show markedly little overt piety—certainly they seldom give thanks to the deity in the way so many other dedications do. In this growing 'cult of the victor' it is the supreme elevation of the individual victor as victor (rather than as member of a family or polis) that is most prominent. It is not hard to understand why some victors were offered hero cult. The escalation in glorification of the victor must, one suspects, have a lot to do with the growing importance of the Games in the sixth century, and the one could enhance the other, as the Games became a focus for competition between the aristocratic elite of Greece and between the cities. Why the Games themselves became more and more important is a complex question: presumably in part because they answered precisely to the desires of the Greek aristocracy to compete with each other, and excel in athletic prowess amongst the Greeks. But the sixth-century developments in victory commemoration are intriguingly close to the formalization of the circuit of the Panhellenic games.

By contrast with the epigrams, it would seem that it was Pindar who did more to set the victor in the context of family, polis, ancestors, and divine favour (though as we saw the themes are sometimes visible in the fifth-century epigrams). There seems little evidence, or plausible circumstantial arguments, to connect the emergence of the victory ode with a decline in other forms of ritual, particularly those of the funerals. If this were a factor, the place we should expect to find epinikian celebration in vast quantities (but we don't) would be Athens, where funerals were most severely curbed. The Athenians prominent in the Panhellenic games in the late sixth and early fifth century are precisely those attempting to be prominent in the new democracy (and similarly the late fifth-century victor Alcibiades commemorated by Euripides). The origins of the

[72] On this traditional aspect of Pindar, see Carey (1995). On Pindar's elevated language, see Michael Silk (this volume).

victory ode are more plausibly connected to the dynamics of the games themselves and their role in Greek culture and politics. Explanations which rely on the need of aristocrats for display and ostentatious glorification of their house seem in danger of ignoring some of the fundamental sentiments expressed by the Greeks themselves in monuments and epigrams. This is not to deny that a funeral could be an opportunity to show extravagance and solidarity, but the grave epigrams stress grief and the need to leave a memorial, especially for those who died young.[73] Grief and memorial were at least as much an impetus as display. In contrast, the victory celebration is really about overweening pride, opulent display of achievement, supremacy among the Greeks, and therefore a more fundamental quest for fame, prominence, the kind of individual glory not really attainable in Archaic Greek warfare but which could instantly raise someone to a local or even Panhellenic hero. A victor at Olympia or Delphi could transcend his city. A victory could immediately give political advantage amongst both the wealthy elite and the mass of the citizens; the boast that a victor had raised his city to fame could be useful for both tyranny and democracy. The victory ode, especially the Pindaric ode, added the heroic, mythical, and exquisitely timeless qualities that only poetry could offer and which might preserve the victor's fame even longer. But the very singing of the victory ode by a chorus brought a particularly elaborate form of performance to the public. Whether it was performed at a shrine or in some public space of the polis, at any rate it was a peculiarly public form of performance poetry, and that too made the celebration and victory an event, a public event that was clearly—but rather indefinably—better able to involve as audience friends, family, and community than the erection of a statue. Once the convention of singing of individuals' achievements began, it was an irresistible opportunity for communal celebration. And that communal celebration itself will have become a ritual enactment of the victor's supremacy in a society in which choral poetic performances were almost universally reserved for honouring the gods.[74]

[73] Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 421, 440 on the danger of seeing funeral legislation too simply in terms of social forces, anti-aristocratic intentions.

[74] I would like to thank the organizers of the original seminars, and Chris Carey and Bruno Currie, for comments and suggestions.

SIX

Epinikian Eidography

N. J. Lowe

What we do not know about epinikian poetry would fill many unwritten volumes. Even if we leave aside the issues of commissioning and performance that dominate discussion, it is uncomfortable to reflect how many still more basic questions about the epinikian genre remain unanswered: how much of this poetry there originally was; who composed it, and what proportion of their output (and living) it represented; to what extent, and on what criteria, it was recognized as a distinct category in the fifth century; and how, whence, and on what principles it was collected and categorized by the Alexandrian editors, not all of them firmly identifiable, to whom we owe the survival of such texts as we have. Yet the standard account of the eidographic problem is now fifty years old, and in important respects requires updating[1]—particularly in the light of new papyrological discoveries, which have not only pushed back the likely beginnings of the genre to Ibykos[2] but have further illuminated, if in some respects rendered even more puzzling, the workings of the Alexandrian editors' classificatory system of which 'epinikian' was a part.

One point, at least, seems secure: that by the time the epinikian genre was invented it had been dead for two centuries. Though the adjective ἐπινίκιος has impeccable Pindaric credentials (*N*. 4. 78), its use as a genre label came much later. In 1955 Harvey showed that the regular fifth- and fourth-century term for victory odes was ἐγκώμιον,[3] but that the terminology of lyric genres used for the canonical Alexandrian editions (whether this terminology was pre-Callimachean, Callimachean, Aristophanic, or the work of the shadowy Apollonius 'the eidographer')[4] reappropriated this term for poems that in the fifth century

[1] I am particularly indebted to a superb paper by Ian Rutherford on Pindaric fragments at the Institute of Classical Studies in October 2004, highlighting among much else the need for a new treatment of the Alexandrian classification of lyric. This, alas, is not that treatment, but it may help to clarify why one is needed.

[2] Barron (1984); latest discussion by Hornblower (2004) 21–2.

[3] Aristophanes, *Tagenistae* fr. 505 K.–A.; Plato, *Laws* 822b and cf. *Ion* 534c, *Lysis* 205c–e; Chamaeleon fr. 31 Wehrli ap. Ath. 13. 573c–4b (referring to *Olympian* 13). Pindar himself only ever uses the adjectival form (*O*. 2. 47, 10. 77, 13. 29; *P*. 10. 53; *N*. 1. 7).

[4] D'Alessio (1997) suggests that Apollonius was Aristophanes' predecessor, not his successor as usually assumed. See Rutherford (2001*a*) 146–8.

would have been called σκόλια, and in its place introduced the new term ἐπινίκιον or ἐπίνικος.[5] As we shall see, even this much is something of a simplification. The scope of the third-century terms differed in important respects from that of their fifth-century counterparts; the distinctions between them were differently drawn; and the whole meaning of generic labels of this kind operated differently in the two periods.

As Harvey noted, one implication of all this was that in Pindar's day what we know as epinikian was not categorically distinguished from other kinds of praise poetry. Fifth-century lyric was classed not by Alexandrian notions of εἶδος but by positioning within a complex classificatory grid of occasional, musical, thematic, and performative criteria. As the proliferation of lyric occasions and categories in the epinikian age shows, this grid was highly sensitive to fluctuations in the cultural environment of song,[6] and the generation after Pindar witnessed a seismic shift in all four axes of definition that effectively obliterated the environment for epinikian lyric. In particular, the 'New Music' rendered Archaic lyric old-fashioned and contemporary lyric much more resistant to reperformance, thanks to its notoriously tricky melodic and metrical intricacy, at the same time as the map of public poetry changed drastically with the colossal output of Attic tragedy, whose choral parts alone vastly exceeded the *total* volume of Archaic lyric surviving to Alexandria. Meanwhile, the wider discursive map of civic text for performance was being redrawn (as Kurke especially has argued) by the rise of prose-based forms and the displacement of traditional musical education by the new sophistic models of paideia.[7]

Within this rapidly shifting melic environment, generic labels were peculiarly vulnerable to flux. The term encomium is a striking example. Literally it means '[song] [performed] in a processional revel', making it originally synonymous with 'comedy'—a word that had already moved off on its own deviant trajectory. The adjective turns up in the 20-year-old Pindar's earliest ode, and the sense of a 'song at a celebration' is always residually present in Pindar's own usage. But Pindaric usage is already moving away from the sense of performance at an actual κῶμος towards a more virtual celebration of a more specific kind. It was clearly the later usage that led in the fourth century to the wider usage of ἐγκώμιον to mean any literary work of eulogy, verse or prose[8]—the sense primarily borne by

[5] It is tempting to suspect that the term was coined directly from Pindar's expression at *N.* 4. 78 (ἐπινικίοισιν ἀοιδαῖς). See below, p. 292.

[6] Plato complains about the generic miscegenation of this period in the famous passage at *Laws* 700a–d, which remains the nearest thing to a formulation of a pre-Alexandrian notion of lyric εἶδη, but is more concerned with the 'divine' genres and regrettably makes no reference to victory odes or other anthropic praise-songs. Plato's complaint is that in the early Classical period musical and metrical form became uncoupled from subject matter, occasion, and mode of performance, confounding the Archaic generic labels.

[7] On these issues see now Fantuzzi (2004*a*) 22–6.

[8] First in Plato, *Symposium* 177a, and widely thereafter. For P. 10. 53 see above n. 3.

the term ever since. *σκόλιον* is a more complex case again. Harvey argued from a fragment of Dicaearchus *On Musical Contests* that fifth-century usage seems to refer to two different kinds of symposiastic song: the short stanzas sung unaccompanied by the guests in rotation, which continued to be known by this name throughout antiquity; and performances of strophic songs to the lyre by more musically expert individual guests, the taste for which was an early casualty of the New Music. But the implication of this is that the fifth-century distinction between scolium and encomium was essentially performative rather than one of generic content, since the term *σκόλιον* referred exclusively to poems performed (or reperformed) at symposia, while the *κῶμος* root in *ἐγκώμιον* seems to have encouraged its association with more public kinds of performance.

These terminological shifts, and the changes in song culture that drove them, posed enormous problems for the Alexandrian collectors and editors of the lyric poetry of two centuries past, who were faced with the task of devising a system that would allow the huge volume of material preserved to be catalogued (Callimachus must have made an early attempt at this in the *Pinakes*), sorted into books (for Pindar, ancient testimony is unanimous in crediting this to Aristophanes), and ultimately edited.[9] The scale of the Alexandrian headache is well illustrated by the taxonomy of lyric genres preserved in Photius' summary[10] of Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, that enigmatic *summa* of Greek poetic history to which we also owe almost our entire knowledge of sub-Homeric epic. Proclus lists 28 *εἴδη*, apparently all choral, under four superclasses by addressee: songs to gods, songs to humans, songs to both, and strictly occasional songs to neither in particular. The second group comprises nine genres, headed by encomium, epinikian, and scolium. Each gets a brief definition, though Photius' summary has infuriatingly lost the definition for encomium. The scheme is usually taken to represent a model derived, probably at some remove, from the third-century editors' attempts to find ways of distributing into books the large corpora of choral poems collected in Alexandria. But if, as seems likeliest, Proclus' source is Didymus,[11] we are dealing with a taxonomy as distant from the third-century cladists as they were from the poems themselves; and though the Proclan scheme is clearly derived from the terminology of the Alexandrian editions, it does not describe at all usefully the principles of classification used in the editions themselves.

In fact, what is known of the Alexandrian editions of lyric poets indicates that a bewildering variety of classificatory schemes seems to have operated for different

[9] Slater (1986) doubts the existence of an Aristophanic edition as such, but it is hard to see how Aristophanes' arrangement and colometry could have been promoted in a mere *hypomnēma*.

[10] *Bibl.* 319b35–320a9; a handy schematic summary in Rutherford (2001*a*) 102.

[11] The Proclan distinction of mobile *prosodion* versus static *hymnos* is credited to Didymus by *Et. Magn.* 690. 35 = 4. 9. 4, 390 Schmidt; see Rutherford (2001*a*) 105–6 n. 39.

poets, and in some cases for the works of single poets. As well as classification by *eidos*, we hear of arrangements by metre and by alphabetical order of initial letter;[12] while Apollonius the eidographer is said to have dabbled in musicological classification, though there is no trace of an actual edition based on his scheme.[13] Chronology is never a consideration in the arrangement of ancient editions; and soberingly, the one distinction never drawn at all is the one that most obsesses modern scholars, especially when discussing epinikian performance: between monodic and choral delivery. Some editions mixed criteria: thus Sappho's epithalamia had their own book, but the other eight books were distinguished by metre, while within books the poems may have been alphabetically sequenced. Some editions, including Sappho's, had numbered books without further title; others, such as those of Pindar and Bacchylides, were known by individual book-titles, and seem to have been known in more than one sequence.[14] Other lyric poets were differently treated again. Stesichorus' long narrative poems seem to have been collected as single-poem books known only by title, while the poems of Ibykos (and others) seem to have been subject to no discernible organizing principle at all.

Most importantly, the construction of a lyric edition tended to involve multiple levels of grouping and ordering that implemented different taxonomic criteria at successive levels of a hierarchy. The nearest thing to a straightforward case is Bacchylides, whose nine books were arranged by $\epsilon\ddot{\imath}\delta\eta$, apparently led by the single book of epinikia; the others were dithyrambs, paeans, hymns, prosodia, partheneia, hyporchemata, erotica, and encomia. Most of these labels are occasional or performative, though the last two are thematically distinguished categories within a broadly symposiastic grouping; and all but one[15] of these titles are duplicated among the Pindaric books, suggesting that the labels at least were in standard use by the third century. Even here, the sequencing of poems *within* Bacchylides' epinikian book shows other criteria at work,[16] among which the Pindaric grouping by festivals seems to play no significant role. 1–7 group the odes to multiple honorands (Argeius, Hieron, Lachon); 8–16 are the single

[12] Alphabetical arrangements: Rutherford (2001*a*) 158–9 with nn.

[13] *Et. Magn*. 295. 52; see Harvey (1955) 159 n. 4.

[14] This, at least, is the implication of the contradictory evidence for the books of Pindar, where the Oxyrhynchus *Vita* has dethroned the order of books in the Ambrosian Life from the canonical position once supposed, with its neat Proclan division into divine and human genres. The alarming wonkinesses of the *Suda* book-list are safest left unconfronted. See Race (1987*b*).

[15] The exception is the erotica—presumably poems like Pindar fr. 122 to Theoxenus of Tenedos, described by Athenaeus as the poet's *erōmenos*, though the poem must have been collected in the book of encomia.

[16] Maehler (1982) 36–7; Rutherford (2001*a*) 159 with nn. 5, 7; *contra*, Race (1997) 34 n. 35; an alternative, epinikian interpretation of B. 14B in Carey (1983) (supplementing $\pi\alpha[\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\hat{\eta}\iota$ in the title). Rutherford suggests that the arrangement of the first seven poems, with the Hieronic trilogy flanked by two pairs of Kean odes, resembles the 'aesthetic' arrangements of Hellenistic poets' own books.

honorands, with Panhellenic victors (8–13) in order of event type (missing for 8, then pentathlon, footrace, combat sports) followed by the solitary non-Panhellenic victor and the ode honouring the former athlete Aristotle of Larissa for what was probably a civic achievement.

The Bacchylidean edition may have been conveniently able to fill its books by *eidos* alone, but the larger and more generically concentrated corpus of Pindaric poetry posed more of a challenge.[17] Given that far too many epinikians survived to be collected in just one or two rolls, a criterion of subdivision was required. Aristophanes' solution, specific to this *eidos* and this poet only, was to distribute the odes among four books by occasion of Panhellenic victory.[18] The problems this gave rise to are well known, and evident in the surviving collection. Pindar did not compose equal numbers of odes for all the Panhellenic festivals, while some odes were not for Panhellenic victories at all; these two problems were made to solve one another, by the use of the miscellaneous odes for local victories to bulk out the end of the slim Nemean (and perhaps also the Isthmian) volume.[19] Trickier was distinguishing which odes should be classed as epinikian at all, and where in the Panhellenic sequence the problem odes should go. Pindar composed epinikian and other encomiastic odes for the same individuals, so that *Pythian* 3 finds a place with the Hieronian victory odes solely on the basis of a passing mention of Hieron's Pythian victory with Pherenikos (74–5); while fr. 125 was classed by Aristoxenus as a *scolium* (*σκόλιον*), and therefore found its way into the Hellenistic book of encomia.[20]

A glimpse of the generations of hair-tearing that lie behind the tidiness of the surviving edition is the scholiast's tale of woe in the headnote to *Pythian* 2 (Drachmann II 31. 10–14). 'Some say that it is not an epinikian; Timaeus calls it a Sacrificial (*θυσιαστική*); Callimachus a Nemean, Ammonius and Callistratus

[17] The Ambrosian Life lists the seventeen books as: 1 each of hymns and paeans; 2 each of dithyrambs and prosodia; 3 of partheneia, of which the last was somehow distinguished from the first two; two of hyporchemata, one each of *thrēnoi* and encomia, and the four books of epinikia. Other sources make the number up differently, but the Ambrosian list seems clearly right. The Life is clearly following a 'Proclan' order of divine genres at the front, anthropic genres at the end, and those straddling both categories in the middle; but the Oxyrhynchus Life gives a quite different order, and we should be wary of assuming the Ambrosian sequence was the original Aristophanic arrangement, let alone the only ordering known.

[18] Other genre-specific principles of grouping and ordering can be glimpsed among the partheneia (whose final book of three was evidently something of a miscellany) and paeans (for which see Rutherford (2001*a*) 159–60, arguing that the book of Pindaric *Paeans* was arranged in an order that went from greatest to least conformity to perceived generic norms; something of the same logic can be seen in the consignment of stray poems to the ends of books in the *Nemeans* and perhaps *Isthmians*, if Rutherford and Irvine (1988) are right about the lost Oschophoric song).

[19] The low proportion of these is nevertheless surprising. Did Pindar and Bacchylides really compose so rarely for local victories, especially compared to Simonides? Or are we missing something about the mechanisms of preservation and collection?

[20] Fr. 105ab to Hieron was evidently a hyporchema, but is cited by Athenaeus as a Pythian ode. There were numerous similar eidographic disputes; for those involving the paean classification see Rutherford (2001*a*) 90–1.

an Olympian, some (such as Apollonius the eidographer) a Pythian, and others a Panathenaic.' The term 'thusiastic' is presumably a pre-Callimachean usage that failed to catch on as the occasion of the victory rose in significance as a classificatory criterion in the high Alexandrian period. Aristophanes' absence from the list is presumably an indication that the default classification as a Pythian in the standard edition was taken to represent his judgement. But Callimachus' appearance here is highly significant, and strongly suggests that Aristophanes derived the inspiration for his arrangement from the *Pinakes*; classification by festival seems to have played no part in the editing of other poets, and may have been a Callimachean innovation.

But the assignment of odes to books is only a small part of the arrangement of the Pindaric epinikia, which on closer inspection reveals itself as the product of the single most elaborate act of literary taxonomy in the ancient world: a hierarchy of at least seven distinct criteria mapped on to the fundamental divisions of author, book-roll, and individual poem, and reflected in the system of poem titles apparently developed as part of the same editorial process.[21] It is evidently the product of considerable reflection on the multiple ways in which lyric poetry can be classified, and perhaps attempts a synthesis of imperfectly compatible rival schemes in the generations preceding Aristophanes. The important thing to appreciate here is that classification involves two operations: the *grouping* of items into taxonomic divisions, and the *ordering* of the groups so formed according to a ranking. Division into books is a fairly blunt tool, operating at only three levels (poet, book, and single poem); but the ordering of poems within books is a far more sensitive instrument, capable of unlimited intermediate gradations. In particular, the form of the book-roll, where poems at the front of a book were far easier and likelier to be consulted, encourages a ranking of poems on a criterion of significance (or consultability) from highest to lowest.

As Diagram 1 attempts to show, this is what we see in the epinikian books of Pindar. (1) The top-level criterion is that of authorship—though there are higher levels to the hierarchy in the designation of poets among larger generic categories such as the new label 'lyric' (replacing the earlier 'melic'), and the Hellenistic fad for canonized lists such as the nine λυρικοί headed by Pindar. (2) Whether or not the Ambrosian order of books was standard, it attests an awareness by the time of Didymus at the latest that the individual books within the collection followed a supergeneric rule of classification that could be most clearly articulated by an ordering of the books on a scale from divinity to humanity.[22] There is clearly a sense here of a gradation of value from the genres εἰς θεούς downwards to

[21] Lobel noted that Simonidean epinikian titles, in contrast to those of Pindar and Bacchylides, standardly place the event *before* the name of the victor. See now Obbink (2001) 75 n. 39.

[22] Eustathius attributes the popularity of the epinikia to their being ἀνθρωπικώτερα.

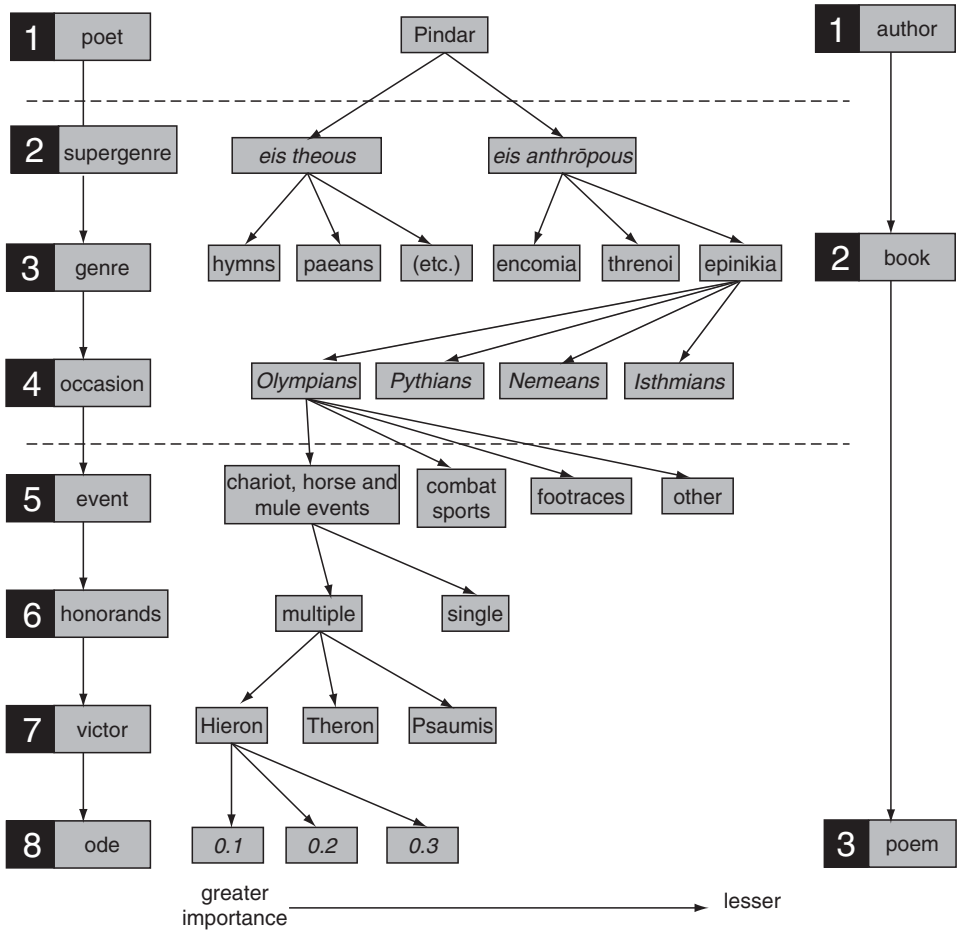


Diagram 1

those *εἰς ἀνθρώπους*, whatever the poetic and receptional case for reversing the value judgement. (3) In contrast to the Bacchylidean edition, where the distinction between *εἴδη* is identical with the division into books, the Pindaric grouping into named genres operates at a level between the poet and the single book. (4) Within each genre, the books seem to have followed a fixed order, on a principle (which must have been differently operated for each genre) of most important first. In the case of Pindar's partheneia, the enigmatic third book was distinguished as 'poems separated from the partheneia'; in the case of the epinikia, the Panhellenic festivals were ranked in order of status. (5) Within each book, the odes are grouped first by event. Here there was some scope for disagreement; the Bacchylidean epinikia put the solitary footrace ode ahead of the combat sports, but the Pindaric arrangement groups the running events consistently

behind. There are no Pindaric pentathletes or Bacchylidean auletes to refine the comparison further, but if Maehler is right to see a *Nemean* 11-style pendant in Bacchylides 14 then the ends of books were used for more marginal odes that did not fit the main sequence. (6) Rutherford and Obbink, following Irigoin, summarize the system as status of event followed by status of victor, but in fact the criteria seem to have been more mechanical: in both the Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinikian books, victors with multiple odes precede victors with only a single ode each. The single exception confirms the rule: Chromios' Sikyonian victory in *Nemean* 9 led to a positioning at the head of the non-Nemean group at the end of the book, rather than alongside his bona fide Nemean ode at the front, because criterion (5) overrides (6). (7) Within the former sequence, odes to a particular victor are grouped together, and the victors arranged in order of significance as assessed primarily by number of odes. (8) Only at the level of the individual ode does the clarity of the system break down, though the guiding principle of 'most significant first' seems to hold, even if some of the judgements here may seem arbitrary.[23] (Thus the dubiously epinikian *Pythian* 4 precedes its unimpeachably epinikian sibling.) Note that in all this there is no trace of the criterion of *victor's origin* which seems to have been used to group Bacchylides' odes for Kean and Aeginetan victors.

This brings us to the single largest gap in our knowledge of these Alexandrian editions: the number and organization of the books of Simonides. The *Suda* entry is notoriously problematic; though the Plataia elegy now casts doubt on the extent of actual textual corruption, the list of genres (threnoi, encomia, epigrams, paeans, tragedies,[24] 'and others') is incomplete and cannot correspond in any simple way to books of an Alexandrian edition, while from other sources we hear additionally of partheneia, prosodia, dithyrambs, and the enigmatic *kateuchai*.[25] Other Simonidean titles do not seem to fit an eidographic series at all. Strabo refers tantalizingly to a group or collection of poems known collectively as the *Deliaca* which included the dithyramb *Memnon*, and a scholiast on Apollonius (1. 763) cites something called the Σύμμικτα, which remains a puzzle.[26] The *Battle of Artemisium* was widely known under its own title, as apparently were the other longer historical elegies, comprising two further *Naumachiae* (*Salamis* and *Xerxes*), plus the *Reign of Darius and Cambyses*.[27]

[23] We are told by the *Vita Thomana* that Aristophanes himself placed *Olympian* 1 first; see Slater (1986) 145–6.

[24] The least unsatisfactory salvage operation would identify these with the dithyrambs; but a deeper confusion seems likelier.

[25] Ps.-Plutarch, *De Mus.* 17; Strabo 15. 3. 2.

[26] *FGrH* 8 F 3, with commentary; Poltera (1998).

[27] West was properly suspicious of the existence of some of these, but the Plataea elegy has tilted the balance of credibility back again; see Rutherford (2001*b*) 35–6.

Rutherford (2001*b*: 33–4) suggests that these were collected in larger books outside the *Suda* series.

We have distressingly little notion of what proportion of Simonides' collected works were classifiable as epinikian. The *Suda* list makes no mention of epinikian books, unless they are included in the *encomia*; but the striking fact, established by Lobel on *P. Oxy*. 2431, that the Simonidean epinikia were classified primarily by event suggests a substantial series, if we are to imagine entire books of *Boxers*, *Wrestlers*, and *Mule-Carts* to supplement the attested book-titles *Runners*, *Pentathletes*, *Four-Horse Chariots*, and perhaps also *Horseraces*.[28] Obbink (2001: 75 n. 40) suggests that Simonides was less scrupulous than Pindar about indicating the occasion of the victory commemorated, making the Pindaric classification by occasion inoperable; d'Alessio (1997), that Simonides composed more odes for non-Panhellenic occasions.[29] The truth is likely to be more complex still, but even on our limited evidence the statistics are striking: four epinikian books out of seventeen for Pindar, but only one out of nine for Bacchylides. If we could only be sure that Simonides' attested event-groups represented one (or more?) books each, his epinikian output surviving to Alexandria would seem to surpass both combined—though we would still be ignorant of the *proportion* of his works represented.

All this suggests that for the third-century editors the epinikian existed primarily, and perhaps was originally coined, as a book-title. This is not to question the usefulness of that title for us as a generic label for an extraordinary and distinctive phenomenon within fifth-century lyric. But for the Alexandrian eidographers, such titles operated within a wider cladistic system in which generic labels were only one of a number of variables which could be hierarchically organized in more than one classificatory system. In constructing their editions of the epinikian poets, the Alexandrian editors had available what was in effect a complex database of information on victor, event, and occasion, which could be sorted and sub-sorted in different ways for different poets, and applied at a level above or below the unit of the individual book. The choice of system for a particular poet seems to have been determined by a combination of the peculiarities of individual poets' output, the legacy of earlier attempts at classification, and the practicalities of producing a physical edition in appropriately sized books. Within this general framework, however, poems seem to have been sorted into books by a kind of successive filtration. A reference to a victory, however passing, would tend to result in classification with epinikia; no extant poem classed as an epinikian lacks such a reference. In the absence of

[28] The evidence is collected by Obbink (2001) 75–7.

[29] Certainly odes for non-Panhellenic victories are strangely thin on the ground for Pindar and Bacchylides. Bacchylides' extant epinikians comprise four Olympian odes (3, 5, 6, 7), two Pythian (4, 11), three Isthmian (1, 2, 10), and three Nemean (9, 12, 13, and perhaps 8), and one local (14).

such a reference, a poem of praise becomes eligible for the category of encomium, unless its erotic content seems sufficient to divert it into a distinct book of similarly themed odes (if available). There is still an expectation that an ἐγκώμιον will be more intimate and symposiastic in its address; but any hard distinction between public, choral epinikia and private, convivial encomia is hard to see either in the extant odes or in their Alexandrian arrangement.

Finally, a famous puzzle. Given that Pindar and Bacchylides, as Carey notes in this volume, advertise themselves as operating in a populous and competitive market, why is evidence for epinikian poetry by other hands so curiously thin on the ground? *Olympian* 5 is the lone suspected cuckoo in the Pindaric nest, and there are good grounds for suspending judgement even there; while from the following generation we have two doubtfully epinikian fragments of Diagoras of Melos, and an ode for Alcibiades widely (but probably falsely) attributed to Euripides.[30] It is hard not to suspect that something in the Alexandrian collection and editing process itself has tended systematically to filter out minor figures.[31] One factor here must have been the importance of the book as a unit in any classificatory scheme. It is not that Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar were the only epinikian poets; rather, it is that no other poets left enough attributable work to fill a complete book two centuries later, so that any epinikia in their collected works were not included in books under that title—just as Pindar's handful of ἐρωτικά had to be included under ἐγκώμια. As Pindar observed to Hieron, 'Excellence endures in glorious songs for a long time. But few can win them easily.'[32]

[30] Hornblower (2004) 28 is inclined, as in other such cases, to accept both in the absence of stronger counter-evidence. But there is nothing specifically epinikian in Diagoras' Philodeman fragments; the boxer Nicodorus, we are told, was his lover, which if true (and not an inference from an encomiastic poem) makes an epinikian context less likely; and even the lines on Alcibiades' chariot victory preserved by Plutarch (whose Euripidean authorship he elsewhere notes had been questioned) could be a passing reference in an encomium of wider scope in the mould of *Pythian* 3 or *Nemean* 11.

[31] One possible explanation of the Aeginetan question ('Why Aegina?', as Hornblower (2004: 208–35) puts it, and further in this volume) is that Aeginetan odes were better preserved locally for subsequent collection—perhaps as a paradoxical result of the Athenian ethnic cleansing of 431, at a time when Pindar was still a symposium favourite.

[32] *P.* 3. 114–15 (trans. Race).

SEVEN

Pindar's Poetry as Poetry: A Literary Commentary on *Olympian* 12

Michael Silk

1. PRELIMINARIES

The simplest way of illuminating Pindar's poetry 'as poetry' is through a close reading of a Pindaric ode. For this purpose *Olympian* 12 is of a convenient size (it is one of Pindar's shortest victory odes), and one on which, conveniently, there is no satisfactory commentary.[1] The text of the poem is not controversial, though my translation may be.

λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου, 1
Ἱμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σώτειρα Τύχα. 2
τὶν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαί 3
νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι 4
κἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι. αἵ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν 5
πόλλ' ἄνω, τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω 6
ψεύδη μεταμώνια τάμνοισαι κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες. 6a
σύμβολον δ' οὔ πώ τις ἐπιχθονίων 7
πιστὸν ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἐσσομένας εὗρεν θεόθεν· 8
τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί. 9
πολλὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπεσεν, 10
ἔμπαλιν μὲν τέρψιος, οἱ δ' ἀνιαραῖς 11
ἀντικύρσαντες ζάλαις 12
ἐσλὸν βαθὺ πήματος ἐν μικρῷ πεδάμειψαν χρόνῳ. 12a
υἱὲ Φιλάνορος, ἤτοι καὶ τεά κεν 13
ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ συγγόνῳ παρ' ἑστίᾳ 14
ἀκλεὴς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν, 15
εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας. 16
νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανωσάμενος 17
καὶ δὶς ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἰσθμοῖ τ', Ἐργότελες, 18
θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάζεις ὁμιλέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις. 19

15 κατεφυλλορόησεν Hermann

[1] The only significant commentary is Verdenius (1987), a piece of work that, typically of its author, combines in equal measure *odium philologicum*, literary-critical insensitivity, and extensive knowledge of Pindar's Greek and relevant reference. Gildersleeve (1899) retains its value, unlike most earlier work on Pindar.

Daughter of Zeus who keeps us free,
Luck, Saviour, hear our cry:
Help strong Hímera. Yours is the power
That makes swift
Ships, wise parliaments, wars nimble, steer,
While human hopes, adrift
On self-deception, toss in indifferent air.

None of us has had a clear
Sign from heaven of life in store:
Directives on the future are born blind.
Things come out
Often against our judgement: joys upturned,
Or dire squalls, ill-met,
To deep advantage soon confined.

Like the cock that always fought
At home, son of Philánor,
Lost leaves, oblivion at the hearth, were the honour
Even of your feet,
But civil
Conflict, manmatch unnatural,
Took your Cnossos.
Now, though, a crown
At Olympia, two from Delphi and the Isthmus,
Ergotéles, means you can
Take in your hands the Nymphs' warm waters,
With fields, friends, to call your own.

This translation is offered not as a crib, but as a paraphrase designed to hint at the emphases, textures, and (if possible) powers that are operative in the poem.[2] In some cases I have translated connotations instead of denotations, or recast, or missed out words. Among other things, I have tried to convey the overall shape of the poem (albeit not its specific rhythms). Pindar's ode consists of a single series of three stanzas in an *AAB* configuration: strophe and rhythmically matching antistrophe (*AA*); rhythmically related but distinct epode (*B*). The metre, as often in Pindar, is dactylo-epitrite, made up predominantly of shapes like λίσσομαι παῖ (epitrite, –∪–x) and Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου (dactylic hemiepes, –∪∪–∪∪–).[3] The broad dactylic character of the metre recalls the dactylic hexameters of Homeric epic. Pindar's verse thus accommodates itself (as necessary) to epic phraseology and evokes (as appropriate) the heroic world

[2] Paraphrase, in terms of Dryden's classic distinction between metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation (*Preface to Ovid's Epistles*, 1680).

[3] Full schematic analysis in Snell–Maehler (1987) ad loc.

of the old epic. The perceptibly least dactylic part of the whole sequence is the end, where the last two lines (fifteen words, *καὶ δὶς ... ἀρούραις*) is overwhelmingly epitrite, with only a single element –∪∪– at the end of 18 (this relatively unexpected element, likewise, at the end of 2 ~ 8, and 4 ~ 10). More specifically, the rhythmical pattern established in 1 (–∪–x–∪∪–∪∪–) is the basis for the two stanzas *A*, the reverse sequence (–∪∪–∪∪–x–∪–), with which 13 and 14 both begin, for epode *B*. An ode that focuses on reversals of fortune has its overall rhythmic construction based on a reversal in its turn: stylistic enactment.

In my translation, as in Pindar, stanzas I (*A*) and II (*A*) respond (albeit not, as in Pindar, precisely), with III (*B*) distinct. In all three stanzas, my English uses pararhyme ('free'/'cry', 'power'/'steer'), along with rhyme proper ('swift'/'adrift'), approximately like late Yeats:

> Many times man lives and dies
> Between his two eternities,
> That of race and that of soul,
> And ancient Ireland knew it all ...
>
> Poet and sculptor, do the work,
> Nor let the modish painter shirk
> What his great forefathers did,
> Bring the soul of man to God.[4]

And Yeats, though in some ways a thousand miles from Pindar (and who isn't?), *is* like Pindar in some others (and not only the aristocratic, metaphysical-aesthetic value system).

In modern English it is not possible to convey the *elevated* tone of Pindaric language. Like most lyric poets of early and classical Greece, Pindar writes in an elaborately elevated idiom, broadly in the tradition of the already elaborately elevated idiom of Homer, but with additional 'Doric' dialectal colouring, reflecting the Alcmanic (or similar) prototype of historic choral lyric. So Pindar's Greek naturally includes words, forms of words, and uses of words that must be common to all versions of the 'ordinary' Greek of his age (from *παῖ* in the first sentence to *θερμά* in the last)—meaning, by 'all', both the prose and the less elevated verse that we possess and the unattested vernacular(s) that we do not[5]—but *also* includes specific vocabulary, specific morphology, specific word-usage, which is exclusive to, or exclusively characteristic of, the not so ordinary verse tradition(s) to which his own belongs. In addition, Pindar's Greek involves a freer word order than could conceivably be ascribed to any Greek vernacular that

[4] Yeats, 'Under Ben Bulben', II, IV, from *Last Poems* (1939).
[5] On the lexicographical issues involved here, cf. Silk (1974) 27–56, esp. 34–51.

one might attempt to reconstruct or, indeed, to any non-elevated Greek that we possess; and it is characterized, not least, by a general exclusion of distinctively (presumptively) colloquial or prosaic usage. Exceptions to this last 'rule' (there is one notable example in *O.* 12) are significant.

It is of the essence, furthermore, that Pindar does not simply adhere to traditional elevation (though he does adhere to it), or even simply adhere to it with minor adjustments (though he does that too). He *affirms* the tradition as part of his affirmation of the value system which that high-verse tradition (especially at its Homeric fountain-head) broadly upholds, and, partly by the peculiar nature of his affirmation, develops the tradition too. So Pindar's verse is not *incidentally* elevated. Its elevation is, and is shown to be, the linguistic corollary of its aristocratic ideology; and in this sense every little elevated detail makes a miniature political point.

But then again, Pindar's verse is not only elevated: it is also—indispensable distinction—*heightened*.[6] Unlike much Greek lyric poetry, from Alcman to Bacchylides, it lives up to Ezra Pound's definitive prescription for poetic language: 'language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree'.[7] Pindar cultivates what Horace calls the 'callida iunctura' and what Eliot, almost paraphrasing Horace, called 'that perpetual slight alteration of language, words perpetually juxtaposed in new and sudden combinations, meanings perpetually *eingeschachtelt* ['boxed'] into meanings'[8]—where 'alteration of language', crucially, means, not alteration from the unelevated norm to the elevated norm, or from one elevated norm to another, but alteration from some notional, pre-existing, conventional linguistic norm (which might be, and here would be, an elevated norm) to what defies identification in terms of norms or conventions at all. Pindar's language, characteristically, mobilizes and confronts connotations, enacts meanings, defamiliarizes subjects—as the Russian formalist theorists like Shklovsky, who formulated the theory of defamiliarization nearly a century ago, thought poetic language should and does: through poetic eyes, the world looks—is shown to be—different.[9]

II. CONTEXT

Olympian 12 was composed in celebration of a victory in the 'long race' (approximately 5,000 metres).[10] The ode, traditionally classified as an Olympian, honours a once famous runner, Ergoteles from Himera in Sicily. In fact,

[6] On the distinction, see further Silk (forthcoming).
[7] Pound (1954) 23.
[8] Horace, *Ars P.* 47–8; Eliot (1920) 128.
[9] See briefly Silk (2000) 157–8 and, in more detail, Silk (forthcoming).
[10] Twelve lengths of the *stadion*.

Ergoteles was not a native Himeran, and the poem itself was probably composed in connection with a Pythian victory. Discussing the statues of Olympic victors in his guide book to Greece (second century AD), Pausanias (6. 4. 11) writes:

> Ergoteles, son of Philanor, won twice in the long race at Olympia, as also at [sc. twice again at] Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea. The inscription on his statue says he was originally from Himera, but the story is that he was actually from Cnossos in Crete. He was driven from Cnossos by political enemies and went to Himera, where he was granted citizenship and gained many other honours besides. It was therefore natural that he should be acclaimed as a native of Himera at the games.

This account is confirmed both by the circumstantial detail of *Olympian* 12 and by the inscription itself, which survives in a fragmentary state (*SEG* 11. 1223a = *CEG* 393: above, p. 159). At the time of Pindar's writing, Ergoteles' eventual tally of victories was not complete: vv. 17–18 mention only one victory at Olympia, perhaps only one at the Isthmus (see on 18), and none at Nemea. The dates of the Isthmian and Nemean victories are unknown. The other four belong to 472 (Olympia), 470 (Delphi), and (as argued by Barrett (1973) 23–8) 466 (Delphi), 464 (Olympia), with the victory of 466 as the occasion of the present ode. The poem, on this reconstruction, would have been taken for an Olympian by the scholars of Alexandria (whose confusion about such matters is well attested)[11] because an Olympian victory is mentioned first (v. 17).

It was doubtless the new lustre of fifth-century Sicily that attracted Ergoteles to Himera, but he must have found political upheavals there to match anything he might have known in Crete. Since the early years of the fifth century Himera had experienced instability and oppression, with a local tyranny succeeded by the domination of Acragas (till *c.*470) and then Syracuse (till *c.*466).[12] The ode reflects both Himera's chequered past and her recent liberation from Syracusan power.

III. COMMENTARY[13]

1 *λίσσομαι*: unlike earlier lyrics (e.g. Sapph. 5, Anac. 3), P's epinicians do not normally begin like this with a 'real' prayer, though they often begin with an invocation (as to the Muses): Hamilton (1974) 17.

[11] Confusion typified by such eccentricities of classification as the designation of the Aristagoras ode as '*Nemean*' 11 or, relatedly, by the ancient dispute about the identity of the honorand in *Isthmian* 5 (on which see Silk (1998) 61–2).

[12] See succinctly Woodhead and Wilson (1996) 707.

[13] In this commentary the following special abbreviations are used: E = Ergoteles; P = Pindar. Poems or fragments by Pindar are generally cited without specification of author (so 'fr. 1' = Pindar, fr. 1). Lexicographical claims about Greek word usage refer to pre-Hellenistic usage: cf. Silk (1974) 38–9, 82.

Ἐλευθερίου: a newish cult-epithet for Zeus, perhaps coined in gratitude for the deliverance of Greece from the Persians. It occurs first in 'Simonides' *Epigr*. xv, commemorating the battle of Plataea in 479 (cf. Thuc. 2. 71), then here, then in mid-fifth-century prose inscriptions and elsewhere: *IG* v. 1. 700, *SEG* 12. 64, *Mel. Adesp*. 60(c). Neither ἐλευθέριος nor any other member of the ἐλευθερι- word-group is definitely attested before the fifth century (instances at Thgn. 539, 916, belong to poems of uncertain date); hence Herodotus (3. 142) may be anachronistic when he refers to an altar of Zeus E. erected in Samos after the death of the tyrant Polycrates (in 522). P's use of the new title both (tactfully) alludes to Himera's recent liberation from Syracuse and, as we shall see, is programmatic for the poem as a whole. Pindarists commonly allude to the epinician 'programme'—see especially Schadewaldt (1928)—meaning such recurrent generic features as specification of the victor's name and city and the athletic event commemorated, and a myth. As *O*. 12, which has no myth, indicates, such features vary in degree of indispensability, and it is characteristic of a Pindaric ode that its often diverse features have their own distinctive unity (compare and contrast Heath (1989) 143–5, 160–1). In this more important sense, each ode has its own 'programme', whether made up of predictable elements or not.

2 εὐρυσθενέ': a rare adjective favoured by P, who uses it nine times (Slater (1969) s.v.), usually of gods or men. Outside P, it occurs three times in Homer as epithet of Poseidon (*Il*. 7. 455, 8. 201, *Od*. 13. 140), and elsewhere in classical Greek only once (in Bacchyl. 19. 17, of Zeus), except as a man's name (e.g. Hdt. 4. 147). The personifying title decidedly flatters Himera, and one might (but need not) take it as proleptic with future reference (cf. examples in Kühner–Gerth (1898) 276). Its Homeric association with the sea-god quietly introduces a maritime theme into the ode. (Péron (1974) offers a discursive treatment of the more striking 'images' under this heading, but often without attention to the more subtle evocations, like those in question here.)

ἀμφιπόλει: ἀμφιπολεῖν is a fifth-century BC equivalent of the older ἀμφιπολεύειν, 'look after', usually with things as object (cf. LSJ s.v.). The tacit personification of Himera rather evokes the verb's original sense, 'be an ἀμφίπολος (waiting-woman)', a use attested with ἀμφιπολεύειν once in Hesiod (*Op*. 803).

σώτειρα Τύχα: σωτήρ and σώτειρα are often used as epithets of protective deities, especially σωτήρ of Zeus (LSJ s.vv.). Hence P makes Zeus' partner Themis σώτειρα (*O*. 8. 22) and likewise Zeus' daughter Tyche here, producing a rare collocation (dub. in *SEG* 11. 442, III AD; cf. τύχη σωτήρ, Aesch. *Ag*. 664 etc.). For P both Τύχα and σώτειρα carry aristocratic-political connotations: *T*. is φερέπολις ('carries the city': fr. 39), and σ. is used as epithet of Themis and of the aristocratic buzz-word Εὐνομία (*O*. 9. 15: cf. Gerber (2002) ad loc.), just

as for Alcman (fr. 64) *T*. was Eunomia's sister. In early Greek thought *τύχη* is an elusive notion, either (*a*) associated with *eudaimonia* as good fortune (so *Hom. Hymn* 11. 5) or (*b*) an unpredictable divine principle associated with *moira* and working for good or ill (fr. 41, *I*. 3/4. 31–3, Archil. 16). Here the collocation with *σώτειρα* and the evocation (via P's genealogy) of *Ζεὺς σωτήρ* point at first, as at the end of the ode, towards the positive: the doubts come in the long between. From the fourth century BC, Tyche was a real divinity with a cult, but here P is manoeuvring with a personification of an abstract principle (cf. Nilsson (1961) 200–10, and see Stafford (2000) for the general issues here), and the genealogy is his own: Hesiod (below) makes her a daughter of Ocean. In many such cases, the modern typographical practice of capitalizing all proper names, including clear-cut (but only clear-cut) personifications, imposes an alien and unwelcome decisiveness onto a notoriously elusive linguistic-conceptual continuum; here, capitalizing the 'T' is wholly appropriate.

Like *εὐρυσθενές*, *σώτειρα* and *Τύχα* carry faint maritime associations: the Dioscuri are *βροτῶν ἐν ἁλὸς ῥοθίοις σωτῆρες* (Eur. *El*. 992–3, see Thomson (1966) on Aesch. *Ag*. 669 (=664) and cf. Péron (1974) 127), while Tyche is a daughter of Ocean (Hes. *Theog*. 360) or a Nereid (*Hom. Hymn* 2. 420).

The postponement of *Τύχα* (as often with names in P: cf. Gildersleeve (1899) on *O*. 10. 34) is significant. Since both the relationship with Zeus and the collocation with *σώτειρα* are novel, the name is unexpected and attracts emphasis, while its personification is only felt to be such in retrospect ('retrospective imagery': Silk (1974) 167–72). This is a classic defamiliarizing effect—and carries the classic defamiliarizing implications of fresh perception of perceived 'reality', albeit here reality in traditional-sounding theological terms. For P, the aesthetic is the experiential is the sacred: poetic theology, or theological poetry.

3 *τίν*: Doric dative of *τύ*(= *σύ*), 'by you', i.e. dative of agent with passive verb (in such constructions usually perfect passive, but cf. *Od*. 4. 177, Soph. *Ant*. 1218: Schwyzer (1950) 150). Not 'dative of interest' ('for you'), as the logic of the invocation now makes apparent.

***γάρ*:** completes a standard prayer-formula consisting of deity's name in the vocative + second-person pronoun + *γάρ*, the usual logic being 'I pray to *thee* . . . , because *thine* is the kingdom, the power and the glory': so *O*. 4. 1 and 14. 15, *P*. 8. 6, Alc. 308. 2(b), Thgn. 373, Bacchyl. 10. 1, Eur. *Heracl*. 770–1, Ar. *Pax* 582–3 and *Ran*. 403–4; cf. *Od*. 5. 29, Denniston (1954) 69.

***κυβερνῶνται*:** zeugma: 'steered' (literally), of ships; 'controlled', of *πόλεμοι* and *ἀγοραί*, in which sense the word is V/IV literary cliché (Silk (1974) 28–31): *δαίμων . . . πάντα κυβερνᾷ* Parm. 12. 3, so Hippoc. *Vict*. 10, Heraclit. 41, Diog. Apoll. 5, Antiphan. Com. 42. 8, *Trag. Adesp*. 348g; in a specifically political context, *πόλιν κυβερνᾷ* Bacchyl. 13. 185, so Xen. *Cyr*. 1. 1. 5, Pl. *Euthd*. 291d; of individual behaviour, fr. 214. 3, Bacchyl. 17. 22, Antipho 1. 13. The verb tends to

imply providentiality, because a κυβερνήτης (in Aristotle's words) 'looks to the good of those in his charge' (κ. σκοπεῖ τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀγαθόν *Pol.* 1279[a]5).

θοαί: a verse word, in this application to ships heavily evocative of epic: there are about a hundred instances thus in Homer (Ebeling (1885) s.v., cf. Most (1985) 153). As in epic, the epithet is generic (it is not that *slow* ships are not subject to Tyche), but, unlike in epic, the epithet here is also proleptic: ships are not 'swift' *unless* steered by Tyche. Pindar's language constantly evokes Homer—but works much harder than the language of Homer.

4 ἐν χέρσῳ: a fifth/fourth-century phrase used in verse (*N.* 1. 62, Aesch. *Supp.* 32, Eur. *Rhes.* 67, Ion Trag. 38. 1) and also plain prose (as Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 3. 13. 3), unlike ἐν πόντῳ, a pure verse idiom with epic pedigree (*Od.* 3. 294; Hes. *Op.* 247, *Theog.* 189, etc.; also para-high in comedy, Axionic. Com. 4. 4). For the sake of formal parallelism P conjoins phrases of different colour; the opposition is not 'proverbial', as alleged by LSJ (s.v. χέρσος) and others.

λαιψηροί: a fairly rare verse-word, predominantly used of legs and feet: of γοῦνα, *Il.* 20. 93 (+ 5, Ebeling (1885) s.v.); of ποδές, *N.* 10. 63, Bacchyl. 7. 6 and fr. 20(c). 9, Eur. *Hec.* 1039, *El.* 549, *Hel.* 555, *Ion* 718 (adv.). The reapplication to πολεμοί is unparalleled (albeit assisted, no doubt, by association of ideas with λ. βέλεα, *Il.* 21. 278); it evokes, metonymically, the swift feet of soldiers on the charge, but also looks ahead to the special 'feet' of the victor (15). It is famously characteristic of P to use imagery (metaphor, metonymy, whatever) from athletic events to inform his celebrations of athletics, and not least to use imagery from the given event to inform the particular ode (see variously Steiner (1986) 111–26, Lefkowitz (1991) 161–8, Dornseiff (1921) 58): the kinship of all things.

5 βουλαφόροι: the word is largely confined to Homer (17 occurrences, Ebeling (1885) s.v.; also Hes. fr. 280. 26 (= *Minyas*, fr. 7. 26 Bernabé), a Miletus inscription (no. 47 in Sokolowski (1955): but probably third century BC), and (adv.) Men. *Dis Ex.* fr. 2 Sandbach), and usually reserved for individual policy-makers (ἀρχὸς ἀνὴρ β. *Il.* 1. 144), but the metonymic phrase ἀγοραὶ β. in fact occurs once at *Od.* 9. 112 (quoted by Pl. *Leg.* 680b).

αἱ . . . ἐλπίδες: notable hyperbaton (cf. Dornseiff (1921) 107). The phraseology is drawn out like the perilous hope: stylistic enactment. See further on ἐλπίδες (below).

γε μέν: an archaic collocation, usually (as here) adversative: Denniston (1954) 386–7 (though his comment on *O.* 12. 5 itself, p. 388, is misleadingly indecisive).

ἄνδρῶν: effectively a double genitive, a compressed equivalent to those at *N.* 11. 22, Thuc. 2. 89; partly subjective (men are doing the hoping), but primarily objective (the hopes we have of men), as the logic requires: Tyche rules, and expectations of human self-sufficiency are misplaced.

6 πόλλ(α) . . . τά: adverbial, 'often . . . , while at other times': high-style *variatio*.

***ἄνω κτλ.*:** P several times uses maritime imagery for vicissitudes (Péron (1974) 57), but this is a brilliantly original metaphorical complex. As often in early Greek thought, ordinary hopes are comforting but treacherous (cf. West (1978) on Hes. *Op*. 96, Silk (1998) 51–2), but now they are seen to be like ships tossed at random on a sea of deceptions and self-deceptions. The image is interactive (Silk (1974) 195). The only fully figurative elements are *τάμνοισαι κυλίνδοντ'*. The maritime scene is prepared in advance by the literal *ἐν πόντῳ . . . νᾶες*, then eased in by the neutral terms *ἄνω . . . κάτω*, which in fifth- and fourth-century Greek is standard, perhaps colloquial, usage to designate *confusion* in human affairs (*ἄνω γεγένηται καὶ κάτω τὰ πράγματα*, 'it's all gone wrong', *Com. Adesp*. 1088. 5, so Aesch. *Eum*. 650, Hdt. 3. 3. 3, Ar. *Nub*. 616, Dem. 9. 36, Din. 3. 17), but also equally applicable to waves and to vessels tossing to and fro on them (*ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω ῥεῖ* Pl. *Phlb*. 43a, *μονοξύλοις διαπλέουσιν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω* Hippoc. *Aer*. 15). *ἄνω κάτω* is not strictly 'up and down', either physically or of human fortune, despite much loose talk from commentators and translators (most recently Race (1997), whose Loeb translation ad loc. has 'rise . . . roll down'; rightly Verdenius (1987) ad loc., p. 94 n. 23). So this is *not* actually vicissitudes, after all: just bad news.

***μεταμώνια*:** within the image also neutral, reinforces the illusoriness of the *ψεύδη*, and adds the notion of *winds* to the scene. This rare word, a *glossa* used in epic and lyric verse, meant 'vain' (*μεταμώνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν P*. 3. 23, + 6 in Homer (Ebeling (1885) s.v.), + Stesich. S23. 2), but was felt to be connected with *ἄνεμος*: Simon. 11, Ar. *Pax* 117 (lyr.). *μετα-* in compounds tends to connote change (LSJ s.v. G.VIII), as e.g. in *μεταβάλλειν*, and though no part of the 'ordinary' meaning of *μεταμώνιος*, this implication is also elicited by the context, serving both to reinforce the switch from hope to hopelessness (*εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας ἢ ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταβάλλειν* Arist. *Poet*. 1451^{a}13–14) and to evoke the tossing from wave to wave (*τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεταβάλλειν* Arist. *Top*. 122^{b}34–5).

***τάμνοισαι*:** Doric = Attic *τέμνοισαι*. The verb is regularly used in verse for ships 'cleaving' the sea: *P*. 3. 68, *Od*. 3. 175, 13. 88, Bacchyl. 17. 4, *Mel. Adesp*. 21. 17, *Trag. Adesp*. 668. 6; Soph. fr. 271. 5 (*δια-*).

***κυλίνδοντ(αι)*:** another verse usage, current from Homer on, of 'rolling' waves (*Il*. 11. 307, *Od*. 5. 296, 9. 147, Alc. 326. 2, *Iamb. Adesp*. 2. 2) and things carried on them (*Od*. 1. 162, 14. 315, Aesch. fr. 300. 3, Telecl. Com. 1. 8, Matro *Conv*. 534. 19 *Suppl. Hell*.). The straight and powerful movement suggested by *τάμνοισαι* immediately becomes irregular and helpless: the juxtaposition of the two verb-forms pinpoints the dramatic moment.

***ἐλπίδες*:** at first the noun to go with *αἵ γε* is unpredictable: it might e.g. be *ἀγοραί* (5) or *βουλαί* (from *βουλαφόροι*, 5) or *νᾶες* (4). When the noun does

come, with an inevitable release of suspense, but also a sense of inevitability, the hoping and its discomfort are the more crushingly present.

***7–9 σύμβολον . . . φραδαί*:** the general sense is: 'we are not masters of our destiny, but dependent on heaven; however, signs from heaven about the future cannot be relied on, rather [or *because*] they are obscure'. That is, δέ in 9 is partly causal (Denniston (1954) 169–70), and *σύμβολον ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἐσσομένας* virtually = *τῶν μελλόντων φραδαί*. The δέ of 7 likewise has some causal force: 'hope is treacherous, and [or *because*] the gods are reluctant to explain the future to us'.

***σύμβολον*:** an elusive word, which might mean oracles, omens, or dreams. The scholia, following the historian Philochorus (fourth century BC), refer P's use of it to the sense 'omen', which is attested with neuter *σύμβολον* (Aesch. *Ag*. 144) and masculine *σύμβολος* ('Aesch.' *PV* 487, Soph. fr. 148, Xen. *Ap*. 13, cf. Philochorus fr. 192 *FGrH*) and (as in P here) with indeterminate gender (*Hom. Hymn* 4. 30, Ar. *Av*. 721, Xen. *Mem*. 1. 1. 3; cf. also the title of Philochorus' treatise, *περὶ συμβόλων* (= testim. 1 *FGrH*); in Archil. 218 sense and gender are doubtful). In itself, however, σ. denotes any token of or guarantee about the future (e.g. Anaxag. 19 calls a rainbow σ. of an approaching storm, and in Dem. 15. 4 σ. *τῆς σωτηρίας* refers to a guarantee of security): cf. Jac. in *FGrH* III.b (Suppl.) 1. 556. For recent discussion of the word, see Müri (1976) 1–44, and Struck (2004) 78–110.

***πράξιος ἐσσομένας*:** an unparalleled phrase for 'future events' and an unusual idiom for *εἶναι*, perhaps modelled on Hes. *Op*. 56, *ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν*.

***θεόθεν*:** an archaic type of formation (surviving in *πόθεν* etc.: Schwyzer (1953) 628), but in this form attested only once before the fifth century BC (*Od*. 16. 447; also conjectured in *Mel. Adesp*. 37. 2).

***τῶν μελλόντων*:** a more familiar-looking phrase, here as objective genitive with *φραδαί*; cf. Isaeus 9. 19 *τῶν μὴ γενομένων πίστιν* ('an assurance *about* what has not happened'), Thuc. 1. 140, Soph. *Aj*. 1419; cf. Schwyzer (1950) 132. In Aristotle's technical idiolect (*Div. Somn*. $463^{b}29$, cf. *Gen. Corr*. $337^{b}4$), *τὸ μέλλον* = what is likely to happen, *τὸ ἐσόμενον* = the future; there is no such opposition with *πρᾶξις ἐσσομένα* here.

***τετύφλωνται*:** a portmanteau metaphor: (*a*) messages are obscure and (*b*) men are blind to their real meaning. Sense (*b*) involves the primary usage of the verb, 'to blind', metonymically applied to the messages, rather than their recipients. Sense (*a*) involves a quite separate established usage, 'block up' (so Aen. Tact. 2. 1 and 2. 5 of roads, Theophr. *Caus. Pl*. 5. 15. 7 of plant growth; cf. *τυφλός* of body passages, Arist. *Part. An*. $675^{b}7$). The perfect tense implies not simply '*are* obscure / blind', but 'always have been, and still are, *kept* like that', i.e. by the divinities alluded to in *θεόθεν* and *φραδαί* (below). The pessimistic point is not the irreligious notion that oracles (etc.) are untrue (cf. *O*. 8. 2), but

that the gods are inscrutable (Aesch. *Supp*. 86–103) and keep the keys to life hidden (Hes. *Op*. 42).

φραδαί: a verse word, wrongly taken by schol. ad loc. as = γνώσεις, and ever since mistranslated as 'understanding', 'knowledge', 'perception'. The word has only one attested meaning, advice or instructions obtained from a god: μάντιος φ. Stesich. 222(b). 227 Davies (= *Pap. Lille* 76a. 52), θεοῦ φ. *IG* v. 2. 261. 15 (sixth century BC, prose, Mantinea), φ.Διός Bacchyl. 19. 17; sim. Aesch. *Cho*. 941, Eur. *Phoen*. 667, *CEG* 247 and 321. 2 (both fifth-century BC Attic verse inscriptions) and 888. 8 (fourth-century BC Lycian verse inscription). All other known occurrences are fragmentary (Alc. 113. 2, Bacchyl. fr. 65(c). 1. 1; cf. Ibyc. 1(b) fr. 5. 7) or metaphorical (Aesch. *Eum*. 245), but compatible with the same sense.

10 **δ':** consecutive, 'and so' (rightly, Verdenius (1987) ad loc.); as with the use of the particle in 7 and 9 (of which this is a more decisive instance), a largely verse idiom (cf. Denniston (1954) 170).

ἔπεσεν: this use of the *simplex* verb is ordinary fifth-century BC idiom (here in the gnomic aorist), not metaphor. πίπτειν, 'happen', is attested widely: *O*. 7. 69, Hdt. 8. 130, Eur. *Hipp*. 718, Theophr. *HP* 3. 5. 5 (see further Silk (1974) 94, 96).

11 **ἔμπαλιν μὲν τέρψιος** = τοῖς μὲν ἔπεσεν ἔμπ. τ. ('to some it has turned out opposite to joy'), a typical, slightly defamiliarizing, Pindaric compression at the expense of 'empty' words.

ἀνιαραῖς: another miniature, but more abrasive, defamiliarizing touch. The word is usually applied to people or conditions (cf. LSJ s.v.), not, as here, to physical happenings. The closest parallel is Archil. 12 ἀνιηρὰ Ποσειδάωνος . . . δῶρα, conceivably (given the maritime preoccupations of the ode) a model for P's use here.

12 **ἀντικύρσαντες:** like the much commoner κυρ(έ)ειν ('meet with': ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ *Il*. 24. 530), but with a hint of ἀντι- in its reciprocative sense (as ἀντιδιδόναι, ἀντιλαμβάνειν). The sentence evokes not simply change, but reversal: in Aristotelian terms, περιπέτεια, not just μεταβολή (*Poet*. 1452[a]22–3).

ζάλαις: a rare (but not exclusively verse) word, with eight classical occurrences, including the present one (all in LSJ s.v., except Aesch. *Ag*. 665: there is another, distinctive usage in Hippoc. *Cord*. 11, but the treatise is post-classical), without known etymology, and first attested in the fifth century BC. ζάλαι are unrestricted topographically ('Aesch.' *PV* 371, Hippoc. *Insomn*. 89, Pl. *Resp*. 496d), but the maritime strain of the ode inevitably evokes squalls at sea (cf. ζ. at Aesch. *Ag*. 656 and 665, Soph. *Aj*. 352, Pl. *Tim*. 43c).

12a **ἐσλόν:** ?Aeolic-poetic (Buck (1955) 77) = Attic-Ionic ἐσθλ-. The word, largely confined to verse (LSJ s.fin.), is used as noun, with epic precedents, on the model of the common κακόν. Crucially, the resemblance of ἔμπαλιν μὲν . . . ἀντικύρσαντες . . . ἐσλόν to *Il*. 24. 530 ἄλλοτε μὲν . . . κύρεται . . . ἐσθλῷ (see

12 above) serves to call up this particular epic precedent as a defining allusion. The Homeric sequence belongs to the memorable statement of Greek pessimism voiced by Achilles for the benefit of his unexpected guest, the wretched and desperate Priam. With the onset of the Trojan war, and not least the related deaths of Patroclus and Hector, both their lives—Achilles' and Priam's—have been and will be subjected to the harshest reversals (cf. 534–48, immediately following the quoted phrase). A fraught hint of that harshness is momentarily evoked—as it turns out, *per contra*—here.

βαθύ: in itself an unspecific metaphor (cf. Silk (1974) 127–8), 'deep' or 'high', but (as with ζάλαις, 12) the maritime atmosphere of the ode evokes deep *water*, one of the common applications of the word (e.g. *P.* 5. 88, *Il.* 1. 532, Hippoc. *Aer.* 7, Arist. *Mete.* 354^{a}20).

πήματος: virtually a literal equivalent of ζάλαις, therefore (unusually in P) redundant, except by way of completing the grammatical construction with the verb following (to which it is alliteratively linked: πήμ- ∼ πεδάμ-).

πεδάμειψαν: equivalent to Attic μετήμειψαν (πεδά = μετά in Aeolic and some Doric dialects), with another gnomic aorist. As ἔμπαλιν κτλ. indicates movement from good to bad fortune for the μέν clause, the movement in this δέ clause (we sense) must be from bad to good, with the verb meaning '*get* [accusative] in exchange for [genitive]', like ἀμείβειν at Eur. *Hel.* 1187, διαμείβειν at Eur. *IT* 397 (no exact parallel with μεταμείβειν itself)—albeit the habitual fluidity in construction of both the *simplex* and compounded members of this verb group (cf. LSJ s.vv.), along with the contortedness of the sentence as a whole, is such as to make us strain for a moment to be quite sure that the getter is not, even here, *giving* some good fortune up.

13 Φιλάνορος: the first allusion to the victor is allusion to the victor's family (in itself an epinician *topos*: Thummer (1968) 49–65), which has the particular function here of preparing for the evocation of E's original homeland.

καί: 'even *your* . . .': in Bundyan terms, 'encomiastic'.

τεά κεν: τεά (Doric, or Doricized Epic, equivalent to Attic-Ionic σή: Buck (1955) 98) stands in painful hyperbaton from its noun (τιμά, nine words later) as κεν does from its verb (κατεφυλλορόησε, likewise nine words later): suggestion of identity crisis, stylistically acted out.

14 ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ: one would expect this to turn out to be a compendious comparison ('your fame—like *the fame of* a cock'), but possibly not (see on κατεφυλλορόησε, 15 below). The cock was associated with Himera and appears as an emblem on the city's coins—which adds nothing to the logic of the simile, but something to the programmatic unity of the ode. The fighting cock was a familiar creature in the Greek world, and one liable to figure in proverbs (see Fraenkel (1950) on *Ag.* 1671), though the only passage at all close to P's (Aesch. *Eum.* 861–6) is more likely influenced by it (below) than clear evidence

that both imply a common proverbial source. The implication of P's phrase is that the bird was not entered for fights in public, whether at humble gaming houses (Aeschin. 1. 53) or grand official buildings (like the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, even: *RE* VII. 2. 2211), and so could only have a reputation of a limited kind.

ἐνδομάχας: probably P's coinage, and certainly a very rare type of formation. Apart from simple derivatives (ἔνδοθεν etc.), the only other ἐνδο- compound attested in the classical period is ἐνδόμυχος (Soph. *Phil.* 1457, conceivably suggested by P's compound); then again, -μάχης compounds, mostly one-off formations, favoured by P (who also uses ἀκαμαντο-, ἀπειρο-, εὐθυ-, πεζο-), are rare too (cf. the list in Buck–Petersen (1944) 9–10); so designated, the bird gains an almost recherché quality, in anticipation of tonal shifts in store (cf. on ἀλέκτωρ below). Within the simile, ἐ. is interactive (though not discussed in Silk 1974). Its elements suit the fighting cock (ἐνδο-, 'in the house': ζῴων . . . τῶν ἔνδον τρεφομένων Hippoc. *Vict.* 2. 49, sim. *I.* 1. 67, *Il.* 6. 374, Ar. *Ach.* 395, Lys. 1. 23; μαχ- of birds, *Il.* 16. 429, Aesch. *Eum.* 866, Hdt. 2. 76. 1, Theophr. *Sign.* 39), but also anticipate the impending reference to civil war (16), where μάχη takes place between those ἔνδον ὄντες, 'in the city' (ἔνδον thus, Eur. *Phoen.* 117, Xen. *An.* 7. 1. 17, Dem. 59. 99, cf. ἔνδοθι, *Il.* 18. 287). The association of cock with civil war seems to have helped engender Aesch. *Eum.* 861–6 (written eight years after *O.* 12), καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων . . . Ἄρη ἐμφύλιον . . . ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος . . . μάχην: the acknowledgement of one exploratory poet to another.

ἀλέκτωρ: the word is a high lyric/tragic equivalent to ἀλεκτρυών (low lyric and comedy: cf. the spreads in LSJ svv.), but etymologically looks like an agent noun of ἀλέξειν, 'defend' (Frisk (1954), s.v. ἀλεκτρυών), whose martial epic associations -μάχας serves to evoke (μέμνητο . . . ἀλεξέμεναι φόνον . . . μάχῃ ἔνι *Il.* 17. 364–8). The conjunction of so much elevation with so (relatively) low a subject produces a moment's humour, such as one finds elsewhere in P's odes—discreet, charming, take-it-or-leave-it, open-ended. The clash involved is somewhere short of the full-blooded incongruity that one associates with the neoclassical (like Bryant's mosquito, 'Fair insect! that, with . . . filmy wing . . . '),[14] but a perceptible clash nonetheless—and the perception is duly confirmed by a matching stylistic adjustment, but downwards, with κατεφυλλορόησε (below) a few words later.

συγγόνῳ: fifth-century BC high-verse equivalent of συγγενής, favoured by P (nine occurrences in all: Slater (1969) s.v.), though not attested elsewhere in classical lyric, and here used as (modestly defamiliarizing) metonym: 'kindred hearth' = 'hearth of the kinsfolk' (cf. Soph. fr. 911).

[14] William Cullen Bryant, 'To a Mosquito': Silk (2000) 194. On humour in Pindar, cf. Silk (1974) 170–1 and (1998) 79–80; Newman and Newman (1984) 45, 57–8; Rosenmeyer (1969); Kurz (1974).

ἑστίᾳ: a stock metonym, this time, for house and household (common throughout classical prose and verse: LSJ s.v., I. 2, 3), and an emotive word, evoking home, family, and household cult (see e.g. Vernant (1965) 97–143). The emotive evocation (rather than the terminology *per se*) nudges our thoughts away from the animal kingdom towards the human subject.

15 ἀκλεὴς τιμά: not a paradox. The adjective is proleptic, and τιμή and κλέος are distinct: τ. refers to the esteem felt by one's own circle (e.g. *Od*. 1. 117), κ. to a more widespread and enduring recognition (κλέος εὐρὺ καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδήν *Od*. 3. 204). The phraseology here is strikingly value-laden: within five words P appeals to γένος, ἑστία, and now the aristocratic-heroic κλέος and τιμή.

Why would E have forfeited κλέος by staying in Crete? Not because of the στάσις (16) there: it was the στάσις that got him out of there. Nor because Cretans could not, or did not, compete in the big games: e.g. a fellow-Cretan won the long race at Olympia in 448 (*Pap*. *Oxy*. 222. II. 26 (= FGrH 415); cf. van Effenterre (1948) 40–2). Rather because in a great city like Himera the honour due to achievement is transmitted and perpetuated (as by P here and now), whereas in a backwater like Crete it is and remains parochial (ἑστίᾳ 14), therefore transient. The logic, certainly, is encomiastic, in favour of E's new city.

κατεφυλλορόησε: the verb is a *hapax* in all Greek, and the only known instance of a compound of φυλλοροεῖν, a verb attested in classical prose (first in Hippoc. *Insomn*. 90, cf. Democr. 14.3) and comedy (Ar. *Av*. 1481, Pherecr. 137. 10), but not otherwise in high verse: this is to be thought of, then, as one of P's few 'low' usages. Back in Crete, of course, E would have been permanently *low*; he escaped that fate by coming to Himera: stylistic enactment. The termination –όησε (codd.) gives the extended dactylic length –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–, which is rare in dactylo-epitrites and easily removed by adding ν ἐφελκυστικόν (cj. Hermann, followed by most edd.), yielding the familiar –⏑⏑–⏑⏑– –⏑–. However, (i) there is no responding stanza to provide a check; (ii) such lengths do occur elsewhere in P's dactylo-epitrites (e.g. *N*. 1. 6); (iii) the long dactylic run suits the appeal to heroic values by a closer evocation of the rhythms of epic. The verb itself has a multiple significance: (*a*) as metaphor, 'would have shed its leaves', hence 'come to nothing' (as in the famous simile of leaves and men at *Il*. 6. 146–9). The image might seem infelicitous in that (as in the *Iliad* simile) -φυλλ- points to an effortless seasonal revival in the future. As against that, (*b*) 'leaves' carries a pointed allusion, programmatic in the narrower sense of 'programme' (see on 1, above), to the victor's wreath (φύλλα . . . καὶ στεφάνους *P*. 9. 124), therefore evokes the idleness of unrecorded achievement ('bare of laurel they live, dream, and die': Keats, *Fall of Hyperion*, I. 7). (*c*) φυλλοροεῖν may also be current usage of birds moulting (Borthwick (1976) 198–9), albeit the lexicographical evidence is thin (Arist. *Gen*. *An*. 783^{b}18 (text. dub.), cf. φύλλα at

Emped. 82. 1). If so, the verb picks up the cock image interactively (as 'support' for the vehicle: Silk (1974) 134–7), and *ἀλέκτωρ* and *τιμά* are indeed directly compared (cf. on 14, above).

***ποδῶν*:** the source of E's *τιμά*. The genitival construction (modelled on usages like *κύματα . . . ἀνέμων Il.* 2. 396, cf. Verdenius (1987) on 13–15 and Kühner–Gerth (1898) 332–3) involves a startling abstract-concrete compression; *αἴγλα ποδῶν* (*O.* 13. 36) is superficially similar, but less startling, because *αἴγλα*, like *ποδῶν*, is concrete. The phrase *τεὰ τιμὰ ποδῶν* could be analysed (as in my translation) in terms of transferred epithet (i.e. = *σῶν τιμὴ ποδῶν*, cf. Bers (1974) 23), but the untranslatable hyperbaton from *τεά* gives *τιμὰ ποδῶν* the force of a single compound.

16 *στάσις . . . Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας*: 's' assonance enacts the ugly subject matter of the line. From the sixth century, at least, the sound was felt to be peculiarly harsh (Stanford (1967) 8, 53–4).

***στάσις*:** P presupposes the Greek notion of two kinds of *ἔρις* (Hes. *Op.* 11–26), a good 'competitive spirit' and a bad 'internal strife', destructive of the *ὁμόνοια* on which communal life depends (cf. e.g. Ehrenberg (1960) 90–1), therefore unnatural—an evaluation confirmed by *ἀντιάνειρα* (below). Thucydides' famous discussion (3. 82–3) has a similar basis.

***ἀντιάνειρα*:** a remarkable usage, and a test case for sensitive awareness of the workings of heightened language, and P's in particular. This is the only known classical reusage of a rare Homeric epithet, found at *Il.* 3. 189 and 6. 186, both times of the Amazon warrior-maidens. Homer's phrase is *Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι*: his Amazons are 'man*like*' (i.e. in battle), with *ἀντι-* as in *ἀντίθεος* etc. P's use is widely taken to involve re-etymology: *στάσις* 'sets man *against man*'. As it stands, this is wrong, because when *ἀντι-* in compounds denotes hostility (*ἀντί* as preposition never does), *ἀντι*-xxx means not '(be) against-xxx', but '(be) xxx-against'. Thus *ἀντιπολεμεῖν* means 'fight against someone', not 'be a pacifist'. The few known exceptions like Plb. 11. 25. 5, *ἀντιπολιτείας καὶ στάσεις*, are post-classical; so is a tradition that Homer's phrase itself meant 'against men' (see e.g. Hsch. s.v. *ἀντιάνειραι*, and *LfgrE* s.v.), perhaps influenced by idioms like *Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν στυγάνορα*, 'Aesch.' *PV* 723). Rather, the epithet functions almost as metaphor, with its sole—epic—context as referent. *ἀ.* evokes Amazons, so *στάσις* is *like the Amazons*, i.e. (let us say) a destructive but, especially, unnatural agency (cf. Tyrell (1980) 1–5), that makes man's activity pervertedly unnatural in its turn; and the anti-natural mode of expression enacts the perverted antinaturality at issue. So the word cannot, and does not, *denote* hostility. Conversely, though, a *connotation* of hostility certainly is present, through diffuse evocations of (*a*) the compounds in which *ἀντι-* does indeed mean 'against' (albeit *not* 'against-the-following'), like *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι*, *ἀντίπαλος*, *ἀντιπολεμεῖν*, and (*b*) the parallel formations *Δηιάνειρα* ('destroyer

of man/men': name of an Amazon, Diod. Sic. 4. 16. 3, and of Heracles' wife, Soph. *Trach.* etc.) and κυδιάνειρα, stock epithet of μάχη in Homer (*Il.* 4. 225 etc.), together with (*c*) the fact that Amazons are indeed hostile to men, and men indeed hostile to them: 'Amazons exist in order to be fought, and ultimately defeated, by men' (Dowden (1996) 69). To this extent, but only to this extent, the hostility latent in (but *not* denoted by) the epithet is properly operative as a connotation of hostility directed at this man in particular, along with other men (-άνειρα) in general. My translation, 'manmatch', represents an attempt, *faute de mieux*, to suggest the evocation of 'manlike', the connotation of hostility, and the abrasive alienness of the stylistic mode. P's poetry is not soft or easy, and its precondition for the human value it celebrates is—in G. M. Hopkins's phrase—'thick thousands of thorns, thoughts' ('Tom's Garland'). Hopkins, aptly enough, supplies models for my coinage: 'manshape' and 'manmarks' ('That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire').

ἄμερσε πάτρας: both elevated words, largely epic and lyric in provenance (LSJ s.vv.).

17 στεφανωσάμενος: the force of the middle is 'having had yourself crowned' (cf. Verdenius (1987) 54 on *O.* 7. 15), with the victorious athlete's effort foregrounded. The terseness of this and the next line evokes 'official' epigrammatic idiom: the catalogue of victories on the Olympia inscription (p. 181 above) is comparable.

18 ἐκ Πυθῶνος: like the structurally parallel Ὀλυμπίᾳ (dative) and Ἰσθμοῖ (locative), this obviously refers to a victory *at* Delphi. Apart from stylistic variatio, the unexpected ἐκ + genitive gives the bald list a touch of narrative immediacy: E is just *back from* Delphi (ἐξ ἀγλαῶν ἀέθλων, *P.* 5. 52, cf. ἐκ at *Od.* 1. 326–7, Isae. fr. 12), where his most recent victory has evidently taken place (p. 181 above).

Ἰσθμοῖ: does δίς go with *I.* as well as with ἐκ *Π.*? The τ' (binding the two names together) tends to suggest it. If so, E had already won his two Isthmian victories (p. 181 above).

Ἐργότελες: unusually, the victor's name is saved for the end of the—admittedly short—poem.

19 θερμὰ . . . ἀρούραις: the spare idiom of (almost) officialdom makes way for a last line of richly connotative language. E belongs in his new home (οἰκείαις), participates in its society (ὁμιλέων), enjoys its natural features (θερμὰ . . . λουτρά), has made contact (βαστάζεις). The implicit contrast is with the archetypal lonely exile, like Homer's Odysseus, away from his people and yearning for home. There is a significant parallel (*per contra*) at the end of *P.* 4, where the exile longs to see his home, 'and at Apollo's *spring* . . . *take up* the lyre *among* his *fellow-citizens* and *touch* peace', Ἀπόλλωνός τε κράνᾳ . . . ἔν τε σοφοῖς . . . φόρμιγγα βαστάζων πολίταις ἡσυχίᾳ θιγέμεν (*P.* 4. 294–6).

ἐν πολίταις there corresponds to ὁμιλέων here, κράνᾳ to λουτρά, θιγέμεν to βαστάζεις, while the use of βαστάζων in that passage too (albeit in a somewhat different referential context) confirms the evocative force of words of touching and holding, as metonyms for 'togetherness', in such contexts. Victory celebrations bring celebrants together; and togetherness often is evoked near the conclusion of a victory ode: cf. *O.* 5. 23 υἱῶν . . . παρισταμένων, *O.* 6. 98 φιλοφροσύναις, *P.* 6. 53 συμπόταισιν ὁμιλεῖν, *I.* 8. 65a ἁλίκων . . . τις; also *P.* 2. 96 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν (of the poet); and most decisively, again, the end of *P.* 4, where the exile's yearning for home encompasses the solidarity of the symposium (συμποσίας ἐφέπων, 294) and the acknowledgement of hospitality associated with the poet's own gift of song (εὗρε παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων . . . Θήβᾳ ξενωθείς, 299: cf. Braswell (1988) ad loc.).

θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρά: by itself, λουτρόν (epic λοετρόν) is 'bath' or 'bathing place', and θερμὰ λουτρά can refer simply to 'hot baths' (*Il.* 14. 6 and 22. 444 (see below), *Hom. Hymn* 4. 268, Aesch. *Cho.* 670, Crates Com. 17. 2, Hippoc. *VM* 16, Xen. *Oec.* 5. 9), but from the sixth century the phrase also becomes an established name for warm springs (Pisand. (sixth century BC) 7. 2 Bernabé, Hdt. 7. 176. 3, Soph. *Trach.* 634, cf. Ibyc. 19: distinction widely ignored, as e.g. by LSJ s.v. λουτρόν, Janko (1992) 151 on *Il.* 14. 6). λοετρά on its own is already used of Ocean's waters in Homer (*Il.* 18. 489, *Od.* 5. 275). The springs at Himera were famous (Aesch. fr. 25a, Diod. Sic. 5. 4. 4), as they still are (under the name Termini Imerese, with 'Termini' the direct derivative of Greek θερμαί); they were said to have been created by the water goddesses, the Νυμφαί (Diod. Sic. 4. 23. 1, 5. 3. 4). The contrast between warm baths and *stasis*, refreshment and the destruction of war, looks back poignantly to the heroic precedent of *Il.* 22. 442–6, where the unwitting Andromache prepares Ἕκτορι θερμὰ λοετρὰ μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι (444).

βαστάζεις: much misunderstood (diverse interpretations in Verdenius (1987) ad loc.). The verb means 'hold', 'lift', 'clasp' (cf. Cope–Sandys (1877) iii, 147, on Arist. *Rh.* 1413^{b}12, Fraenkel (1950) on Aesch. *Ag.* 35), and frequently connotes belonging and commitment: so Simonides (fr. 25. 6 West) uses it of lifting the wine-cup to toast a friend, Euripides (*Alc.* 917) of Admetus holding his wife's hand, Aristotle (*Rh.* 1413^{b}12) of carrying favourite books around, an early epic of (apparently) Odysseus lifting up the corpse of his comrade Achilles (*Il. Parv.* fr. dub. 32. 21 Bernabé), P elsewhere (*I.* 3. 8) metaphorically of 'clasping' the victorious athlete with song. The ancient scholia and most modern scholars take the word here, and at *I.* 3. 8, as 'exalt', explained as 'bring glory to' (as by athletic prowess) or 'praise' (as if by way of worship), but (with either implication) 'exalt' is not a sense the word can be shown to have elsewhere, nor indeed one that would suit the context here. The point is not what E does for Himera, but what it does for him: he would have had no κλέος in Crete, but has it now

because now he has a home worth calling a home, which he is happy to be back in (back *from* Delphi). As Himera's best-known feature, the refreshing 'warm springs' stand in effect as metonym for the city, while β. is half-metaphorical, half-literal: E 'clasps' the waters, i.e. greets them (cf. β. at *I.* 3. 8), and actually takes them to him (in handfuls, presumably) as the expression of his feelings at being home, just as Homer's home-coming Agamemnon takes hold of his native soil (χαίρων ἐπεβήσετο πατρίδος αἴης | καὶ κύνει ἁπτόμενος ἣν πατρίδα *Od.* 4. 521–2, cf. Men. fr. 1 and Fraenkel (1950) on *Ag.* 503).

ὁμιλέων (rhythmically –ε͡ων, by synizesis): absolute, 'living in company' (cf. *Od.* 4. 684).

οἰκείαις: E has presumably been granted the privilege of owning property in his adopted, now 'own', city. And 'own' is P's last word. E *belongs*, and P's epinician poetry is *about* belonging, both on this and a higher plane. (For a related discussion of the importance of τὸ οἰκεῖον in P, see Hubbard (1985) 33–60.)

IV. CRITICAL REVIEW

Olympian 12 is one of Pindar's shortest, most homogeneous, and most intensively organized victory odes. Like other short odes, it has no myth, opens expansively, and finishes with the programmatic concerns of the victor, but unlike most odes, short or long, it makes no reference to the poet. It has a clear theme, the power, ambiguity, and irony of luck (or 'Luck'), which is closely related to the poem's occasion: we have a prayer to luck for Himera (1 ff.), general reflections on the nature of luck (3 ff.) and on life's associated uncertainties and reversals (7 ff.), then the particular reversals in Ergoteles' life which have given him unhoped-for successes in Himera, his new home (13 ff.). The logic, for once in Pindar, is pellucid. The opening prayer develops organically into the series of reflections which provide a general context for Ergoteles' particular case. Life depends on luck, and luck produces reversals; and this thesis is acted out by a series of antithetical patterns—πόντῳ and χέρσῳ (3–4), war (πόλεμοι) and peace (ἀγοραί) (4–5), ἄνω and κάτω (though not strictly an antithesis, 6), ἐπιχθονίων and θεόθεν (7–8), bad fortune (ἔμπαλιν μέν . . .) and good (οἱ δέ . . .) (11)[15]—until antithetical form is translated back into content. First come the ugly conflicts of στάσις (16), then at last the beautiful about-turn in our hero's career: deprived of opportunity and eventually uprooted from home, he has found a better home and the highest fulfilment elsewhere (17–19). The poem

[15] The Archaic world-view encompasses the connectedness of all things, with the perception often articulated in terms of polarities: see, above all, Lloyd (1966) 1–86. It is characteristic of Pindar both to articulate the perception in such terms and to destabilize them: Hubbard (1985) 163–4.

thus enacts the ambiguity inherent in the Greek conception of *τύχα* (see on 2). Seemingly innocent of providential intent, 'fortune' *can* mean good fortune, as the prayer to Himera implies and Ergoteles' history confirms. There is thus an implicit analogy between Ergoteles and his new city: both have had their troubles, their reversals, and now their *σωτηρία* and *ἐλευθερία* (1–2).

This positive conclusion is assisted by the architectonics of the poem. First, the stanzas. Stanza I begins with the city, but that beginning rapidly gives way to a series of generalities, largely sobering and encompassing stanza II; stanza III deals with the inspiring particularities of Ergoteles and, again, his city—as if the particular was, thanks to luck, more encouraging than the general truths about luck gave one any right to expect.[16] Second, the positive evocations of *σώτειρα τύχα* and *ἐλευθερία* at the beginning recur tacitly, almost in ringform, at the end. And third, the motif of the sea: after earlier hints in 2 (*εὐρυσθενέα*, *σώτειρα*, *τύχα*), this materializes with the literal *πόντῳ* (3) and the images at the end of stanzas I (6–7) and II (12–13). At the end of III the motif is alluded to once more, but in place of a sea of deception (6a) or trouble (12), we now have the comforting *λοῦτρα* of Himera (19).[17] While the epic background of the word recalls the awesome Ocean, its predominant evocation is of welcome and calm.

Except for a few sequences (notably 17–18), the style of the ode is elaborate and highly articulated. Besides the antitheses, Pindar gives us some intensive schematizing in stanzas I and II: in 3 ff. the exact parallelism of *ἐν πόντῳ* ~ *ἐν χέρσῳ* is succeeded by a chiastic sequence, *λαίψηροι πόλεμοι κἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι* (adjective, noun: noun, adjective), while in 7–8 we have the matching *σύμβολον* ~ *πιστόν* located at the beginnings of successive cola, the contrasting *ἐπιχθονίων* ~ *θεόθεν* at the ends. For all its apparent fluidity, life, it seems, is disposed in a series of formal patterns. Each of the three stanzas, meanwhile, has its own major image, maritime in I (6–7) and II (12–13), the fighting cock in III (14–15), the first of which—the black and very beautiful dismissal of human hope—epitomizes the darkly felicitous Pindar familiar to even the casual reader, the last (the cock) the elusively humorous Pindar, whose discreet switches of tone tend, indeed, to escape the notice of the earnest Bundyan, the anxious neohistoricist, and many others between and besides.

In all this detail, and as a whole, the poem unfolds as a delicate, yet powerful, complex: an assured and satisfying demonstration, in miniature, of poetic tradition *and* exploratory creativity in action. In stanza II, however, the pressure of the writing relaxes. As if he had established a scale of expression that proved to be

[16] The clear contrast in tone between the first two (generalizing and rhythmically responding) stanzas, on the one hand, and the third (particularizing and rhythmically independent), on the other, in no way justifies a reductive interpretation in terms of a lengthy priamel before the 'real' subject (so Race (1982*a*) 81; cf. Bundy (1962) 36).

[17] Cf. Smith (1959) 17.

at odds with his given subject, Pindar (by his own high standards) seems to be expanding out of duty. *σύμβολον ... θεόθεν* (7–8) is suddenly wordy by comparison with the movements of stanza I, while the virtual equivalence of *πράξιος ἐσσομένας* and *τῶν μελλόντων* (8–9), *ζάλαις* and *πήματος* (12–12a), is (despite the characteristic audacity of much of the writing) symptomatic; by corollary, the knots of emotional intensity that follow in III (14–16, 19) feel almost painfully tight.

If all that survived of Pindar was stanza II of this ode, one would be citing him as a prime exponent of the articulated commonplace—'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed'—which some critics indeed suppose sums up Pindar, even sums up Greek poetry as a whole.[18] For obvious reasons, that model also makes sense, not just of stanza II, but of what any reader of the victory odes can see are programmatic bits, generic acknowledgements, like 17–18. The model is, nevertheless, inadequate for Pindar in general, just as it is liable to be for any substantial poetry (Greek or other) in general. In this ode overall, 'thought' is seen to be co-extensive with expression and constituted specifically by its expression.

This ode—albeit unrepresentative because of its shortness—nevertheless prompts some thoughts about the epinician genre as such. Within its short compass, both the potential and the *oddity* of this assemblage of conventions and expectations are apparent. Of Keats' mostly very different 'Odes', Leavis says that there Keats is 'making major poetry out of minor'[19]—and that seems to me a helpful formula for Pindar's victory odes too. The victory ode so obviously lacks, say, the modest charm of the Sapphic epithalamium, but equally the scope, the scale, the firm foundations, of Homeric epic or Attic tragedy.[20] The epinician (as Pindar (re)creates it) is a celebration of, but also around, athletic victory: enacted celebration (as Pindar's concentrated language makes it) of victor, kin, city, of the aristocratic value system, of the plasticity of a mythic-ideological tradition (albeit this is elided in *Olympian* 12), of the inherited poetic-linguistic tradition in which all the above are embodied.

There is no need, and no good reason, to vulgarize Pindar's celebration, as a host of influential interpreters (from Elroy Bundy to Leslie Kurke) have done, by loose and tendentious talk of 'praise'.[21] There is, of course, praise in Pindar, but praise is seldom the 'point' of an ode.[22] Pindaric odes, of course, tend to assume the particular occasion of an athletic event and its societally approved outcome, and correlatively to *include* praise—especially, though not necessarily only, of the victorious athlete—but in the event, to offer a *celebration of value* arising from and *connected with* that outcome and that occasion. And yet: victory odes must, and do, presuppose the outcome and occasion as an irreducible starting point.

[18] Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, 293. [19] Leavis (1936) 251, on 'Ode to a Nightingale'.
[20] Cf. Silk (1998) 80. [21] Kurke (1991); Bundy (1962). [22] Cf. Silk (1998) 65–6.

In that sense, their expansiveness, their enacted connections—their glorious (because enacted) glorification of connections with momentary events—is like an inverted pyramid, precariously balanced on a tiny 'point'.

Looking back over *Olympian* 12, we may well ponder the relation between the disturbing water image at the climax of stanza I and the parallel image at the climax of stanza II, but then the relation of both with the reassuring drops of warm water at the close of stanza III. This is less a musical resolution than an (on reflection) imponderable balancing act. Poetic life, life as conveyed, or created, by this poetry, is—if not sweet—at least possibly glorious, or gloriously possible, but only as long as the oh-so-precarious inverted pyramid stays in its place. Cough sceptically at any of Pindar's connectings and enactings, and the whole construction seems to wobble. But unlike (say) the poetry of Aristophanes, where a comprehensive vision is constructed on the broad base of a cityful of mundane materiality,[23] Pindar's poetry, aristocratic to the end, calls for readers, as it once called for listeners, attuned to a configuration—of the physical, cultural, symbolic, and poetic—within which the mere thought of a cough has no place.[24]

[23] On the 'vision', cf. Silk (2000).

[24] This account of *Olympian* 12 originated in an abortive attempt, some years ago, at a formal commentary on Pindar. My thanks, for valuable criticism, to Pat Easterling and Ted Kenney then, and to members of the London seminar audience, notably Alan Griffiths, and the two editors of this volume for further helpful comments on this recast and revised version.

This page intentionally left blank

EIGHT

Pindar, Place, and Performance

CHRISTOPHER CAREY

The emphasis in several contributions to this volume on the local or regional aspect both of athletes and athletics and of Pindar's activities as a panegyrist offers an opportunity to revisit the issue of performance in order to tease out some of the variables between locations, occasions, and contexts.

It is as well to start by confessing ignorance and stressing—if warning were needed—the speculative nature of much that follows. Facts are few. There is much about the physicality of performance we would like to know but cannot recover. The music can only be recreated by speculation. The poetry is uninformative about dance.[1] It is only intermittently informative about precise location—and even then only by implication. Unlike the singers of the partheneion,[2] the chorus of Pindar and Bacchylides are silent about their costume, beyond the detail (in itself common in choral performances) that they wore garlands.[3] Some of this is certainly strategic, in that one obvious effect of the lack of specificity about the physical aspects of the première is to elide the difference between the first and subsequent performances.[4] This elision in turn facilitates the process of projecting the song and its honorands beyond their polis into the larger performative context of Greece in fulfilment of the boast/promise of the panegyrists that their song provides a fame which transcends the boundaries of time and space, a claim neatly summed up by Pindar's comments on the aftermath of Aias' suicide at *Isthmian* 4. 36–45:

> ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ
> πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
> θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
> τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει
> εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι· καὶ πάγκαρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
> ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.

[1] We know nothing about formation, while our sources even for the movement (as distinct from the gestures on which we are almost completely ignorant) of the chorus are late; see Mullen (1982) 225–30.

[2] Alkman 1. 64–76 *PMG*.

[3] *O*. 3. 6, *I*. 7. 39, *I*. 8. 6a; ambiguous are *O*. 8. 10, *O*. 13. 29. Cf. e.g. Pindar's maiden chorus, fr. 94b. 11.

[4] The point is made by K. Morgan (1993) 12. Its importance has been impressed on me by Peter Agocs, who is currently researching on Pindar for his Ph.D. at UCL.

προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν
κεῖνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων
καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον
ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα.

But Homer, to be sure, has made him honoured
among mankind, who set straight
his entire achievement and declared it with his staff
of divine verses for future men to enjoy.
For that thing goes forth with immortal voice
if someone says it well, and over the all-fruitful
earth and through the sea has gone
the radiance of noble deeds forever undimmed.
May I find favour of the Muses
to light such a beacon-fire of hymns
for Melissos too, Telesiadas' offspring.

This nicely captures the twin elements of longevity in time and diffusion in space, while both explicitly (with the comparison with Homer) and implicitly (with the language of durability ἀθάνατον, ἄσβεστος) claiming affinity with the ultimate model for the preservation of achievement through word and the ultimate product of epic poetry, *kleos aphthiton*. In a world without a significant readership or book market, repeat performability[5] was critical and vagueness about specifics of performance was a useful way of promoting this. The epinikian poets are also (unsurprisingly) unspecific about the negotiations (about cash, length, form and content) which turned victory into song. Elements of these negotiations can be inferred for instance from the precision of the victory catalogues or the occasional statement about recent and past family history.[6] But the seeming frankness of Pindar's references to his financial relationship with the victor at *P.* 11. 41–2. and *I.* 2. 6–8 (as so often with Pindar's statements about his poetry) conceals as much as it reveals.

Among the many things we do not know is the level of state interest in performance in most cases. This is self-evident only in cases where the victor *is* the state, that is, in the great odes for the Sicilian tyrants and the two Pindaric

[5] Reperformance has recently been discussed by Currie (2004). In the same volume, Hubbard (2004) argues for the importance of written texts for the diffusion of the odes. That written texts in addition to the author's copy must have existed seems inescapable; one would expect at the very least that the victor's family—and in the case of civic performance perhaps the state—would retain and reproduce a copy (we have a certain case in *O.* 7—see n. 13 below). Performers (including the musicians) would presumably have their own copy and some at least would retain it, thus allowing the possibility of informal circulation within the local, and as appropriate within the Panhellenic, elite. But I find no evidence for the view that written texts played a major role in the circulation of the odes as early as the 5th cent.

[6] E.g. *O.* 2 (tantalizing rather than informative), *O.* 6, *O.* 12 (see Silk in this volume), *P.* 5, *P.* 7, *P.* 9, *N.* 4, *N.* 10, *I.* 4.

odes for Arkesilas of Cyrene.[7] It comes as no surprise that the most persuasive cases for the performance of odes at civic festivals—*O.* 3 and *P.* 5—concern songs commissioned by autocrats.[8] But the natural inference from *P.* 10. 64–6 is that the ode in celebration of Hippokleas' victory was commissioned by the Aleuads[9] and that they also managed the occasion at which the ode was performed. We cannot exclude the possibility that non-autocratic states on occasion took financial responsibility for the celebration. Certainly what we know about the lavish receptions and generous rewards for successful athletes[10] makes intermittent civic gratitude on this scale entirely plausible.[11] The likelihood surely depended on variables such as the prominence or obscurity of the state and the frequency of success (the prospect of paying for eleven Pindaric odes cannot have been an attractive one for Aegina,[12] while for states which rarely registered a Panhellenic success, a victory even at Nemea may have been worth special treatment), the prominence of the victor and prior athletic career (for instance, a *periodonikēs* might well merit a public gesture of gratitude),[13] the athletic festival (Athens reserved its free meals in the Prytaneion for Olympic victors), and (in oligarchic states) proximity to the centre of power. But we have no reason to suppose that public resourcing of the celebration was the norm, just as we have no reason to suppose that the victor statues at Panhellenic sites were normally civic dedications. There were, however, other ways available for the state to register its interest and confer honour. Some odes for non-rulers appear to be linked to a particular shrine or cult event. Krummen has suggested that Pindar's

[7] Though we have evidence for collective state entries in the games from non-autocratic poleis (witness the 'civic Argive chariot' of *P. Oxy.* 222, 31 (=*FGrH* 415. 5), noted also by Morgan here below), it is interesting that we have no instance of an epinikian commissioned from a Panhellenic poet for such a victory, despite the fact that state commissions to the great lyric poets for non-athletic events were relatively common. Whether the reason is chance or ideology is unclear.

[8] See in particular Krummen (1990) 98–151, 217–66.

[9] Cf. Stamatopoulou (this volume).

[10] See Bowra (1964) 185.

[11] Currie (2004) 64–9, picking up a point made by Herington (1985) 56, argues for formal civic reperformance. The possibility cannot be ruled out, though the case is tendentious; the only certain reference in Pindar to public reperformance of a song of praise (*P.* 2. 13–20) has (as Currie rightly notes at p. 68) no connection with the epinikion. Except in the case of autocrats, or states which had few and infrequent victories to celebrate, there can have been little incentive for the community to sanction a civic celebration of an old victory.

[12] For Pindar's odes for Aeginetans see Hornblower (this volume).

[13] Though Diagoras of Rhodes was not yet a *periodonikēs* at the date of performance, *O.* 7 suggests itself as a possible example, given its focus on Rhodian myth with limited direct or indirect relevance to the victor's own immediate circumstances and the statement in the scholia (schol. *O.* 7. inscr., Drachmann 1. 195) that a copy inscribed in gold letters was preserved in the temple at Lindos. But it is equally possible that Diagoras made a dedicatory gift of the ode to the temple analogous to the setting up of a statue, and even that as an aristocrat located at the centre of Rhodian politics he commissioned an ode with a pronounced emphasis on the island precisely to align himself so firmly with the collective fortunes of his city.

Isthmian 4 was performed at a civic festival.[14] Though possible, this is far from certain. We can be more confident about *Olympian* 9, which appears to have been performed at a feast of Lokrian Aias (*O.* 9. 108–12):

> τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων ἄεθλον,
> ὄρθιον ὦρυσαι θαρσέων,
> τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαιμονίᾳ γεγάμεν
> εὔχειρα, δεξιόγυιον, ὁρῶντ' ἀλκάν,
> Αιαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα,
> νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.
>
> But when you present this prize
> boldly shout straight out
> that with divine help this man was born with
> quick hands, nimble legs, determination in his look;
> and at your feast, Aias son of Ileus,
> the victor has placed a crown upon your altar.

Pythian 11. 1–6 advertises itself as performed at the Ismenion at Thebes, though it does not make clear whether the context was a recurrent festival or a special occasion, that is, whether we are witnessing the harnessing of a state event or simply the use of a civic sanctuary. *Nemean* 8 may have been performed at a heroon of Aiakos.[15] Any performance at a public festival, great or small, presupposes the agreement of the civic authorities, and one would expect that approval was equally necessary for performance at a public sanctuary. In most cases there were gains to both sides in performance in such a context. The polis could bask in the reflected glory of the victor's success while cementing the goodwill of powerful individuals, at little or no cost (just as Athens allowed successful *chorēgoi* to use public space for celebratory tripods erected at their own expense). The victor simultaneously demonstrated his piety, expanded the space for celebration and thereby the audience, and through a feast on scale larger than even a substantial private house would allow took the opportunity to display his generosity and exploit the potential for patronage; while the state sanction conferred acceptability on this conspicuous consumption and personal display.[16] Finally, not all civic locations need have been exclusively religious. The wording of Pindar's *Nemean* 3. 68–70, though it need indicate no more than that the victor was an office bearer at the time either of the games or the celebration, may also

[14] Krummen (1990) 33–97.

[15] Cf. *N.* 8. 13–16: ἱκέτας Αἰακοῦ | σεμνῶν γονάτων πόλιός θ' ὑπερ φίλιας | ἀστῶν θ' ὑπερ τῶνδ' ἅπτομαι φέρων | Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν | Δείνιος δισσῶν σταδίων | καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα (As suppliant I am clasping the hallowed knees | of Aiakos, and on behalf of his beloved city | and of these citizens I am bringing | a Lydian fillet embellished with with ringing notes, | a Nemean ornament for double stadion races | of Deinias and his father Megas).

[16] For the performance of the victory ode as an opportunity for prestige display see Kurke (1991) 258–9.

indicate that the performance was somehow associated with the public building in which he served.

However, the absence of mention of civic space in most victory odes strongly suggests that state involvement was intermittent at most and that most celebrations took place at a private house. We are still dealing with highly public events, and the recurrent stress on the civic dimension to victory and celebration by Pindar and Bacchylides clearly reflects a collective audience perception of athletic success as an achievement shared more generally with the polis of a sort readily recognizable from modern international competition. But the liturgist for the epinikion was with very rare exceptions the victor himself or his family.[17] The lavishness of the event must in these cases have depended on the wealth and prodigality of victor and family. The importance of success in the Panhellenic games, asserted so emphatically by Pindar and Bacchylides is confirmed, if confirmation were needed, by the substantial sums athletes were prepared to hazard on the competition,[18] suggesting that the celebration would be both large and costly. Unlike the Athenian[19] *chorēgia*, where the individual was making an investment in civic activity in the hope of a return which was always uncertain, not least because the performance took place within a competitive environment which might put you in a three-legged race with a theatrical turkey, in the case of the victory ode there was good reason to spend. The victor was the key focus of attention, not one of a number of competitors for glory. However, this in itself was not free from complication. Both Pindar and Bacchylides stress the patron's exposure to *phthonos*,[20] both because of his success and because of celebration, including and especially the victory ode; this is a rhetorical topos, but like most rhetorical topoi persuasive precisely because it corresponds to elements of lived or perceived experience. And the ambiguities surrounding conspicuous consumption[21] meant that though athletic competition was perceived as a laudable way to spend disposable resources, lavish self-praise would not be. This is not the least of the reasons for the restrained presentation of aspects of the victory by Pindar and Bacchylides.[22] But a good balancing act has always been

[17] An obvious exception is *P.* 4, which one would suppose (though we cannot prove) was commissioned by the exile Damophilos, for whom the ode pleads at 263–9.

[18] Reflected in the *dapana* motif, which places the sums risked by the victor on a level with the effort (*ponos*) expended in pursuit of honour; see *O.* 5. 15, *P.* 1. 90–2, *P.* 5. 106, *I.* 1. 42, *I.* 3. 17b, *I.* 4. 29, *I.* 5. 57, *I.* 6. 10.

[19] Athens was not alone in having institutionalized *chorēgia*; see Rhodes (2003) 108. For the Athenian *chorēgia* in general see Wilson (2000).

[20] For *phthonos* see *O.* 6. 3, 74–6, *O.* 8. 54–5, *P.* 1. 85–6, *P.* 2. 89–90, *P.* 7. 19–20, *P.* 11. 29, 54, *N.* 4. 39–41, *N.* 8. 21–2, *I.* 1. 44, *I.* 2. 43, *I.* 5. 24; Bacchylides 3. 68–71, 5. 188–90, 13. 192–202. See also Kurke (1991) 178–82, 195–218, on the potential suspicion of political over-ambition attracted by athletic success. Though she over-generalizes on the basis of limited evidence, it is clear from the case of Alcibiades at Athens that excessive self-display could arouse suspicion.

[21] See Smith (this volume). See also n. 10 above.

[22] Again see Smith (this volume).

the prerequisite for the task of praise, and the risks of offence and annoyance attendant on the public praise of one member of the community were offset by the possibility (again reflecting the shared perception of the significance of athletic success for the Panhellenic status of the polis) of presenting personal success as collective aggrandizement and glorifying the city and its traditions. Since he was banking *time* and *charis* within the embedded economy of the city,[23] the victor had every reason to spend lavishly on the celebration.

Though we cannot cost the performance, any more than we can cost the victory ode,[24] we can immediately discern significant expenditure headings. Although the odes are coy about their performative context, so that any discussion inevitably has a degree of circularity, we can be reasonably sure both on external and on internal grounds that one recurrent context of performance was a feast. This was the case even in democratic Athens, as we know from the reference to the rather disorderly feast of Chabrias at Cape Kolias in the fourth century ([Dem.] 59. 33). Pindar occasionally speaks explicitly of the victory banquet, as at *N.* 1. 19–22:

> ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
> ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
> ἔνθα μοι ἁρμόδιον
> δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται
>
> And I have taken my stand at the courtyard gates
> of a generous host as I sing of noble deeds,
> where a fitting feast
> has been arranged for me . . .

Almost as explicit is *N.* 4. init.:

> ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων
> ἰατρός
>
> The best healer for toils judged successful
> is joyous revelry . . .

Though Bundy's assertion that *euphrosyna* here is nothing more than the victory revel[25] is too narrow (in that it fails to note the subjective alongside the objective aspect of the word), the sympotic associations of *euphrosyna* are strong; we appear again to have a victory feast, though with an implied emphasis on drink rather than food. The same is true of the close of *Nemean* 9 (49–52):[26]

> θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.
> ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν,

[23] See Kurke (1991) 7–9 and chapters 4–5.
[24] For the negligible information available see Hornblower (this volume, p. 301).
[25] Bundy (1962) i. 2. [26] For other references see Carey (2001).

ἀργυρέαισι δὲ νωμάτω φιάλαισι βιατάν
ἀμπέλου παῖδ' . . .

And the voice becomes confident beside the winebowl.
Let someone mix that sweet prompter of the revel,
and let him serve the powerful child of the vine in the
silver bowls . . .

Here, however, we meet a feature of Pindar's poetry which impedes any attempt to recover the precise context of performance. Though we can be reasonably confident that there was some element of eating and drinking in such cases (on the grounds that the whole context is unlikely to be fictive, since this would undermine the rhetoric of hospitality and largesse), the impression given in this passage that the song is sung at an informal gathering seems implausible. The suspicion that Pindar is cloaking a rather grand occasion in the homespun cloak of the simple symposium is increased when we look at a passage like *O.* 1. 14–17. The image created there of Hieron relaxing at play with his friends around the table is effective in context, where combined with the presentation of his political role as that of the Homeric *basileus* it offers us an understated but appealing blend of stable authority, civic concern, and affable approachability. But it is precisely the effectiveness of the composite picture created which should alert us to the poet's manipulation. It is inherently implausible that a grand song of praise like this was squandered on an informal gathering. Pindar's feasts are probably grand affairs, and his representation of them as informal symposia is a fiction. As Bundy rightly noted,[27] the victory celebration itself made an important statement about the civic virtue and *philoxenia* of the victory and his family. It also offered the opportunity for patronage. There was nothing casual about the occasion. The degree of formality and complexity of organization will have been still greater in those cases where the performance was actually embedded in a civic occasion, pre-existing or manufactured. In cases of performance at a private feast, the outlay will have varied according to the status of the patron (since even elites have pecking orders); but presumably laying on a substantial feast was always a costly affair.

We are also badly informed about the size of the chorus, a factor which has implications for the grandeur of the performance and (in more than one way) the cost of the event. We are never given any indication by Pindar or Bacchylides of the number of chorus members at an epinikian performance. There is no reason to suppose that the size was consistent across the Greek world. An island like Aegina which experienced a high frequency of epinikian performances may conceivably have evolved a consensus about the best size, though it is equally possible that this was subject only to the competitive urges, taste, and pocket of

[27] Bundy (1962) 87, 89.

the patron. But in the context of Greece as a whole the numbers must have been highly variable, given the absence of shared Panhellenic experience (since festivals differed from polis to polis) or the regulatory framework which controlled the scale of performance within intra-state choral events.

The absence of anything beyond a passing reference to the performers in the odes means that we can never estimate how easy it was to assemble the chorus. However, the role of singing both in education and in the symposium across the Greek world meant that the ability to sing was widespread. Dance must have been a less common skill. But choral activity was firmly embedded in the collective religious life of the Greeks and choruses were regularly assembled not only for major state festivals but also for state *theōriai* to Panhellenic shrines. With the exception of *Pythian* 4, the victory ode was either broadly comparable in length with choral odes composed for cult activity or considerably shorter.[28] So however we imagine the dance, it is unlikely that it was excessively demanding for performers experienced in cult song and dance. There must of course have been variations within this picture, based on local traditions and structures. Paradoxically (in view of the paucity there of epinikian performances involving the great Panhellenic poets)[29] Athens must have been one of the easiest places to assemble a chorus, given the sheer volume of choral activity; for instance in the City Dionysia alone (if we combine the figures for the boys' and men's dithyramb and the choristers engaged in tragedy and comedy) there were by the middle of the fifth century over eleven hundred choral performers involved each year. But multiple choruses were by no means an exclusively Athenian phenomenon, as we can see from Herodotos' brief account (admittedly of female choruses) of Aeginetan practice at 5. 83. And given the importance of competition in Greek religion in general, choral competitions on the Athenian lines (if different in scale) were probably more widespread in Greece than our limited evidence would suggest. There must also have been in many states some experience of secular choral activity. Both Pindar and Bacchylides present themselves as leaders in an environment in which there were many competing poets.[30] They may exaggerate. But again, if we operate with the assumption that successful rhetoric is rhetoric which corresponds to some degree with real experience, we must reckon with the likelihood that there were local poets who could put together a victory ode, presumably at a more modest price than the great Panhellenic masters. In states

[28] For Pindar's single triad odes, see Gelzer (1985).

[29] We have only two odes of Pindar for Athenians, one fragmentary ode of Bacchylides. Given the paucity of the remains of Simonides and Bacchylides, we should be cautious in using the evidence (especially in view of the evidence amassed by Morris (1992*b*) 144–9 to support the view that changes in funeral display patterns in Athens are part of a larger Greek trend and the cautions of Rhodes (2003) against assuming too readily that Athenian practices and values are distinctive); but it may be that the disadvantages of prestige display of an overtly individualistic kind were especially felt in democratic Athens.

[30] Pindar, *O.* 2. 86–8, *P.* 4. 248, *N.* 3. 80–2; Bacchylides 5. 16–24.

where the Panhellenic masters had performed, it may often have been possible to reuse performers with an experience of the same poet. We may have an instance of just this phenomenon in the case of the odes for Melissos of Thebes, where we appear to have two odes composed on separate occasions for a single victor but (uniquely for Pindar) cast in the same metrical form; it is a reasonable (if unprovable) hypothesis that the second ode (*I.* 4) uses the same form as the earlier (*I.* 3) in order to facilitate performance without retraining the chorus.

The combined presence of the civic and religious dimensions of the Athenian festivals gave Athenian choral performances a coercive force on all participants absent from the victory celebration. Except for the courts of the autocrats, presumably only persuasion was available as a means of getting the requisite number of singers. But what kind of persuasion? In democratic Athens the chorēgos was required to cover the costs of the chorus, including the salary—which presumably included rehearsal time as well as performance time. Though Pindar on occasion notes the fact that the poet is for hire,[31] he never suggests that the chorus members are other than volunteers. We have in fact no objective evidence for the status of the chorus which sang the victory ode. We are informed about gender and age. These are male, and (it seems) young men.[32] The nearest we get to a socio-economic description is at *I.* 8. 66, where they are described as *halikes*. In itself this need mean no more than that the chorus is of an age with the victor. And one would imagine that at least part of the explanation for the consistent use of choruses of young men is a perception that it is less appropriate to have physical prowess praised by men who are past their prime, while female choruses might raise awkward issues of social propriety. But the word *halix* not infrequently suggests intimacy as well as age.[33] The word suggests without stating that the singers are associates of the victor. Here again it is difficult to get beyond the Pindaric rhetoric. We would naturally assume from the spare description of Pindar that these are friends of the victor, co-evals and status equals who act out of friendship. The opening of *I.* 8 strongly suggests an impromptu gathering of young celebrants at the victor's door:

> *Κλεανδρῳ τις ἁλικία*
> *τε λύτρον εὔδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων*
> *πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρόθυρον*
> *ἰὼν ἀνεγειρέτω*
> *κῶμον ...*
>
> In honour of youthful Kleandros, let one of you go,
> O young men, to the splendid portal
> of his father Telesarchos
> to awaken the revel ...

[31] *P.* 11. 41–2, *I.* 2. 1–11. [32] Pindar *P.* 5, *P.* 10, *N.* 3, *I.* 8; B. 13.
[33] Cf. e.g. Hdt.1. 114. 1; Eur. *Hipp.* 1180 (though with *philos*), *HF* 513; Ar. *Wasps* 245.

The celebration at home thus replicates the spontaneous celebration at the games immediately after the victory, as at *O*. 9. 4, were the *kōmos* at Olympia explicitly consists of *hetairoi*. This impression is reinforced by *O*. 6. 87, where the chorus are presented as a band of *hetairoi*. But precisely because we have seen reason to suspect that the informal event described by Pindar is a fictional reshaping of the actual celebration experienced by his audience as the epinikian is sung, we should be cautious about the presentation of the chorus. They may in some cases be hired performers. Or they may include volunteers from lower social groups who will need to be compensated for their time. But even if they are usually unpaid, we should at least register some caution about the social relationships Pindar depicts in his presentation of the chorus. This is an idealized world in which, despite the gritty presence of factors such as *phthonos*, poet, performers, and audience unite in the desire to see achievement honoured. But motives for participating probably varied. Clearly everyone wants to be part of a success. For social equals, active participation was also a way both avoiding any intimation of *phthonos* and of cementing social and political links (and creating debts of gratitude) between families. In the case of more high-profile aristocrats and the autocrats, the desire to curry favour (or with kings and tyrants the desire to avoid disfavour) may have prompted the decision to join the chorus, irrespective of the social status of the performers.

We can probably be more confident about the status of the instrumentalists. Our epinikian sources speak sometimes of lyre and pipe, sometimes of lyre or pipe alone as the accompaniment. Though many men of substance learned to play the lyre, there is no reason to believe that aristocrats outside Athens were any more inclined to learn to play the pipe than their Athenian counterparts.[34] So the aulete is likely to have been a professional. And since one imagines with difficulty the mixing of professional and amateur instrumentalists, we should probably assume that, whatever the case may have been with the chorus, the instrumental support at least was hired.

We also know from Alkman that in Sparta maiden choruses performing at civic festivals were splendidly attired.[35] We know from Demosthenes that the same held good for the civic choruses in Athens.[36] It is unlikely that the epinikian chorus was as gorgeously attired as the chorus participating in civic ritual, except on those occasions when the city incorporated the victory celebration within a larger public festival, since the display on this scale might elicit a hostile response. But presumably the costume was appropriate to the grandeur of the occasion; and again one assumes that the victor or his family pay.

[34] See Wilson (1999) 74–5 for the status of aulos players in Athens.
[35] N. 2 above. [36] Dem. 21. 16.

The lyric epinikians had a rich afterlife. As was noted above, the victory ode both predicts and invites reperformance.[37] Some of the odes must have been dusted off for subsequent performance on anniversaries. One Pindaric ode—*Nemean* 3—was explicitly written to be premièred at the anniversary celebration (*N.* 3. 2). Another—*Isthmian* 2—appears to have been composed for posthumous celebration of success (*I.* 2. 48). We need not suppose that such reperformance would necessarily be choral.[38] Indeed, given the logistics of assembling a chorus and the absence of the urgency of recent success, one would most naturally suppose that such reperformance would involve solo singing, or at most performance by a small group. And the implication of *N.* 4. 16 seems to be that—unsurprisingly—solo reperformance of song without dance would be the norm.

But parochial performability of this sort was not enough. This we know from the rhetoric of the panegyrists, which we may reasonably take to reflect the aspirations of their patrons. The ideal of any lyric poet was to enter a larger repertoire of circulating song. This is what Pindar has in mind at the opening of the eminently quotable (and much quoted) *Nemean* 5, where he envisages his songs travelling the world on everything from big merchant ships to tiny vessels. It is what Bacchylides promises Hieron at the end of his third Ode (3. 96–8):

> σὺν δ' ἀλαθείαι καλῶν
> καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν
> Κηίας ἀηδόνος.
>
> And with the truth of noble deeds
> men will hymn too the gracious gift
> of the Keian nightingale.

The ideal was to free the victor's fame from the confines of its own polis by creating poetry of sufficient appeal to achieve reperformance in other cities. How frequently this was achieved in practice we cannot know. What we have is aspiration, not data. But the aspiration was sufficiently plausible to prompt commissions. And the boasts of the panegyrists are consistent with the pattern of commission. Pindar's earliest surviving ode, *Pythian* 10, was commissioned from another state when he was 20 years old. His commissions (religious and secular) ranged from Abdera in the north to Africa and from the Greek west to the coast of modern Turkey. As contributors to this volume have repeatedly stressed, using the formulation of Wade-Gery, the elite which competed at the games and commissioned epinikian poetry in Pindar's day were an international

[37] Though Pfeijffer (1999) 1–20, is right to stress the occasionality of the victory ode, he gives insufficient weight to reperformance.

[38] Currie (2004) 58 rightly observes that *P.* 1. 97–8 opens up the possibility of choral reperformance, though his case for *N.* 4. 13–16 as referring to choral reperformance is not persuasive. The description of the hypothetical performance of the ode by the victor's dead father lacks any term which suggests plural voices.

aristocracy. They must have exchanged recommendations; presumably—given its cultural importance—they also exchanged music.

Our limited evidence for reperformance, largely Aristophanes, confirms this picture. But it tells us more. For it testifies to a fascinating cultural 'trickle down'. The fact that songs, including epinikians, composed by Pindar and Simonides to honour rulers and toffs could be cited and parodied for a mass audience in democratic Athens[39] suggests that knowledge and enjoyment of praise songs for members of the international elite were not restricted by ideological or social boundaries.[40] The observation of Eupolis (fr. 139) that by the late fifth century interest in the poetry of the lyric classics was declining attests at least some continuing familiarity. We cannot of course hope to know how often (one's instinct says: 'very') knowledge was confined to the prooimion or a memorable purple passage (like the eruption of Mt. Etna in *Pythian* 1), though a song like *Olympian* 12 is very easily memorized in its entirety. Indeed we cannot know how often this knowledge was confined to name/title recognition; the Krios example at *Clouds* 1356 may be a case in point, since it relies only on the recognition of name and a memorable pun. For the fame industry the difference is immaterial. The name is the issue. The names crossed polis boundaries and were remembered; and epinikian poetry was crucial to that process.

It is precisely the Panhellenic fame conveyed by Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides which has guaranteed the survival of these names to the present. Though a star like Diagoras of Rhodes would be remembered anyway, not least from Cicero's famous anecdote,[41] most of the laudandi were of no significance outside their own city. They became significant only because of the intervention of the panegyrists. The canon of serious lyric masters was almost complete by the middle of the fifth century,[42] and it was cemented in place by the influential views of conservative commentators like Plato. Pindar and Simonides were clearly classics across Greece by the middle of the fifth century BC.[43] This in turn guaranteed their place within the body of *hoi prattomenoi* and (complete with scholiastic apparatus) ultimately the survival of the Pindar text to the age of print and CD-ROM. The panegyrists earned their fee.

[39] *Clouds* 1356: ᾄσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κριόν, ὡς ἐπέχθη. *Birds* 927–30: ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμώνυμε, δὸς ἐμὶν ὅ τι περ τεᾷ κεφαλᾷ, θέλεις πρόφρων δόμεν.

[40] To anticipate and meet the obvious response that parody may reflect mass hostility to such compositions, I note first that Simonides' poem for Krios is not parodied by Aristophanes, secondly that parody is not ideologically loaded in an author who parodies tragedy, oracles, laws, hymns, dithyrambs, and elements of secular and sacred procedure and ritual.

[41] *Tusc.* I. III.

[42] For the basic facts see *OCD*[3] s.v. Lyric poetry (Greek).

[43] It is surprising that of all the famous lyric poets Bacchylides is the only one not mentioned or cited by Aristophanes.

Part II

This page intentionally left blank

NINE

Debating Patronage: The Cases of Argos and Corinth

Catherine Morgan

This chapter focuses on the circumstances of, and motivation for, patronage of epinikian poets, and of Pindar in particular, in relation both to other forms of elite status expression and to the various charges upon local elites in the provision of athletic festivals and facilities during the early fifth century. The Archaic cultural heritage of Pindar's poetry is often emphasized. Yet as is widely acknowledged, the immediate, fifth-century, circumstances of the commissions which he fulfilled add a critical dimension. How this should be understood is, however, more problematic. Arguments have ranged from a perceived (and surely erroneous) contrast between the 'conservatism' of the old oligarchies who patronized Pindar and 'advanced' new democracies like Athens, to the rise of new money trying to buy into the values of the old aristocracy.[1] Was Pindar attempting to reposition an aristocracy in imminent danger of obsolescence by promoting the new ethos of *megaloprepeia*, as Leslie Kurke has suggested?[2] Most such arguments have been advanced at a relatively general level, seeking to understand the phenomenon of epinikian poetry, and specifically Pindaric epinikian, as a whole. At issue, however, is not merely the commissioning of a particular form of poetry, but its place within the wider context of victory and status commemoration, and the growing range of calls on the aristocratic purse. This demands close study of the local circumstances of each patron's polis. If, as Kurke argues, a central function of epinikian was to bind the various interests of the athlete's polis, oikos, and aristocratic peers,[3] the manner in which this was done would inevitably need to be sensitive to these circumstances. It is precisely this specificity, combined with the accessibility of the heroic values expressed, which are the characteristics of Pindar's poetry most set to appeal to early fifth-century

I am grateful to Simon Hornblower for the initial invitation to share in the organization of the ICS seminar which gave rise to this book, for encouragement to write this chapter, and for invaluable discussion thereafter. Nancy Bookidis and Betsy Pemberton kindly commented on the Corinthian passages and allowed me to refer to their continuing research, and I also thank Hans van Wees for helpful criticism of earlier drafts.

[1] Hubbard (2001), contrasting Athens and Aegina, and with a review of former scholarship; see also Thomas (this volume).

[2] Kurke (1991) chs. 7 and 8, also including a wide-ranging review of approaches to the 5th-cent. context within which Pindar worked (her argument is summarized at 257–62).

[3] Kurke (1991) *passim*. See also Mann (2000) for analogous arguments.

aristocratic patrons (by contrast with the by now Panhellenic Homer, whose heroes were firmly located in a separate sphere).[4]

Pindar's career was, as often noted, rather long—just over fifty years according to the most likely termini of *c.*498 (*P.* 10) and 446 (*P.* 8). Naturally, it would be fascinating to assess in detail trends in patronage over this period, but while *P. Oxy.* 222 (=*FGrHist* 415) lists Olympic and Pythian victors, chronological problems remain with the Isthmian and Nemean corpora in particular. The Pindaric corpus is for all practical purposes indivisible, and issues of chronology will therefore be raised only when they have a direct bearing on specific arguments. My concern is rather with geographical variation in the approaches taken within the odes, and the circumstances of patronage which produced them.

THE AGŌN

Two general premises underpin the arguments which follow. First, it is wrong to see the *agōn* as an Archaic phenomenon which declined with the rise of democracy.[5] Whatever the form of government of individual states during the fifth century, contests remained high-consequence events with emphasis placed on personal victory and prestige, and they played a major role in articulating relations between states of different political complexions. Public and private expenditure on them was not merely maintained, but generally rose; the records of the Great Panathenaia may be unusually clear in this respect, but they are not untypical.[6]

Although these observations are uncontroversial, there is less consensus on the conclusions to be drawn from them. In seeking to evaluate the effects of contests on democracies, Poliakoff concentrated on the nature of the *agōn* pursued,[7] and suggested that through the fifth century it was deliberately directed away from those areas of military and civic life where it would disturb the security of the state. Thus in Athens, military victories were won by the city, and generals were dissuaded from claiming honours for themselves.[8] The consequence of this line

[4] Nagy (1990) 191–3.

[5] A view most recently reiterated by Poliakoff (2001), with previous bibliography.

[6] Poliakoff (2001) 53–5, citing *IG* $I^2$302 for allotments in 418/7 and 415/4 for the athlothetai of the Great Panathenaia, and *IG* II^2 2311 on the value of prizes during the first half of the 4th cent. On the number of amphorae, see also Johnston (1987); Young (1984) 115–27.

[7] Poliakoff (2001) 60–1.

[8] Poliakoff (2001) 61 and n. 31, citing Detienne (1968), see esp. 126–9 (an article which argues, perhaps too strongly, for the levelling role of the phalanx and its close ideological integration with the democratic ethos of the 5th-cent. state), and Aischines, *Ctes.* 185–6. The latter certainly implies that Aischines' audience over a century later must have been familiar with a tradition that the demos had the power to deny commemoration by name to Miltiades (on the Painted Stoa) and Kimon (on statues commemorating Persian War victories). But one cannot ignore the rhetorical appeal to ancestral morality that forms the context of this reference; compare Cole (2001) 206–7.

of argument, put in the simplest terms, is to reduce the athletic *agōn* to a displacement activity, channelling certain urges while reflecting usefully on the city: and from this it follows that the often claimed connection with military preparation and commemoration can be only indirect at best. As the arguments presented in this article show, even if one accepts this case for Athens (and it is by no means clear that one should), it cannot be universally applicable even to fifth-century democracies.

Sparta is an interesting test case.[9] While it shows predictable idiosyncrasies, it is in many ways closer to the wider Greek mainland than might be expected if the expression of agonistic values and behaviour was so closely tied to political structure. Admittedly, there are important differences.[10] In particular, the social values which sustained Spartiate society were positively reinforced by team events and contests for women (both of which were unusual in the contemporary Greek world), as well as by more orthodox individual success across the whole spectrum of events (setting aside the problem of whether Spartiates really did compete in the pankration and boxing contests).[11] Much has been made of the lack of epinikia for Spartiate victors (with the likely exception of Ibykos fr. S166). But as Stephen Hodkinson points out,[12] this very specific omission may relate to the form taken by the usual occasions for the performance of such poetry under circumstances of state control, and should not imply any more general parsimony or restraint. Considerable investment was made in a range of local contests: victor lists for the Karneia begin in the fifth century,[13] and those for festivals held at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos and at Geronthrai may go back slightly further into the late sixth.[14] Spartiate participation in festivals outside Lakonia is also well attested, with many victories recorded especially at the Olympics,[15] but also in other festivals at home and abroad. See, for example, the lists of victories on the stelai of Aigletes, [G]laukat[ias], Ainetos, and most spectacularly (and somewhat later) Damonon and his son Enymakratidas,[16] as well as the

[9] As Poliakoff (2001) 57 acknowledges, although he is obliged to minimize the role of competition in Spartan society to sustain his argument.

[10] Hodkinson (1999) 148–52.

[11] The evidence is reviewed by Hodkinson (1999) 157–60; Mann (2001) ch. 4.

[12] Hodkinson (1999) 170–3; and (2000) 317–19. *Contra* Hornblower (2004) 235–43, who, as part of a more extensive discussion (emphasizing Pindar's familiarity with Sparta), points out how little we know of what was, or was not, possible in Classical Sparta, as well as the implications in this context of the lack of scholarly agreement on the public or private nature of performance.

[13] Compiled by Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4 F85a), according to Ath. 635e–f; Jeffery (1990) 60.

[14] Jeffery (1990) 60, 195, 201, cats. 44, 47 (Athena Chalkioikos), cats. 45, 46 (Geronthrai). Here one might also note Jan Sander's suggestion that the distinctive local amphorae depicted on Dioskouroi reliefs (e.g. Sparta Museum 613) may be prizes, noting that their peaked lids are similar in shape to those of Panathenaic amphorae: Sanders (1992) 206.

[15] Hodkinson (1999) 161–70, 173–6; only in equestrian events can Spartan crown victories be traced outside Olympia, see Hodkinson (2000) 307–12.

[16] Jeffery (1990) 199, cat. 22 (Aigletes), 200, cat. 31 (Glaukatias), 201, cats. 51 (Ainetos) and 52 (Damonon). Hodkinson (1999) 153–6; Hodkinson (2000) 303–7.

large number of Panathenaic amphorae dedicated at Lakonian shrines.[17] Not least thanks to Hodkinson's work, it is now widely accepted that Sparta shared in most of the wider trends in dedicatory practice evident across the later sixth- and fifth-century Greek mainland,[18] including increasing monumentality, and in the case of statue dedications, direct representation of the athlete.

Nonetheless, the absence of epinikia continues to be seen as a particular problem, reflecting the importance accorded in modern scholarship to this form of commemoration above all other.[19] Hodkinson is surely correct to advance specific explanations in terms of the structure of Spartiate society, but we should also consider the broader question of whether epinikian should be privileged in this way. Indeed, I share the view, expressed in different ways by several contributors to this volume, that if we see it rather as one element of a package of expenditure on athletics, victor commemoration, and elite status display, different local patterns of investment become more readily comprehensible. In the case of Sparta, it is interesting to note similarities with neighbouring Arkadia and Achaia, where no epinikian commissions are attested, but where games with rich prizes attracted outside competitors,[20] and local athletes were victorious and offered (or were commemorated with) dedications, especially at Olympia.[21] It is worth re-emphasizing that citizens of very few states commissioned odes, let alone in any number (Diagram 1). Aegina, here considered in detail by Simon Hornblower, is wholly exceptional, and citizens of otherwise prominent cities such as Argos and Corinth made just one or two commissions. Under such circumstances, as suggested above, it seems more sensible to begin discussion from the full local context of commemoration and patronage than from the phenomenon of epinikian itself, not least since (as Michael Silk here demonstrates) Pindar's epinikia are about so much more than just victory.

Pace Poliakoff, I shall therefore begin from the premise that athletics played a continuing and expanding role in articulating interactions between Greek states,

[17] M. Bentz (1998) 225 lists amphorae from the shrine of Athena Chalkioikos, one dating *c.*510–500 and the others *c.*500, plus a further example of *c.*520 from the Menelaion. Hodkinson (1999) 161 notes the large number of unpublished fragments from Athena Chalkioikos and the Menelaion.

[18] Hodkinson (1999) 156, 175–6; and (2000) 319–23.

[19] Hodkinson (1999) 171 'the primary method by which the most prominent victors in the crown games sought to immortalise their success'. See also Hornblower (2004) 235–43.

[20] *O.* 7. 84–6, *O.* 9. 96–8; *O.* 13. 108; *N.* 10. 44–8. Bacchylides, *Ep.* 9. 33. Morgan (1999*b*) 396, 407–8.

[21] The earliest epigraphically attested Arkadian is Tellon of Oresthasion, Olympic victor in 472 (*IvO* 147, 148; Heine Nielsen (2002) 208 n. 284), although the literary tradition has Mantineian Olympic victors dating back to *c.*500: Moretti (1957) cats. 163, 193, 202, 254, 256, 265. See also Morgan (1999*b*) 392; Moretti (1957) cats. 188, 189 (Dromeus of Stymphalos). In Achaia, Pataikos of Dyme was victorious at Olympia (Moretti (1957) cat. 171); Oibotas of Paleia (a deme of Dyme) had his Olympic victory of 756 commemorated with a statue at Olympia *c.*460 (Pausanias 7. 17. 7); Ikaros, victor at Olympia in 688, is designated Hyperesiseus (Pausanias 4. 15. 1); Patamos of Dyme won the Olympic trotting race in 496 (Pausanias 5. 9. 1). It is salutary to note that Olympic victors for the period 776–500 (following Moretti (1957)) include athletes from 45 poleis: Heine Nielsen (2002) 222 n. 329.

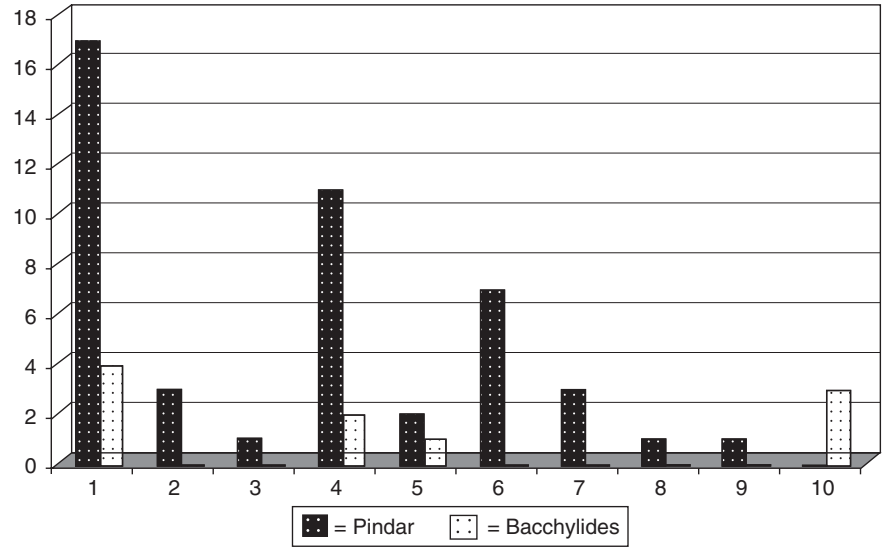


DIAGRAM 1. Patronage of Pindar and Bacchylides by Region
1 Central Greece 2 Sicily / S. Italy 3 East Greek world 4 Aegina 5 Argos 6 Corinth 7 Cyrene 8 Athens 9 Thessaly 10 Kea

and specifically, in this context, between regions in the northern and central Peloponnese. Significant elements of this dense network are mentioned in Pindar's epinikia,[22] but the numerous participant poleis did not all produce victors who patronized poets. Taking into account that our period was one of political change in many cities, and that it spanned one major set of alliances against Persia and the formation of others which underpinned the Peloponnesian wars, the continuing role of the *agōn* in the creation of new ritual contexts and associations acquires particular significance. Emphasizing that many fifth-century political innovations were constructed (and often legitimized) in established ritual terms, Susan Cole[23] has examined the way in which competition, competition locations, and the language and imagery of the *agōn* (*stephanōsis* as a form of political honour, for example)[24] were exploited, ideally in a manner which would avoid or minimize the destructive envy, or *phthonos*, which agonistic victory inevitably attracted. In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, it may have seemed less contentious to use 'established' means (albeit sometimes with quite radical adaptation and stretching of meaning) than to find new ways of evaluating and honouring political excellence. Hence, for example, Herodotus' account (8. 123) of the unsuccessful attempt to use the setting of the main altar of Poseidon at

[22] *O.* 7. 83–6; *O.* 9. 95–9; *O.* 13. 106–13; *P.* 8. 78–9; *N.* 3. 83–4; *N.* 4. 21–2; *N.* 5. 44–6, 54–5; *N.* 9; *N.* 10; *N.* 11. 19–20; *I.* 4. 25–6, 70; *I.* 8. 67–8.
[23] Cole (2001). [24] Cole (2001) 205–7; Blech (1982) 155–61.

Isthmia, an established context for the crowning of athletic victors, for a vote to decide which commander had most distinguished himself at Salamis. The difficulty of establishing mechanisms for rewarding political excellence was considerable and enduring, and it undoubtedly remained easier, if not always satisfactory, to fall back upon established ideas. But this still left the problem of ensuring that *phthonos* was as far as possible avoided, or at least presented in such a manner as to reinforce what should properly be valued. It is therefore not surprising to find the problem of *phthonos* both prominent and pervasive in Pindar's epinikia—a conspicuous example being *P.* 7. 18–21 for the ostracized Megakles of Athens.[25]

If, by the early fifth century, the *agōn*, its values, and imagery were becoming increasingly pervasive in politically and morally charged situations, one might expect the commemoration of victory to become an equally important and sensitive matter. Further support for this line of argument may be found in the very specific phenomenon of cults of named athletes. Cults of a small number of Olympic victors were established in widely scattered cities, from Epizephyrian Lokroi (Pausanias 6. 6. 4–11) to Astypalaia (Pausanias 6. 9. 6), usually during the relatively short period *c.*490–470, contemporary with Pindar's epinikia (whatever the date of the individual's victories) and in times of civic unrest.[26] On one hand, athletics formed an established and valued aspect of aristocratic *aretē*, but on the other, these specific instances of cult represent the appropriation by the cities concerned of exceptional, but contradictory personalities.[27] This is not to suggest that such heroization was purely a promotion of civic politics. As the case of Euthymos of Epizephyrian Lokroi shows,[28] one should also consider the wider religious context, and the personal role played by these athletes during their lifetimes. But since the city provided the fundamental context, it is appropriate to emphasize the communal concerns which could be so served. As Bohringer has argued,[29] the heroized athletes were often people who had in some way strayed from proper behaviour. According to Pausanias (6. 9. 6), Kleomedes of Astypalaia pulled down a pillar supporting the roof of the town school and thus killed sixty children. But as symbols for troubled times, they could also be seen to have faced different forms of physical and moral weakness. I will not dwell on athlete cults, but merely note that the date of their establishment is directly relevant to issues central to this chapter, namely the promotion of athletic festivals in relation to civic image, and the way in which victory commemorations, via epinikia among other means, formed part of this process.

[25] Bulman (1992) offers the fullest examination of the issue. *P.* 7: Siewert (2002) 167–70. See also Carey (this volume).

[26] Bohringer (1979) 5–10. [27] Bohringer (1979) 10.

[28] Currie (2002). [29] Bohringer (1979) 10–18.

PATRONAGE

The second, and directly related, premise behind this chapter is that, as already emphasized, within the common framework of aristocratic values, the commissioning of epinikian odes did not hold exactly the same meaning and significance in all parts of Greece. There is little to be learned from the geographical spread of the extant Pindaric corpus considered simply in terms of the numbers of odes commissioned by citizens of each city (Diagram 1). There are clear peaks in Sicily, Aegina, and central Greece, a small number in east Greece, and then occasional commissions of one or two odes by cities scattered in a wide area from Athens and the north-east Peloponnese, to Thessaly and Cyrene. The picture is not substantially changed by the addition of the much smaller corpus of Bacchylides' epinikia (the only viable comparison given the patchy and problematic record of Simonides). Obvious differences reflect the poets' home regions (favouring Kea rather than central Greece and especially Thebes), and the lack of east Greek commissions of Bacchylides. But it is hard to read much into these observations given the small sample size.

To look more deeply at the local significance of patronage, we should first consider geographical and social variation in the contents of the poems. A preliminary, heuristic exercise is revealing. Quantification of Pindar's references to crown game victories by region or city (taking into account multiple commissions celebrating a single victory), and comparison of the results with figures for commissions, reveals three distinct patterns (Diagram 2). The patterns themselves are clearly more reliable than the exact figures, since while Pindar is generally precise when enumerating crown game victories, he frequently resorts to vaguer formulations for local games and in a very few instances one can only estimate the exact number. Hieron of Syracuse's horse Pherenikos is simply noted as winning 'crowns' at the Pythian games (*P*. 3. 73–4),[30] at *O*. 12. 18 an ambiguity in the Greek leaves it uncertain whether Ergoteles had won twice at Delphi and twice at Isthmia or just once at each, and at *P*. 4. 65–8, Pindar refers to Arkesilas of Cyrene as the eighth generation of 'those sons to whom Apollo and Pytho granted glory from the hands of the Amphictyons in horse-racing'. The order of magnitude in these cases seems clear, and there is rarely any suggestion that large numbers of victories passed without a precise account. The exceptions are *N*. 10. 41–3, concerning Argive victories at the Isthmus, and *O*. 13, where at 98–100, Pindar qualifies his earlier likening (44–7) of the countless victories of the family of Xenophon of Corinth at Nemea and Delphi to the pebbles of the sea, by stating that sixty victories were proclaimed 'from both these places', although with an ambiguity in the Greek similar to that at *O*. 12. 18, it is unclear

[30] The ambiguity is discussed by Jebb in his commentary on Bacchylides, *Ep*. 5, which celebrates an Olympic victory with the same horse: Jebb (1905) 198 n. 2.

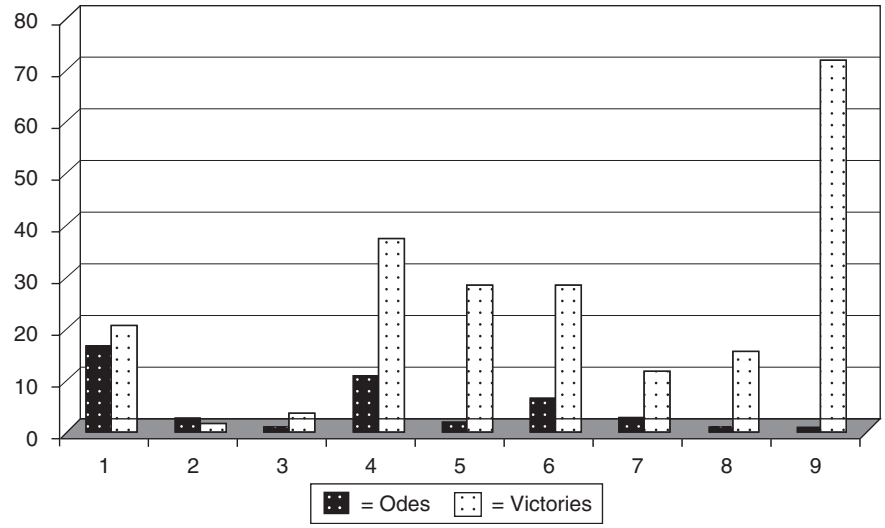


DIAGRAM 2. Regional Patronage of Odes vs Victories
1 Central Greece 2 Sicily / S. Italy 3 East Greek world 4 Aegina 5 Argos 6 Corinth 7 Cyrene 8 Athens 9 Thessaly

whether this means sixty from each or sixty in total.[31] But considering the specific poleis involved, Argos and Corinth, it is clear that these exceptional statements confirm a pattern supported in other ways and discussed further below. Whatever figure one puts on these victories makes no material difference to the overall picture. Perhaps more seriously, however, it must be borne in mind that although there have been no recent Pindaric discoveries to match those of Simonides, the corpus of choral lyric is hardly a fixed entity.[32] The corpus of Pindaric epinikia as we have it forms the tip of an iceberg: beneath it lie numerous fragments which cannot be attributed to author or even lyric genre. And I also acknowledge the complex history of the definition of the genre as discussed by Nick Lowe in this volume.

[31] Barrett (1978) 1 assumes sixty at each, whereas Gildersleeve (1890) 236 takes sixty as the total: neither justifies his position or comments on the ambiguity in the Greek.

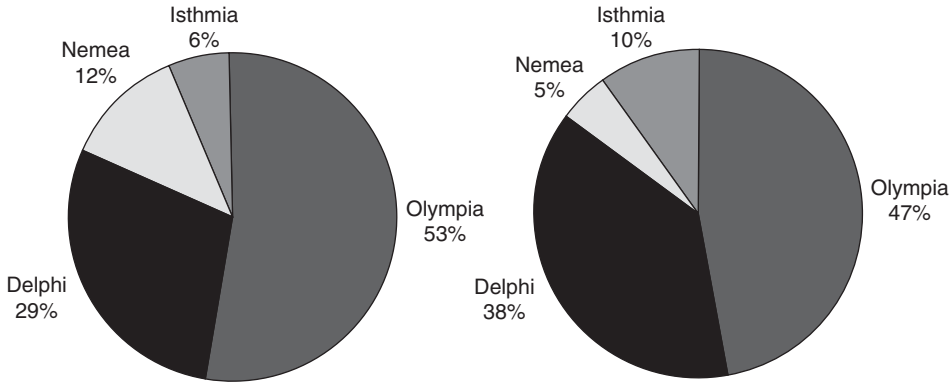
[32] Simonides: *P. Oxy.* 3965+2327 (=*IEG*^{2} Simon. 22), published in 1992 and with numerous discussions and re-editions thereafter. In the case of Pindar, relatively little has followed the substantial collection *P. Oxy.* 2438–51 published in 1961, and such fragments as have been published subsequently are rarely attributable with certainty either to author or genre: *P. Oxy.* 2736 (ed. pr. 1968, Pindaric attribution discussed by Lavecchia and Martinelli (1999)); *P. Oxy.* 2621 (ed. pr. 1967, not attributed although hints of both Pindar and Bacchylides); *P. Oxy.* 2622 fr. 1 (ed. pr. 1967, may be Pindar); *P. Oxy.* 2623 frs. 21a–22 (ed. pr. 1967, Pindar = *SLG* 399, 340); *P. Oxy.* 2624 (ed. pr. 1967, probably Simonides; van der Weiden (1986), probably Pindar); *P. Oxy.* 2627 (ed. pr. 1967, probably Pindar); *P. Oxy.* 2636 (ed. pr. 1967, Pindar); *P. Oxy.* 3822 (ed. pr. 1989, Pindar, Paeans). As Hornblower emphasizes ((2004) 239–40, citing Pindar fr. 6a–b), Pindar himself mentions the composition of at least one ode (to a Megarian victor at Isthmia) of which we have otherwise no record.

Nonetheless, on present evidence, real trends can be detected in the way that Pindar assembled honorific elements and for whose benefit. One distinction lies in the number of references to additional victories, and the emphasis placed on certain crown games. While no one festival is universally singled out, there are regional differences in the prominence accorded to individual festivals or groups of festivals. This more or less correlates with (or is nuanced by) the extent to which other local festivals, kin, and trainers are mentioned, and with the number of individual honorands from each city. These are sometimes distinctions of degree rather than kind (echoing Simon Hornblower's observations on Pindar's treatment of Aeginetan *philoxenia*), and occasionally other connections cross the lines drawn here. The Lokrian colonial connection which binds *O*. 9, 10, and 11 (here included in groups one and two) is perhaps the clearest such case.[33] Nonetheless, the groupings here proposed are arguably the most consistent, and form a useful starting point for comparison with other kinds of material investment made by the states concerned. They thus promise a fuller context for the evaluation of any alternative associations which may be identified.

Group One

The first, and in some ways the most straightforward, of the three groups comprises *O*. 1–6, 10–12, *P*. 1–6, 9, 10, 12, *N*. 1, 9, and *I*. 2. While odes for Sicilian and south Italian honorands are the most striking examples (not least for the sheer quantity of poetry involved), this group also includes three Pythians (4, 5, and 9) for Telesikrates and Arkesilas IV of Cyrene, and the only Pindaric commission (*P*. 10) for a Thessalian victor. Where we have direct evidence for the constitution of the city concerned (i.e. in the majority of cases), commissions came from, and/or celebrated, oligarchs or absolute rulers and their immediate circles. The victories celebrated are overwhelmingly Olympic and Pythian, and by comparison with the two other groups, little attention is paid to Nemea and Isthmia, let alone to more local events (with the notable exception of *N*. 9 discussed below). As Diagram 3 illustrates, odes for Sicilian and south Italian patrons in particular include very few references to other victories, and such as there are also favour Olympia and Delphi (see, for example, *O*. 2 for Theron and *I*. 2 for Xenokrates of Akragas, neither comparable with, for example, *O*. 7 or *O*. 13), or praise a *periodonikēs*. Instead, attention focuses on the person of the victor/ruler (either directly, when the honorand is the ruler, or indirectly, when it is one of his close circle), and multiple commissions from one or more poets to celebrate the same victory are unique to this group. Mention may be made of immediate family (or in the case

[33] Hornblower (2004) 313–15.



(a) Sicily: Victories by ode (sample = 17)

(b) Sicily: Victories by festival (sample = 21)

Diagram 3

of equestrian events, the charioteer or horse), but family history and wider connections are not stressed. They would probably have been irrelevant if access to poetry of this kind was controlled and part of a wider phenomenon of literary patronage.[34] Treatment of family is well illustrated at Akragas, where the Emmenid brothers Theron and Xenokrates were honoured in a total of four odes[35] which feature praise of each other's successes and those of Xenokrates' son, Thrasyboulos. Xenokrates was also praised by Simonides,[36] and Thrasyboulos was the subject of an enkomion by Pindar (fr. 124a, b).[37]

Perhaps the clearest, if most extreme, illustration of this combination of trends is Syracuse under Hieron. Hieron himself celebrated his single horse victory at Olympia in 476 by commissioning both Bacchylides (*Ep*. 5) and Pindar (*O*. 1)[38]—and subsequently did the same for his chariot victory at Delphi in 470 (Bacchylides, *Ep*. 4; *P*. 1).[39] Yet only two other contemporary Syracusans,

[34] Conveniently summarized by David Asheri in *CAH* v^2, ch. 7; see Vallet (1984), discussing also Pindar's engagement with Sicilian cities after the fall of their tyrannies. Mann (2001) ch. 7 reviews the wider phenomenon of Sicilian participation in mainland Greek athletic festivals.

[35] Theron: *O*. 2 and 3 (tethrippon, 476). Xenokrates: *P*. 6 (chariot, 490) and *I*. 2 (posthumous, commemorating an Isthmian chariot victory among other achievements).

[36] As reported by a scholiast to Pindar, *I*. 2: Drachmann III. 212. The circumstances of the commission are discussed by Molyneux (1992) 233–6.

[37] Throughout, fragment references follow Snell.

[38] The achievements of the horse in question, Pherenikos, are also celebrated in *P*. 3 (a celebration of Hieron's qualities and a prayer for his health during a period of illness), which mentions Pythian victories (probably in 478) as well as that at the 476 Olympics.

[39] Two further epinikia celebrate Hieron's chariot victories: Bacchylides, *Ep*. 3 (Olympia, 468) and *P*. 2 (location and date unknown).

both close associates of Hieron, were honoured by Pindar, and then in very careful terms. *O*. 6 celebrates Hagesias' victory in 472/68—an Olympic victory for sure, but in the much less prestigious mule race (an event not listed in *P. Oxy*. 222). The form of praise offered is also notable, not least for the way in which it builds to a tribute to Hieron. We begin (lines 4–9) with the juxtaposition of Hagesias' Olympic victory and his Iamid descent, which not only helps to justify the attention paid to this particular victory but also, as Pindar stresses, establishes Hagesias' good fortune as descendant of a family which (according to a version of the foundation legend reported by a scholiast to this passage)[40] co-founded Syracuse with Archias of Corinth. It is Hagesias' Peloponnesian heritage that is most fully celebrated, both in terms of the legendary history of the Iamidai and of his Arkadian connections on his mother's side. Even the ode itself, performed first in Hagesias' ancestral home town of Stymphalos rather than in Syracuse, is depicted as a gift which Pindar hopes will be welcome and pleasing to Hieron when it reaches Syracuse. Chromios, the other Syracusan praised by Pindar, was an outstandingly successful general in the service of both Gelon and Hieron. The two odes dedicated to him (*N*. 1, celebrating a Nemean chariot victory, and *N*. 9, also a chariot victory but at Sikyon in *c*.474, and possibly also celebrated by Simonides)[41] include direct and lavish praise of his personal qualities (hospitality, strength, wisdom, and proper use of wealth; *N*. 1. 19–33; *N*. 9. 31–47). Yet in both cases this is balanced by praise of Sicily and of Hieron. Thus while the manuscript tradition designating Chromios as 'of Aitna' may allude to his role as the city's governor (if the scholia are to be believed, and noting that the city features prominently in both odes),[42] it is an obvious tribute to Hieron as that city's founder (an event celebrated in *P*. 1). Furthermore, reference to Olympic victories in an ode whose honorand achieved none (*N*. 1. 18) calls to mind the conspicuous acheivements of Sicilian rulers, and especially Gelon and Hieron. Finally, the decision to celebrate victories at a lesser crown event and a local festival at Sikyon surely represents judicious modesty in comparison with the achievements of Gelon and Hieron.

The wider implications of Sicilian patronage, and in particular the long history of Italian engagement with Olympia (a sanctuary which cannot be fully understood from a purely Greek, let alone eastern mainland, perspective), are discussed in detail by Carla Antonaccio and in the introductory chapter. Here I merely observe that some city ruling elites (but curiously not all) commissioned odes which set athletic victory firmly in the context of civic virtues, usually as

[40] Drachmann I. 156.

[41] This rests on a speculative identification of *P. Oxy*. 2430 fr. 84. 1: Podlecki (1979) 12–13 ; see also Molyneux (1992) 231.

[42] Drachmann III. 6, 149–50.

exercised by the ruler.[43] This phenomenon is echoed in the material record, noting for example the presence of Panathenaic amphorae in Sicilian and south Italian elite graves (notably at Syracuse and Taras) and dedicated at the Athenaion at Syracuse.[44] In turn, it belongs within the well-documented exploitation of the old Greek world as a source of cultural referents in the west, strikingly, but hardly exclusively, in times of tyranny. This is made most explicit by Bacchylides, who in *Ep*. 3, for example, praises Hieron's lavish dedication of golden tripods at Delphi, a gesture juxtaposed (at 60–6) with the pious generosity of Kroisos.[45]

In the case of Cyrene, as noted in the introductory chapter, Barbara Mitchell[46] has argued persuasively that Arkesilas IV drew upon the precedent of Telesikrates' victory in the Pythian race in armour in 474 (*P*. 9, the culmination of a series outside the crown circuit) in competing in (and winning) the prestigious four-horse chariot races at Delphi (in 462) and Olympia (in 460), and in commissioning Pindar[47] to celebrate the former (*P*. 4 and 5). This enabled him at a stroke to outdo his aristocratic rivals at home, to recruit Greek soldiers for his prospective colony of Euesperides, and, by playing on Greekness, to distance himself from previous alliances with Persia at a time when those neighbouring states upon whose support he relied were in open revolt against Persian rule. But if Arkesilas' patronage was a relatively straightforward matter of political strategy, the picture in Thessaly is more complicated, as Maria Stamatopoulou emphasizes in this volume. Thessalian engagement at Delphi, widespread interest in horse-breeding, and a well-developed luxury economy would seem fertile ground for the patronage of epinikian poets. Yet only five odes have survived—one fragment for the 'sons of Aeatius'[48] which is probably by Simonides, and two each by Bacchylides and Pindar. Clearly, though, the record is incomplete, given Theocritus' statement (16. 34–47) that the wealth and fame of the Thessalian ruling houses (the Echekratidai, Aleuadai, and Skopadai), and their equestrian victories, survived thanks to the praise of Simonides. The explicit mention of

[43] See for example *P*. 1. 41–55 on Hieron's military prowess, or *P*. 3 on the qualities of a ruler, again addressed to Hieron.

[44] M. Bentz (1998) 97–9, 103, 115, 225–6; Caruso (1990); Neils (2001); see also p. 5 here above.

[45] Luraghi (1994) 354–68. The maritime perspective on Delphi implied in Bacchylides' reference to 'sea-girt Kirrha' (*Ep*. 4. 9), and the west–east direction of travel in *Ep*. 5 are rightly emphasized by Freitag (2000) 35 n. 177, 40 n. 206, 120 n. 635. A related example of the use of epinikian to establish or reinforce key aspects of state-political identity is *Ep*. [11] 10 for Alexidamos of Metapontum, where Bacchylides provides a rather recherché Peloponnesian Achaian pedigree, via Lousoi, for the cult of Artemis Hemera in Metapontum: recent discussions include Osanna (2002) 277–8; Giangiulio (2002) 290–306; Cairns (2005).

[46] Mitchell (2000) 94–5. For the long history of participation in the Great Panathenaia (in both athletic and equestrian events) indicated by the Panathenaic amphorae found mostly in local graves, see Maffre (2001); Elrashedy (2002) 98–109.

[47] Or, in the case of *P*. 4, accepting an ode in his honour, if the terms in which Damophilos is mentioned at 277–99 imply that he commissioned the poem: Race (1997) 258.

[48] *P. Oxy*. 2431, fr. 1a, b (= Simon. fr. 6, *PMG* 511).

equestrian victories surely implies epinikia, but we cannot know how many and for whom.[49] So the picture is by no means as bleak as sometimes suggested, but much remains conjectural. Of the better preserved extant odes, Bacchylides, *Ep.* 14B [16] commemorates the double Pythian chariot victory won by Aristoteles of Larisa. *P.* 10, commissioned by the Aleuad Thorax of Larisa for Hippokleas of Pelinna (boy victor in the diaulos of 498) presents, most unusually, a straightforward opportunity to praise the good, aristocratic government of the patron and his brothers. Praise of the boy's athlete father further reflects on Thorax' good judgement. But while in *P.* 4, Pindar shows himself familiar with aspects of Thessalian mythology (in this case the story of the Argonauts), in marked contrast to his treatment of Euboia, Boiotia, Attica, and the central Peloponnese (see below), he makes no mention of local Thessalian festivals. For this we must turn again to Bacchylides, *Ep.* [14] 13, dedicated to Kleoptomelos of Thessaly, victor in the chariot race at the *Petraia* (a festival the location of which is attested to only by a scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios 3. 1244, see p. 333 below). Furthermore, a bronze hydria (Athens NM 13792) of the first quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 71), of unknown provenance, bears a prize inscription which attests to games in honour of Protesilas, by the town or area of Phthia (the piece is fully discussed by Stamatopoulou, pp. 333–4 below).[50] Even accepting the caveats entered above, the limited evidence for Thessalian commissions of epinikian poetry and for local athletic festivals in the sixth and fifth centuries seems to imply contrasts with almost every other region touched upon by Pindar.

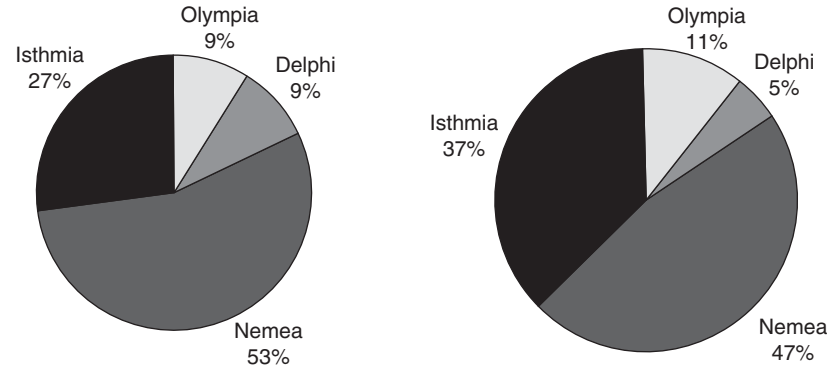
Group Two

The second group of odes (*O.* 8, 9, 14; *P.* 7, 8, 11; *N.* 2–8; *I.* 1, 3–9) is defined by a higher proportion of athletic and contact sports than the equestrian events favoured in group one,[51] and by the presentation of victory in the context both of a personal career and of a family tradition of success in crown and local events over a wide area of the Peloponnese, central Greece, and Attica. Aeginetan commissions alone account for just over half of this group, with twelve odes for some ten individuals from a number of leading families—an exceptional number from a single area, as Simon Hornblower emphasizes in this volume. As Diagram 4 shows, all four crown games are represented in Aeginetan commissions, but Nemean victories account for just under half overall, whereas

[49] Molyneux (1992) 117–38 discusses this passage in the context of a wider examination of the Thessalian ruling houses' patronage of Simonides (although his characterization of the region as backward requires revision in the light of the archaeological evidence, as presented here by Maria Stamatopoulou).

[50] Amandry (1971) 617–18.

[51] The ratio is 15 : 3 plus one unknown (with the latter three chariot victories achieved by an Athenian, *P.* 7, and two Thebans, *I.* 1, 3–4), as opposed to 4 : 14.



(a) Aegina: Victories by ode (sample = 12) (b) Aegina: Victories by ode (sample = 38)

Diagram 4

consideration of all victories mentioned increases the proportion of Isthmian. The two senior festivals, Olympia in particular, are certainly represented, but there is a much stronger emphasis on the two junior but geographically closer games. In addition to details of the victor's career and family, the Aeginetan odes are distinguished by the attention paid to the trainers of boy athletes, primarily in contact sports (wrestling, boxing, and the pankration). Indeed, of the eight odes in the Pindaric corpus which mention trainers, seven belong in group two and six celebrate Aeginetans. *O*. 10, for Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Lokroi, is the sole example outside group two; he is also the only boy athlete in group one and the only boxer. And when it comes to the age of the contestants, the adult exceptions prove the rule. The pankratiast Melissos of Thebes (*I*. 4) won by skill and, as Pindar remarks, despite his small stature, but the foundation of his career was laid as a boy when he listened to his trainer's wise advice (71–2). Likewise, Phylakidas of Aegina was celebrated both as a boy (*I*. 8) and an adult (*I*. 5), in both cases trained by a family member (initially his father and then his brother). Here praise of the trainer fits within the established context of family tradition.

Clearly, emphasis on athletic education was not confined to Aegina, but it was exceptionally strong here, and it is also worth noting that within an otherwise fairly homogeneous (and geographically close) group of odes, other cities emphasized natural talent in a way that Aegina did not. The Aeginetan corpus contains nothing to match the praise of natural talents over taught skills at *O*. 9. 100–7 for the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous. The statement at *N*. 3. 40–2 (for the adult pankratiast Aristokleidas), that mere learning is not enough, tends in this direction but is much milder. In comparison with Pindar, Bacchylides' treatment of Aegina may be more laconic, but in *Ep*. [13] 12 he praised the

trainer Menander of Athens who got 'countless' crown game victories for his pupils (1. 196 ff.),[52] and cited the pankration (the event most celebrated in this group) as a major achievement of Aegina. Robert Parker has argued persuasively that Pindar's approach reflects the twin importance in Aeginetan political society of the *oikos* and the *patra*.[53] It is, however, worth noting similarities in the treatment of ancestors in both Theban and Athenian commissions. The victorious ancestors of three of the four Theban honorands are mentioned (*P.* 11, *I.* 3 and 4, *I.* 7). In the fourth case (*I.* 1), the father of Herodotus of Thebes is mentioned only briefly to note his past misfortune, although Pindar's emphasis on the city of Thebes and the great achievement of Herodotus, who drove his own chariot, is explicable since as the poet himself stresses, he is singling out just one of six victors in a single Isthmian festival to come from his home city. In Athens, both Megakles of Athens (*P.* 7) and Timodemos of Acharnai (*N.* 2) have victorious ancestors. In short, while the group is perhaps the most homogeneous in terms of its geographical focus and the themes to which praise is directed, the Aeginetan odes show an especially intense focus on kinship networks, training, and family heritage, a subject explored in greater detail by Simon Hornblower.[54]

Group Three

The final group, on which the remainder of this chapter will focus, consists of four rather disparate odes (*O.* 7, 13; *N.* 10, 11) which celebrate the distinctive achievements of outstanding individuals. Perhaps the most striking and often cited example is also unique. *O.* 7 honours the boxer Diagoras of Rhodes at an advanced stage in his career (he had already won an exceptional number of victories in both crown games and other contests). The ode celebrates Rhodian history, praises the city's good government, and mentions Diagoras' father Damagetos (but as a just man, not an athlete; 11–19); and a fragmentary Isthmian ode to the boxer Kasmylos (perhaps also celebrated by Simonides)[55] attests to a second Rhodian commission. But the real focus of *O.* 7 is on the stellar career of one individual, with no mention of any family or regional athletic tradition. In marked contrast, his victor statue at Olympia[56] formed part of a family group.[57] His antithesis is surely Aristagoras of Tenedos, who took the opportunity of his installation on his city's governing council to commission *N.* 11, which includes (22–9) the Larkinesque complaint that, despite his and his family's sixteen victories at local games in wrestling and the pankration, his parents held him back from wider competition at Delphi and Olympia.

[52] Celebrated also at *N.* 5. 46–9.
[53] Parker (1996) 62–3 n. 26.
[54] See also Mann (2001) ch. 6.
[55] Maehler (1989) frs. 2, 3, *AP* 16. 23: attributed to Simonides.
[56] Herrmann (1988) cat. 65; *IvO* 151.
[57] Pausanias 6. 7. 1; Herrmann (1988) cats. 62–6; Frazer (1965) 25–8.

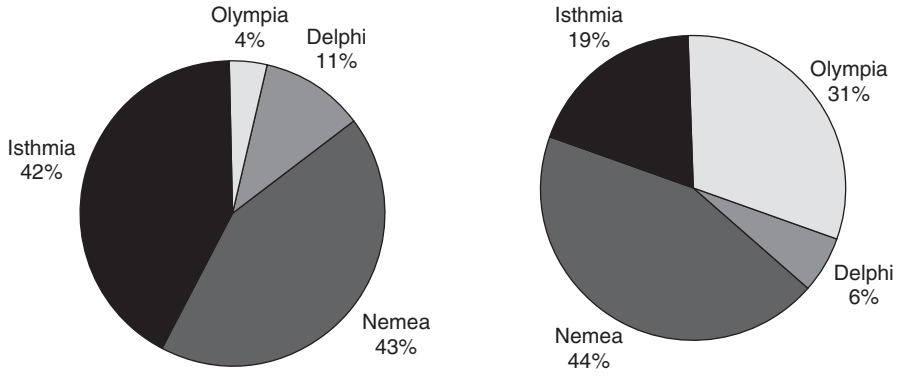
The two remaining odes in this group form a distinctive and closely related pair. *O*. 13, for Xenophon of Corinth, double victor in the stadion and pentathlon in 464, and *N*. 10, for Theaios of Argos, a victorious wrestler at the Argive Heraia or Hekatomboia,[58] are both rare commissions from cities which were near neighbours and deeply implicated in the organization and practice of athletics. *O*. 13 echoes the emphasis on family which characterizes the odes of group two: the very first word of the poem, *τρισολυμπιονίκαν*, is an eloquent testimony to father and son, and the number of victories won by the Oligaithidai is initially likened to the pebbles of the sea (line 48). The tradition is further strengthened by the fact that a fragmentary ode (*SLG* 399, 340), probably by Simonides, refers to the same family members mentioned at *O*. 13. 35–45, namely Xenophon's uncle Namertidas and Namertidas' brother Erotimos (and perhaps also his son of the same name). Pindar also mentions a further relation, Ptoiodoros, who was perhaps the grandfather.[59] However, *O*. 13 differs in the sense that the occasion of a highly significant, double victory is exploited not merely to celebrate the victor and his family, but to praise the orderliness and inventiveness of his city (1–23), where, for example, the dithyramb, bridle and bit, and 'aetomata'—pediments or acroteria—were invented. The family's commission may well have been a status-enhancing move which finds echoes in other forms of display in the city at this time, as will be discussed. But it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the poem also reflects communal Corinthian interests—logically so, since if the Oligaithidai were powerful in Corinth, then their status can only have been enhanced by identifying their interests with those of the polis. In this respect, there is a contrast to be drawn with Aegina where, as Simon Hornblower demonstrates, despite clear evidence for the political activities of at least some of the individuals mentioned by Pindar, the polis *per se* plays a relatively minor role. In short, as with *N*. 10, both the content of *O*. 13 and the fact of its commission imply a political burden missing in the odes of group two. Furthermore, as Diagram 5 shows, both odes refer primarily to victories in the more local crown games, at Nemea and Isthmia, with a significant percentage of Olympic victories celebrated in *N*. 10 also.

N. 10, which is harder to date (see below), contains many of the same honorific elements.[60] Yet as will be argued, the overall thrust is directed slightly differently, towards the specific circumstances of Argive politics. The ode reverses the usual

[58] During the 5th cent., the festival at the Heraion was described simply in terms of the deity. Of the two later terms for it, Heraia and Hekatomboia, the latter is plainly the earlier, attested on two early 4th-cent. inscriptions from Delphi which list 5th-cent. victors, but replaced by Heraia before the end of the 3rd cent.: Amandry (1980) 220, 226–9, 244–8; Amandry (1983), emphasizing the earlier work of Paul Wolters (1901) on the subject.

[59] Barrett (1978), hypothesizing (7) the existence of at least one further lost ode, perhaps for Thessalos, as a source for the Alexandrian genealogical tradition evident in the scholia.

[60] The most recent commentaries are provided by Palaiogeorgou (2000) 126–62; Henry (2005) 91–118.



(a) Corinth: Victories by Festival (sample = 71+?)

(b) Argos: Victories by Festival (sample = 16)

Diagram 5

tripartite structure (praise-myth-praise) by opening with a celebration of the mythology of the city of Argos and her heroes from the Danaids onwards, moving to list Theaios' other crown and local victories followed by those of his maternal relatives (and dwelling on the rich, especially metal, prizes won), and finally recounting the myth of the Dioskouroi. The Homeric feel of the language and structure of certain passages (especially the myth of the Dioskouroi at 55–90) is notable.[61] But the paratactic structure adopted throughout also recalls parallels in early fifth-century visual arts for the placing of contemporary, usually divinely favoured, episodes within a temporal sequence running back into the heroic past, thus creating a specific framework of mutual legitimacy for the past and present events. The panels of the Painted Stoa in Athens offer a good example of such a construction.[62] Pindar attributes (49–54) Theaios' family's success to the divine protection of the Tyndaridai, to whom their ancestors had shown *theoxenia*. The crux of the ode (29–36), Theaios' prayer for the Olympic victory needed to become a *periodonikēs*, is set within the context of the heroic achievements of the Argives, and of the piety of his family which had already resulted in divine favour and thus material rewards. The choice of a victory at the Hekatomboia for such a powerful prayer is, I suggest, fundamental to interpreting this commission.

Even taking into account the additional evidence from Corinth cited above (noting that it pertains to the same family), the rarity of epinikian commissions

[61] Palaiogeorgou (2000) 148–9; Henry (2005) 91–2, 110–18.
[62] Castriota (1992) 3–13 *et passim*, see 130–3 on the Painted Stoa.

seems striking for two cities so deeply embroiled in the practice of, and provision for, athletics. Corinth was not only patron of the Isthmian games, but also held its own local festival, the Hellotia, linked by Pindaric scholiasts to the cult of Athena Hellotis (of which *O.* 13. 40 offers the earliest attestation, see below).[63] This may not be the only local event: a plaque from Penteskouphia carries an inscription which is likely a victor's dedication, and may more controversially place the victory at a village Peraion in the area Peraia, implying a local contest of which we have no other record.[64] Testaments to Corinthian victories abroad include Panathenaic amphorae (two dedicated at Isthmia in the period *c.*500–480, and four prior to 480 displaced into various contexts in the area of the Roman forum of Corinth).[65] Argos too was patron of a major local festival in the Hekatomboia, and was certainly casting envious eyes upon Nemea at this time, although perhaps not yet in control of it. Setting aside statuary, which will be discussed presently, commemorations of Argive victories abroad include the small bronze dedicated in celebration of Dandis' Olympic victory in 476.[66]

If the record of epinikian commissions seems slight, there is no clear evidence that these two cities positively favoured other archaeologically visible forms of commemoration. Both R. R. R. Smith and Rosalind Thomas (in this volume) emphasize connections between epinikian and statue dedications. Both were explicitly called agalmata and featured descriptions or claims related to a victory (or a career of victories by the time of the commission) designed to be spoken. The comparison is emphatically drawn in the opening words of *N.* 5 (*οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ'*). As R. R. R. Smith notes, the mutual self-awareness here expressed between poet and statue maker has a general import when considering the development of athlete statues.[67] Yet since Pindar commonly directs observations of this kind, the Aeginetan context cannot be ignored. It is surely no coincidence that Aeginetans and Argives were prominent among the sculptors credited with fifth-century victor monuments at Olympia (see the Appendix to Chapter 4 above). And while Pindar's comments are directed against his immediate 'rivals', the makers of free-standing human images, it is worth noting the substantial investment recently made in four pediments for the temple

[63] Drachmann I. 367–9; Broneer (1942) 140–3; Herbert (1986) 32–3; Williams (1978) 41–3, 155–6.

[64] Berlin Antikensammlung F838: Wachter (2001) COP 85.

[65] M. Bentz (1998) 224. For later Panathenaic amphorae at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, see n. 133 below.

[66] Moretti (1953) 22–3, noting the tradition that this athlete was praised by Simonides; Hampe and Jantzen (1936–7) 77–82; Mitsos (1952) 65, s.v. *ΔΑΝΔΗΣ*; Ebert (1972) 66–9, cat. 15.

[67] In discussing this passage, I deliberately avoid implications of systematic hostile rivalry between practitioners of the two crafts, noting, with Steiner (2001) 251–65, the extent to which this view relies on an explanatory anecdote recounted by a scholiast on *N.* 5 (Drachmann III. 89, 1a), and fails to take account of complexity of the interaction between, and mutual dependency of, the two media of which Pindar shows himself well aware. This is not to imply that rivalry did not exist, merely that *N.* 5 does not provide the direct evidence for it that is sometimes inferred.

of Aphaia, with the latter two recalling stylistic debts to the renowned Aeginetan metalworking industry. It is hard to think of a better setting for a conceit upon the complex relationship between statuary and epinikian poetry than Aegina, which was an avid consumer of both.[68]

The general parallel is attractive, and as Deborah Steiner rightly emphasizes, the impact of epinikian poetry cannot be fully understood without the contribution of statuary, and the imagery so conveyed, to the physical context of performance.[69] If epinikian odes are about more than just the victories which created the occasions for them, so the full range of statue images must form part of this context.

Indeed, when one tries to focus specifically on victor statues during the period of Pindar's career, there are obvious problems in tracing the relationship in detail in each region. With very few exceptions (ironically, including a substantial number of Lakonian figurines),[70] explicitly athletic imagery on free-standing statues or reliefs is relatively rare (especially outside Attica) until well after the Persian Wars.[71] More often than not, inscriptions seem to have been the main means of attaching specific meaning to types such as kouroi, chariot groups, or (in Athens and Delos) riders.[72] Corinth is notoriously short of Archaic or Classical inscriptions other than on vases, and even though the pre-Roman Agora has yet to be securely located, this seems unlikely to be a matter of chance or excavation.[73] Only one (late fifth-century) statue base has been identified in the sixth- and fifth-century record, but with only the maker's details preserved.[74] So while a number of late Archaic–early Classical male statues, as well as animals and sphinxes, from both Corinth and Isthmia seem by their context to be

[68] The exact nature of these debts, and the scope of a late Archaic Aeginetan 'school', remain controversial subjects beyond the scope of this paper: see Walter-Karydi (1987) for a maximal view. On the temple and its role, see Sinn (1987). On commemoration of victory on Aegina, see now Walter-Karydi (2004).

[69] Steiner (2001) especially, with reference to Pindar 251–65.

[70] Hodkinson (1999) 153–6.

[71] There are of course exceptions, perhaps the clearest (and also quite late) being the late Archaic statue by Kritias and Nesiotes on the Athenian acropolis, showing the victorious Epinarchos practising the hoplitodromos: Pausanias 1. 23. 9; Raubitschek (1949) cat. 120; Keesling (2003) 29 (see also 88). In general, however, Keesling (2003) 170–1. On relief bases, see Kosmopoulou (2002) 37–41 on Archaic evidence (noting, 48–50, the contrast with funerary monuments where athletic imagery is incorporated into a broader set of statements about the persona of the deceased). As Kosmopoulou notes (65–9), the picture changes during the Classical period, when a high percentage of votive relief bases have scenes related to contests, but this process begins only in the late 5th cent.

[72] Keesling (2003) ch. 2, 66–7, 87–90, 99–102; Eaverly (1995) 47–67; Raubitschek (1949) cats. 21, 111, 171, 174 (the form of cat. 76 is unknown, and of cat. 164, it is possible now only to say that the pose shows motion). Kosmopoulou (2002) 75–7, 80–3, also emphasizes the role of the inscription on Archaic statue bases, and contrasts the later Classical habit of reduplication, i.e. a tighter link between image and inscribed text. Rausa (1994: ch. 2) sets Archaic victor images within the broader context of honorific statuary—the shift towards more specific treatment is documented by R. R. R. Smith (this volume).

[73] Dow (1942) esp. 113–18; Jeffery (1990) 114–32, 440–1. Agora: Williams (1970) 35; and (1978) 18–19, 38–40.

[74] Statue base: Kent (1966) cat. 15.

dedications rather than grave markers,[75] it is rarely possible to tell why they were erected and what they might represent. An interesting (but non-athletic) exception, to which we will return, is a series of some forty terracotta statues dedicated at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth from the third quarter of the sixth to the fourth century, almost all of which depict draped youths (probably votaries) bearing offerings.[76] But as yet only one depiction of an athlete has been found in the region, on the first of a series of six (fifth-century to Roman) reliefs dedicated at Isthmia. This fragmentary head of a bearded adult male wearing a victor's fillet dates *c.*470, close to *O.* 13 and to the dedication at Isthmia of a Panathenaic amphora of the Kleophrades Painter or his circle.[77] Direct evidence for bronze life-size or near life-size statuary is very rare and apparently largely confined to Isthmia; extant fragments date from the late sixth century at the earliest, and similar problems of identification pertain. It should, however, be noted that the evidence of uninscribed statue bases from Corinth, when fully studied, may cause this rather bleak general picture to be revised.[78]

Pausanias (2. 1. 7) describes the Isthmian sanctuary as adorned 'on one side' with statues of victorious athletes, a picture similar to that of the other crown game sites. Yet there is nothing to suggest that this was a creation of our period.[79] The bases preserved on the north side of the temenos and by the stadium at Isthmia,[80] and by the racetrack at Corinth,[81] date by context and

[75] Corinthia: Weinberg (1957) esp. 304–6 and NB cat. 7; Bookidis (1995) 241–8. Ridgway (1981) 425–6; Wiseman (1967) 421–2. The large collection of terracotta statues from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, noted by Bookidis and Fisher (1972) 317, are in process of publication. Isthmia: Sturgeon (1987) 68–73, cats. 3–13 were all but three casualties of the temple fire of 470–450, noting also two terracottas, 74–5 cats. 15–16. It is worth emphasizing that funerary sculpture is very rare: an unusual case, identified by its findspot in an area of known tombs, is a severe style kouros of *c.*480: Krystalli-Votsi (1976); Bookidis (1995) 240–1, 247.

[76] Bookidis (1995) 245–6; see n. 128 below.

[77] Sturgeon (1987) 126–7, cat. 49 pl. 57h (for the full series, see 126–30, cats. 49–54, noting that whether or not these include victor dedications as Sturgeon suggests, 49 is the only representation of an athlete; cat. 55, included by Sturgeon as the seventh piece in the series may, as she suggests, be a fragment from a Byzantine templon screen or capital). Panathenaic amphora: M. Bentz (1998) 140 cat. 5.020; Broneer (1958) 30–1, no. 35, pl. 15a.

[78] I am grateful to Nancy Bookidis (pers. comm.) for drawing to my attention the many 'Classical' (but undatable) uninscribed bases at Corinth, and for pointing out that the many fragments of dark blue stone reported by the excavators of post-146 debris over the Sacred Spring and the Captives' Façade/North Basilica must come from statue bases. Mattusch (2003) fig. 13.6 illustrates an inscribed example (with the name of Lysippos) in this blue limestone from the area of the later, Hellenistic, racetrack. In the absence of detailed study, it is as yet impossible to assess the impact of these bases on our understanding of Corinthian dedicatory sculpture and, following Bookidis (pers. comm.), I merely emphasize that they will surely have an impact. Extant bronze statuary: Mattusch (2003) 223–4. Isthmia: Raubitschek (1998) 1, cats. 19 (1st half 5th cent.), 20 (5th), 22 (late 6th), 23 (late 6th), 25–6 (Classical), 37? (early Classical, staff or sceptre probably held by lost figure), 43? (late Archaic–early Classical, spear butt probably held by lost figure), p. 163 app. A1 for body sections, p. 164 A2 for probable patches. There is, however, an Archaic bronze figurine of an athlete: Gebhard (1998) 100. Non-figurative, explicitly athletic dedications at Isthmia include the often-cited inscribed halteres: Broneer (1958) 36, pl. 17e, f.

[79] Sturgeon (1987) 5–9.

[80] Sturgeon (1987) 9; Broneer (1973) 24–6; Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 51–7.

[81] See n. 151 below.

technique only from the late Classical period onwards. And while it is in most cases unclear exactly where the small body of earlier statuary at Isthmia was positioned, there is nothing to indicate what it commemorated or that any particular areas were favoured. The wider picture therefore seems to reflect patterns of elite patronage at Isthmia and the development of local athletics as part of the Corinthian civic tradition in the city centre, as will be further discussed. Equally, the record of Corinthian patronage abroad is slight. At Olympia, Pausanias (6. 13. 9–10) reports the dedication of a statue of his victorious horse by Pheidolas (victor in 512?), recording also the victories of his sons (in 508). No base has been discovered, and as Smith concludes (p. 123) this is best counted among a group of statues erected sometime later than the victories they celebrated. The sculptor is unknown and cannot therefore provide any chronological help, but looking at the parameters of the group as a whole, there is a strong possibility that it dates around the first half of the fifth century.[82] In short, if Corinthians did put up victor statues in our period, with the exception of the Isthmia relief they advertised them in a way which was both archaeologically irretrievable and different from their neighbours, and preservation problems arising from the local tradition of terracotta sculpture cannot provide a complete explanation.[83]

Surprisingly, perhaps, the archaeological record at Argos is not much clearer or more substantial. At the end of the sixth century, Timokles dedicated an inscribed Doric column at the Argive Heraion recording victories at Nemea, Tegea, Kleitor, and Pellana.[84] In the city itself, the first victor dedication is an altar/base of *c.*500–480 dedicated to the Anakes by Aischylos son of Thiops in thanks for four stade victories, plus three in the hoplitodromos, at games of which we know nothing other than that they were *δαμόσιοι*.[85] Given the rarity of his name, it is tempting to suggest that this might be the same Aischylos mentioned in a kalos inscription on the foot of an early fifth-century cup from Nemea, although the excavator is suitably cautious.[86] At Nemea, excluding early and clearly Kleonian evidence,[87] none of the extant sculptural monuments can be securely identified, although all are later than our period, a fact which likely

[82] Herrmann (1988) cats. 126, 127.

[83] Bookidis (1995) 236, emphasizes that limestone and terracotta are attested in Corinth from the beginning, with marble added from the mid-6th cent. (and see also Pfaff (2003*a*) 103–4 on the materials used for architectural decoration, noting, 118, 120, the use of marble for the roofs of the prestigious late 6th cent. Great Temple and the Temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora). Terracotta was, however, used for public projects; see e.g. Bookidis (2000), and note also the Amazonomachy pediment Weinberg (1957) 306–7.

[84] Moretti (1953) no. 7.

[85] Moretti (1953) no. 10; Jeffery (1990) 162–9, cat. 17. Of the seven attestations of the name reported by Mitsos (1952) 21–2, only two are 5th cent. (this athlete and a victim of the battle of Tanagra) and the remaining five are all 3rd cent. or later.

[86] Miller (1979) 74, pl. 19c.

[87] See n. 205.

reflects limited excavation near the Early Stadium, between the Heroon of Opheltes and the Temple of Zeus.[88] Most evidence (bases and a large deposit of bronze statue fragments) relates not to the sanctuary of our period, but to the early Hellenistic stadium some distance from the temenos, which was constructed as part of a wider building programme in *c.*330–300, after the games returned from Argos.[89] Delphi adds less of our period than might have been expected, and while there is of course much more literary evidence for 'Argive' dedications, it is complicated by the problem of disentangling the epic from the city ethnic. On the other hand, as the Appendix to Chapter 4 shows, Argive sculptors (unlike Corinthian) were particularly active from the first half of the fifth century in creating monuments to past and present victors from other poleis.

Here, however, it is worth pausing to emphasize that observations on the role and development of free-standing statuary based on physical remains rather than, for example, the testament of Pausanias, almost inevitably rely on Athenian (and to a lesser extent Sicilian) evidence. The extraordinary coincidence of at least three episodes of clean-up or destruction and reburial of dedications from the Acropolis and Agora, covering exactly the early years of the democracy, enables us to document in unparalleled detail shifts in thinking about certain genres and the depiction of personal roles and statuses.[90] Athenian evidence would seem to suggest that athlete depictions form part of a broader trend towards increasingly precise role definition from the last decades of the sixth century onwards, distinguishing aspects which, as noted, had previously been covered by broader genres.[91] Hence, for example, groups commemorating public activities (perhaps the *dokimasia* in the case of equestrian sculpture and perhaps even involving the so-called Secretary Group)[92] and political events (notoriously the Tyrannicides). But in cases where we have evidence of context, it is clear that it can contribute significantly to the reading of such images. For example, Aileen Adjootian has highlighted the way in which the likely position of the Tyrannicides, by the dromos in the Agora, juxtaposed community politics, athletic, and heroic values.[93] Yet how far we can generalize from Athenian evidence when for very good reason the record as preserved is unique?

[88] Birge (1992) 31–4, 48–61. Early Stadium: Miller (2001) 241–2; and (2002) 245, 247–8.

[89] Miller (2001) 59–60, 93–6 (stadium chronology 90–3).

[90] Keesling (2003) esp. ch. 7. That deliberate burial of statuary was a widespread practice is shown by Donderer (1991–2): what differs in the case of Athens is the scale and timing.

[91] And as Steiner (2001) 222–34 notes, able to draw on a well-established and complex approach to the depiction of athletes in vase-painting. For Athens, see Keesling (2003) ch. 7 (esp. 170–5).

[92] Compare the very different conclusions drawn by Trianti (1994) and Keesling (2003) 182–5, who restates the older identification of the largest 'scribe' statue (Acropolis 629) as the portrait of a *tamias* and dedicated by Alkimachos son of Chairion.

[93] Ajootian (1998); along the same lines, see Keesling (2003) 171–4.

As R. R. R. Smith shows, it is clear that some changes can be traced across Greece, and western innovation should not be underrated. But the evidence is uneven, and while it is clear that early fifth-century attitudes to statue dedication were in some regions very complex, it is unclear that this was always the case. And this in turn raises the question of the extent to which an emerging 'international' consensus about statue dedications at inter-state sanctuaries carried through to commemorations at home. Not least for these reasons (and noting also changing fashions in fifth-century lyric commented upon by Chris Carey and Nick Lowe in this volume), I cannot accept Mark Golden's explanation for the demise of epinikian in terms of a shift from song to statue, the closure of one channel and opening of another.[94] As Golden himself notes, important issues surround the contexts of statue display and epinikian performance,[95] and a related, if probably unanswerable question, is whether (or how) perceptions of athletic imagery differed from those of other genres at the time they were created. In the case of the athlete heroes noted earlier, it is true that the power of the statue itself could form part of the heroic tradition, but arguably, this owes more to notions of embodiment in divine or semi-divine statuary than to athletics *per se*.[96] On a more mundane level, however, did the use of athlete statues as a regular form of commemoration add a new and in some way heroic aspect to the victory celebration, and how did this compare in terms of audience expectations with the experience of attending an epinikian performance, especially when it featured the work of one of the three great poets? To what extent did either mode of expression move outside, or enhance, the expectations of its audience (the comparative degree of heightening and/or elevation, to use Michael Silk's important distinction), and did the relationship between them add to the already established interplay of the previous century? As has been emphasized, the commissioning of an epinikian ode from one of these poets was in most poleis a rare event. On what level can this be compared with the statuary represented by, for example, the large quantity of bronze eyelashes found at Olympia? In short, the existence of an issue of comparability is plain, but what exactly this meant in any region is far from clear.

CORINTH

Let us return to Corinth and Argos, and consider other factors which affected not only the buying power of elites, but also the rationale for commissioning

[94] Golden (1998) 84–6.

[95] Golden (1998) 85, although attempts to introduce sumptuary legislation into the argument rely on belief in the historicity of Cicero, *De Leg* 2. 57.

[96] Steiner (2001) 8–9. In the case of Athens, Keesling (2003) 177–80 argues that the two are uniquely connected.

epinikian poetry and what this may reveal about the role of contests in a period of growing tension between the two cities. In Corinth, it is clear that victory in a crown event was highly valued, although such hints as survive record commemoration at the expense of the victor rather than the city. In an enkomion or skolion for the same Xenophon of Corinth, Pindar (fr. 122) refers to 'a hundred bodied herd of girls' brought 'to graze in gladness at the fulfilment of his prayers', a gift which 'Athenaeus' (*Deip*. 573e–574b: see p. 167 n. 3 above) explains as a thank-offering of prostitutes to Aphrodite in fulfilment of Xenophon's vow to her before setting out for Olympia. The dedication of what might be described (somewhat politically incorrectly) as archaeologically invisible luxury consumables finds echoes in long-standing Corinthian practice. The description 'wealthy' or 'prosperous', used by Pindar (*O*. 13. 4) among many others, has seemed something of an archaeological puzzle. On one hand, the coastal plain of Corinth is very fertile, and the territory as a whole is well watered with easy access to (and a rare ability to integrate) land and maritime trade (a point emphasized in the fifth century by Thucydides 1. 13. 5).[97] Yet, on the other, from the mid-eighth century to the late sixth, Corinth has produced no significant record of conspicuous consumption of durable resources, especially metals, in domestic or burial contexts.[98] With the brief exception of the so-called Kypselid dedications (Pausanias 5. 17. 5–5. 19. 10; Herodotus 1. 14; Plutarch, *Mor*. 164a, 399e),[99] evidence from sanctuaries, while conspicuously richer during the second half of the eighth and seventh centuries, is also far from exceptional by wider Greek standards.[100] The standard form of adult tomb from the mid-eighth century to the mid-fifth, the monumental stone sarcophagus, represents the persistence of an egalitarian (though far from frugal) approach through major changes in political circumstances. From the early fifth century onwards, more expensive grave goods are found, but these are mostly strigils or, in female graves, jewellery and bronze mirrors, and cannot be said to represent a major shift towards the material expression of social status.[101]

[97] Stroud (1994) 271–6 (the point holds good irrespective of whether one accepts Stroud's argument that Thucydides' account rested on close personal experience of the region); Bynum (1995) 1–13; Munn (1984) 1–11, 313–16, 323–57; Wiseman (1978) *passim* remains the only archaeological-topographical overview of the region.

[98] Dickey (1992) 100–11; Pfaff (1999) 114. A Geometric cemetery recently discovered in the course of rescue excavation has produced a comparatively large number of metal items by Corinthian standards, although a preliminary impression suggests that many come from graves earlier than Late Geometric: Aslamatzidou (2004) 63–4; Aslamatzidou and Kasimi (2004). A collection of late eighth- or early seventh-century gold bands acquired by the Berlin Antiquarium in 1882 was reported by Fürtwangler ((1884) esp. 100, pl. 8) to come from a grave near Corinth. But the provenance is questionable: the 1882 inventory entry for this collection (Misc. 7751) does not refer to a burial, but to 'Goldschmuck aus Korinth, von Lambros, gekauft mit Vasen V.I. 2769–79 und TC 7714–26' (I thank Dr Gertrud Platz for this information).

[99] Carter (1989) with extensive previous bibliography. Chest of Kypselos: Snodgrass (2001) on Pausanias' account; Splitter (2000) on the history of scholarship, and reconstructions.

[100] Pemberton (1996).

[101] Pemberton (1999) 139–42.

As Betsy Pemberton has suggested, patterns of public consumption in a society best described as an oligarchy of the wealthy are likely to have been more stable and less characterized by expensive, assertive display than those in poleis with more complex, and less stable, social ranking.[102] Yet this should not be taken to imply total restraint in public. Lavish consumption of meat, wine, and other foodstuffs had been a feature of Corinthian festivals since the establishment of the Isthmian sanctuary in the eleventh century.[103] By the sixth century, Corinth was supporting one of largest sacral economies of any comparably sized polis.[104] This continued to grow through the fifth, with the establishment of new shrines especially in the south-western Corinthia,[105] and expansion at, for example, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (discussed below). One further point should be emphasized. It may be that by the early fifth century, income from temple estates played the same major role in festival economics as it did elsewhere (Argos included, as will be discussed). We simply lack the epigraphical evidence needed to assess this proposition. In general terms, however, we can emphasize the likely importance of liturgies. The existence of a major regional festival at Isthmia from the eleventh century created opportunities for festival provision and the acquisition of by-products (bone, hides, etc.), which must surely have promised considerable social and economic benefits for those with the greatest social power to exploit them.[106] And in the same vein, it is hard to see those already entrenched in such a system becoming permanently disengaged as opportunities grew through the Archaic period (whatever temporary dislocations resulted from the tyranny). Victor dedications of luxury consumables should therefore be understood in the context of a long-standing tradition of liturgy.

Against this background, there are a few notable instances of exceptional personal investment from the early fifth century onwards. Xenophon's family commissions of Simonides and Pindar form such a case. Another is an exceptional early fifth-century panoply burial in the North Cemetery,[107] which includes (in addition to pottery) a strigil, a dinos, eyelets which may come from boots, leather and cloth remains of what may have been a cuirass or jerkin, and a bronze helmet best paralleled at Olympia in a cache of armour dedicated by the Argives, probably at the very end of the sixth century, as spoils from the Corinthians from an as yet unknown battle.[108] The circumstances of this individual's death and burial are matters of speculation (noting the paucity of

[102] Pemberton (1996) 366.
[103] Morgan (1999*a*) 373–5.
[104] Morgan (2003) 150–3.
[105] As e.g. Kivouria, beside the road to Kleonai through the Longopotamos valley, a Classical cemetery and sanctuary with a temple: Bynum (1995) 40–2; Stroud (1992–8) 240.
[106] Morgan (2002) 256.
[107] Blegen, Palmer, and Young (1964) 215–16, grave 262.
[108] Olympia: see most recently Jackson (2000), with previous bibliography.

skeletal remains in the grave).[109] I merely note the combination of athletic and military items used to commemorate personal status.

In exploring this association, it may also be significant that Isthmia was apparently the first Panhellenic shrine at which the practice of dedicating Greek armour stopped (and abruptly so, as no post-470 types have been found). Similar, but more protracted, trends can be traced at Olympia, but the change from sixth-century practice at Isthmia is rather sudden, leading Alastar Jackson to interpret it as a deliberate attempt to play down memorials of conflicts between Greeks to reinforce the shrine's 'Panhellenic' role in celebrating resistance to Persia.[110] A coincidence of interests would have furthered such a claim; the protection of Poseidon at Salamis, the proximity of the Isthmian defensive wall (Herodotus 8. 72),[111] the fact that the Isthmian games of 478 were the first crown games to be held after the Persian Wars, and Corinth's own contribution in terms of the size of her forces and, by at least one account, the bravery of her men. Corinth sent forty ships both to Artemision and Salamis, a fleet second only in size to that of Athens (Herodotus 8. 1, 43), and the bravery of the Corinthians in the centre of the battle line at Plataia was praised soon afterwards by Simonides.[112] Monumental victory dedications made at Isthmia from Persian spoils included a Phoenician trireme after Salamis (Herodotus 8. 121) and a bronze statue of Poseidon made from the sanctuary's share of spoils after Plataia (Herodotus 9. 81). It also seems that Corinthian literary patronage extended to the commissioning of epigrams on the subject of Salamis, reputedly from Simonides. Tradition ascribes to him the epitaph of the Corinthians buried on Salamis, an epigram on a cenotaph on the Isthmus, a record of a dedication of arms in the temple of Leto by the crew of the trierarch Diodoros, an epigram inscribed in the temple of Aphrodite concerning the prayers of the women of Corinth to inspire their menfolk in battle, and the epitaph of the Corinthian admiral Adeimantus.[113] While none of these attributions can be regarded as wholly secure, and Adeimantus' epitaph in particular may post-date Simonides' death, it is intrinsically probable that Simonides was responsible for some, if not

[109] Blegen, Palmer, and Young (1964) 215, report 'very few traces of bones, some in lebes'. As they note, the length of the coffin would suit a young boy, but the presence of the bones (if human) in the lebes could also represent the token remains of an adult who died and was cremated abroad (although there is no mention of burnt matter in the excavation record). Pemberton (1999) 141, suggests that the deceased may have died in this same battle against the Argives, and notes the lack of parallels for cremation in the Corinthian record.

[110] Jackson (1992) 142–3. At Olympia, Siewert (1996) links the decline of metal offerings of all kinds with an increase in 'votive' ingots of standard size, and suggests that this reflects a trend towards melting down offerings into bullion (perhaps with a formal order to this effect in the third quarter of the 5th cent.).

[111] Wiseman (1963) 255–6, 263, 270; and (1978) 59–62, although compare Gregory (1993) 5.

[112] Boedeker (1995) 219, 224–5; Luppe (1994).

[113] Page (1975) Simon. XI, XII, XIII, XIV, X.

all, of the other epigrams, as Molyneux argues.[114] Overall, therefore, during the first half of the fifth century we find a small but innovative collection of statements reinforcing both collective image and elite conduct with respect to it, which gain weight by comparison with the behavioural traditions within which they are made. The coincidence, in both public and private contexts, of athletics, military success, and aristocratic status is clearly shown.

Before pursuing this connection, it is worth pausing briefly to consider one further way in which Pindar contributes to our understanding of fifth-century Corinth. The occurrence of the few but costly, and/or materially distinguished, statements of personal or family status discussed above raises the question of more personal motives for asserting status and achievement, and thus the possibility of rivalry within the Corinthian oligarchy. A fragmentary dithyramb by Pindar (fr. 70c), probably the remains of a Corinthian commission, makes a tantalizing reference to *stasis*.[115] The text is too fragmentary to determine whether the wish expressed is that *stasis* should not happen or that it should cease, although the balance of probability favours the latter.[116] At first sight, this seems surprising, given Pindar's praise of Corinthian order, justice, and peace at *O*. 13. 6–8, and the common image of stability and comfort.[117] In truth, however, we know next to nothing of the internal order of fifth-century Corinth, and have neither grounds for dismissing Pindar's reference nor evidence with which to evaluate it. Only one other fifth-century source refers to internal dissent in the city. According to Thucydides (1. 105–6), in 460 the Athenians sent an army of those very old and very young men who happened to have remained in the city, to dislodge Corinthian invaders from Megara. The resulting battle was perceived as a victory by both sides, but whereas the Athenians lingered to erect a trophy, the Corinthians went straight home—only to be so reviled by their elders that they returned to set up their own trophy on the battlefield, were ambushed, and a portion of the army trapped and stoned to death. Clearly, the passage reveals tension in Corinth between different age groups,[118] but it is unclear whether this was something endemic or a specific reaction to behaviour which was first incompetent and then improper. It is naturally tempting to relate two sources which seem to indicate social tensions at much the same time, but we know too little to be sure that the coincidence is more than fortuitous. It is, however, worth

[114] Molyneux (1992) 192–9, with a review of previous scholarship.

[115] *P. Oxy*. 1604. 2: Lavecchia (2000) 42–3, 218–28.

[116] On the grounds that the latter is implied by three of the four restorations of]ιτο so far proposed by commentators (between which it is hard to discriminate, see Lavecchia (2000) 219–20, adding now Wilson (2002)), namely the compounds of λύω, καταλύοιτο and διαλύοιτο (Wilson 2002), and παύσαιτο, whereas only μή γένοιτο would fit the former.

[117] Pemberton (1999) 142, 160–1.

[118] Stroud (1994) 279–80.

reiterating that fifth-century Corinth had much worth contesting, from access to trade and its profits[119] to land, and the comforts of growing domestic luxury.[120]

Pindar's reference to *stasis* is made in the context of a dithyramb which is commonly conjectured to have been intended for performance at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, a sanctuary where Dionysos was also worshipped (as fits the imagery of the fragment).[121] This context adds an important further dimension. The sanctuary was founded within a long-settled area, and as Christopher Pfaff has noted, while the cult was probably established in the eighth century and expanded through the latter part of the seventh, the exact point at which settlement gave way is not clear. Demeter's later epithet, ἐποικιδίη, which is unique to this site, further emphasizes her domestic origins and affiliations.[122] (Figs. 43, 44) From the mid-sixth century, however, a major programme of architectural aggrandizement saw the religious centre on the middle terrace (which was probably already well established)[123] clearly distinguished from a lower terrace newly designated for communal dining and served by a new road from the agora. Some ten banquetting halls were built on this lower terrace during the last decades of the sixth century and the early fifth. These provide a current total of fifteen dining rooms (both free-standing and within larger buildings), with more units remaining to be excavated. Variation in the size of dining rooms is inevitable, given topographical constraints, but the result is a range of small, replicating units containing five to nine built couches or half-couches. The first appearance of the adjunct facilities which were to become more popular through the fifth century (a service room and possible bathing room in unit L: 16–17) dates to the very end of the sixth or early fifth century.[124] The practice of ritual dining may not have been new, but the formality of the setting, and the form and scale of the provision, were highly innovative, and grew ever more elaborate through the fifth century. New rooms and complexes continued to be built during the first half of the century, and from *c.*450 onwards, a new entrance was added (with a stepped processional way running up through the heart of the sanctuary), and new dining rooms built and existing ones remodelled with the addition of rooms for washing, cooking, or sitting.[125]

[119] Munn (1984) and (2003).

[120] Pemberton (1999).

[121] Lavecchia (2000) 223; the material evidence is somewhat later: Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 247, 259, 427, 433.

[122] Pfaff (1999) esp. 119–20 (see also Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 424–5; Bookidis (2003) 248), although see also the suggestion of Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 72 n. 23, that the house-like form of the Archaic oikos (or thesmophorion/telesterion) on the middle terrace, which may have held the cult statue, gave rise to 'Demeter dwelling in her little house'.

[123] Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 53–83.

[124] Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 19–51, 393, 427–8.

[125] Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 19–21, 85–151, 428–30, and for an overview of all periods, 393–421.

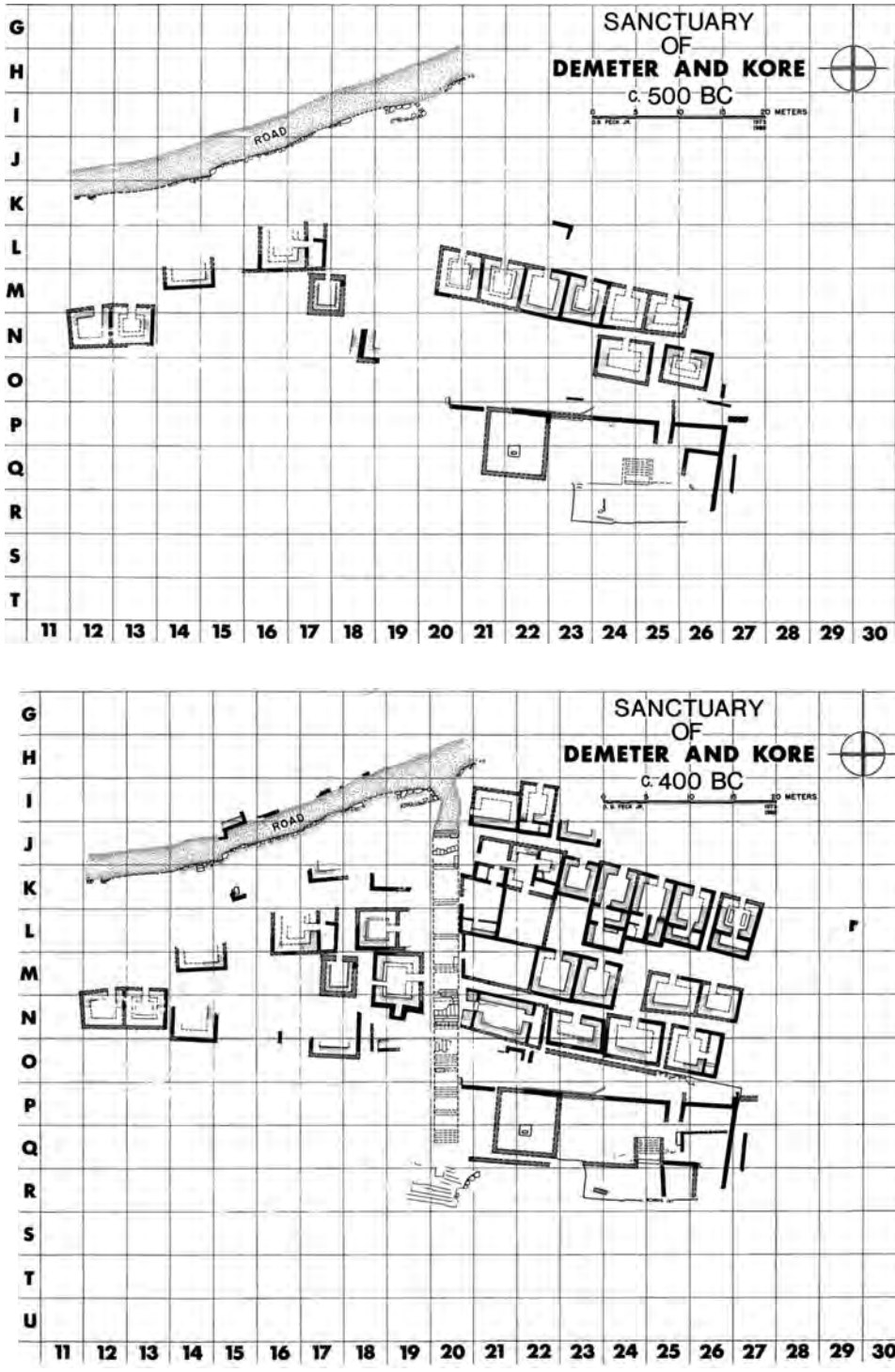


FIG. 43. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: (a) *c.* 500 BC and (b) *c.* 400 BC



FIG. 44. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth

But who dined in these rooms and on what occasion? Despite the discovery of the debris of rich meals using a wide range of foodstuffs and cooking methods, nothing in these remains points to a consistent season when dining took place.[126] The estimated minimum number of individuals who could be accommodated (*c.*101 in the late sixth–early fifth century, rising to *c.*182 later in the fifth, noting limitations of excavation) must be many more than that of the cult personnel. As Nancy Bookidis stresses, the small votive record strongly favours female interests, and while it is likely that men dined, there are also parallels for banquets for women (excluding men) in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore. A further representation of the dominant presence of Corinthian elite families is provided by the forty or so large terracotta statues of youths carrying offerings, mentioned earlier. These are mostly males in their teens, but there are also some girls and a few children and Temple Boys—a variety of images which would seem to preclude their interpretation as deities. While their exact meaning (fulfilling cult roles, for example, or celebrating age and/or social status) and the occasion(s) of their dedication are the subjects of continuing research, we can at least suggest that the vast majority represent real or idealized sub-adult members of Corinthian elite families.[127] They were certainly prominent: after

[126] Bookidis *et al.* (1999).

[127] Statues: Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 259–60; Bookidis, pers. comm. I am most grateful to Nancy Bookidis for information about her continuing research on the iconography and ritual significance of these pieces.

the construction of the processional stairway, this route and the upper terrace were favoured places for their display, accompanying worshippers on their journey up through the sanctuary.

It seems likely that elite men (and probably also women) formed the majority of diners, although we can only speculate about whether they divided by family, interest group, area of residence, or tribe, and whether they 'owned' or leased the rooms in which they met.[128] Dining was a pervasive Corinthian ritual, depicted in vase-painting and practised at other major sanctuaries.[129] At Perachora, for example, the sixth-century so-called temple of Hera Limenia may have been a predecessor of the hestiatorion (dated by Tomlinson to the late sixth century, but likely somewhat later), but neither facility is large, and most worshippers probably dined outdoors.[130] The same is true of Isthmia, where dining in two underground cult caves took place during the fifth and fourth centuries, in a location suggestive of specific (perhaps Dionysiac and/or hero) cult interests, but accommodating very small groups of people.[131] The contrast with Demeter and Kore could not be more marked. Its location in the city centre, the involvement of both genders, the family epithet attached to Demeter, the lavish consumption of a wide range of foodstuffs, and the sheer scale of provision for dining (both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the sanctuary area) housed in small, replicating, and increasingly self-sufficient units, are all unique or rare features.[132] Together they provide a striking context for the performance of Pindar's dithyramb. Addressing the issue of *stasis* at a sanctuary of Demeter ἐποικιδίη, where elite family interests are vividly depicted, would surely bring the message home.[133]

I have dwelt on what might otherwise have seemed a small Pindaric footnote because of the light shed on likely tensions in Corinthian society at a time when one member of the Oligaithidai chose to celebrate his success in a costly and unusual way, and one which emphasized his and his family's close identification with the history and achievements of his city. There is, however, more to say

[128] Bookidis (1990) and (1993).

[129] Pemberton (2000*a*) 100–4.

[130] Hestiatorion: Tomlinson (1969) 164–72; Tomlinson (1990) favours this earlier date: Menadier (1995) 81–3 notes that the only fixed point is a *terminus post quem* of *c.*500 reported (Tomlinson (1969) 170, in fact stating 'fifth-century') as provided by the ceramics from the foundation trench which Tomlinson (1990) 96 subsequently interpreted as contamination; see also 88–9, 110–11 on the 'hearth building' ('Hera Limenia'). Tomlinson (1969) 170 interprets a single post-pit as suggestive of a 6th-cent. predecessor to the hestiatorion. See now Pfaff (2003*a*) 128–31 for a summary overview, favouring a 4th-cent. date for the hestiatorion.

[131] Gebhard (2002*b*). Mylonopoulos (2003) 184–6 speculates that the worship of Melikertes-Palaimon may have been practised here, an interesting but untestable hypothesis.

[132] Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 393–4.

[133] As a minor footnote, the use or dedication of athletic prizes here is attested by the presence of two post-359 Panathenaic amphorae among a rather small collection of imported pottery: Pemberton (1989) 138–9, cats. 305+306, 307; M. Bentz (1998) 105.

about the role of athletics in fifth-century Corinth. Accepting that the liturgical obligations upon the Corinthian elite may have been considerable, their level and nature are of some interest. Following extensive sixth-century public building for various purposes in the city centre[134] and (notably among sites in the chora) at Isthmia (where the establishment of the games was accompanied by the construction of a massive artificial stadium bank),[135] the only major public projects which can be securely dated to the first half of the fifth century were the sports and cult complexes in the Lechaion Road Valley, which remained in continuous use until the sack of 146. (Fig. 45) The first race track here was laid down by the end of the sixth century, with a starting platform perhaps contemporary or slightly later. The maximum possible length of the track, *c.*165 m, is shorter than a conventional dromos, and the unusual form of the starting line, where the widely separated front and back toe grips of the seventeen positions imply a striding stance, has also given rise to debate about the nature of the events staged.[136] While there is no absolute bar to its use for conventional running, it is unparalleled as a normal athletic facility, and would thus be highly inconvenient as a training facility. As Charles Williams has argued, the starting stance seems more suitable for an event such as a torch-race or race in armour.[137] Such an event may have been one inspiration for a series of small red-figure vessels (mostly bell kraters), perhaps trophies or dedications, which depict athletic scenes, including torch-races, and were produced from the third quarter of the fifth century until the mid-fourth.[138] For straightforward reasons of clay chemistry, good red-figure is not easy to produce in Corinth, and so the choice of technique is as surprising as the subject, especially as there are few precedents for cultic iconography in Corinthian vase-painting.[139] The torch-race was probably not the only event celebrated in this area at this time: a platform, most likely for contact sports, was constructed beside the track during the Classical period (although its exact date remains unclear).[140]

[134] Pfaff (2003*a*) *passim*.

[135] Gebhard (1992), although see now Gebhard (2002*a*) 228–9; Gebhard and Hemans (1992) 68–70.

[136] Williams and Russell (1981) 2–10; Pfaff (2003*a*) 137 for a summary based on previous excavation reports.

[137] Williams and Russell (1981) 7, 13–15.

[138] Herbert (1977) 1–4 (suggesting that the choice of technique may reflect a difficulty in communicating special orders to Attic painters during the Peloponnesian War, even though Attic imports continued to arrive), esp. 33–55 (see discussion at 35); further examples are noted by McPhee (1983) with securely identifiable examples cats. 1, 37; Herbert (1986). Depictions of torch-racing occur on 5th-cent. Corinthian vases in other techniques, but are rare; see, for example, the silhouette oinochoe, Broneer (1942) 152–3, fig. 8.

[139] Archaic precedents: Pemberton (2000*a*). This applies also to athletics; a further exception is the late 6th-cent. cup Louvre MNC 332, which bears an inscription apparently relating to the depiction of a boxer pursuing his defeated opponent: Wachter (2001) Cor 131.

[140] Williams and Russell (1981) 15–19.

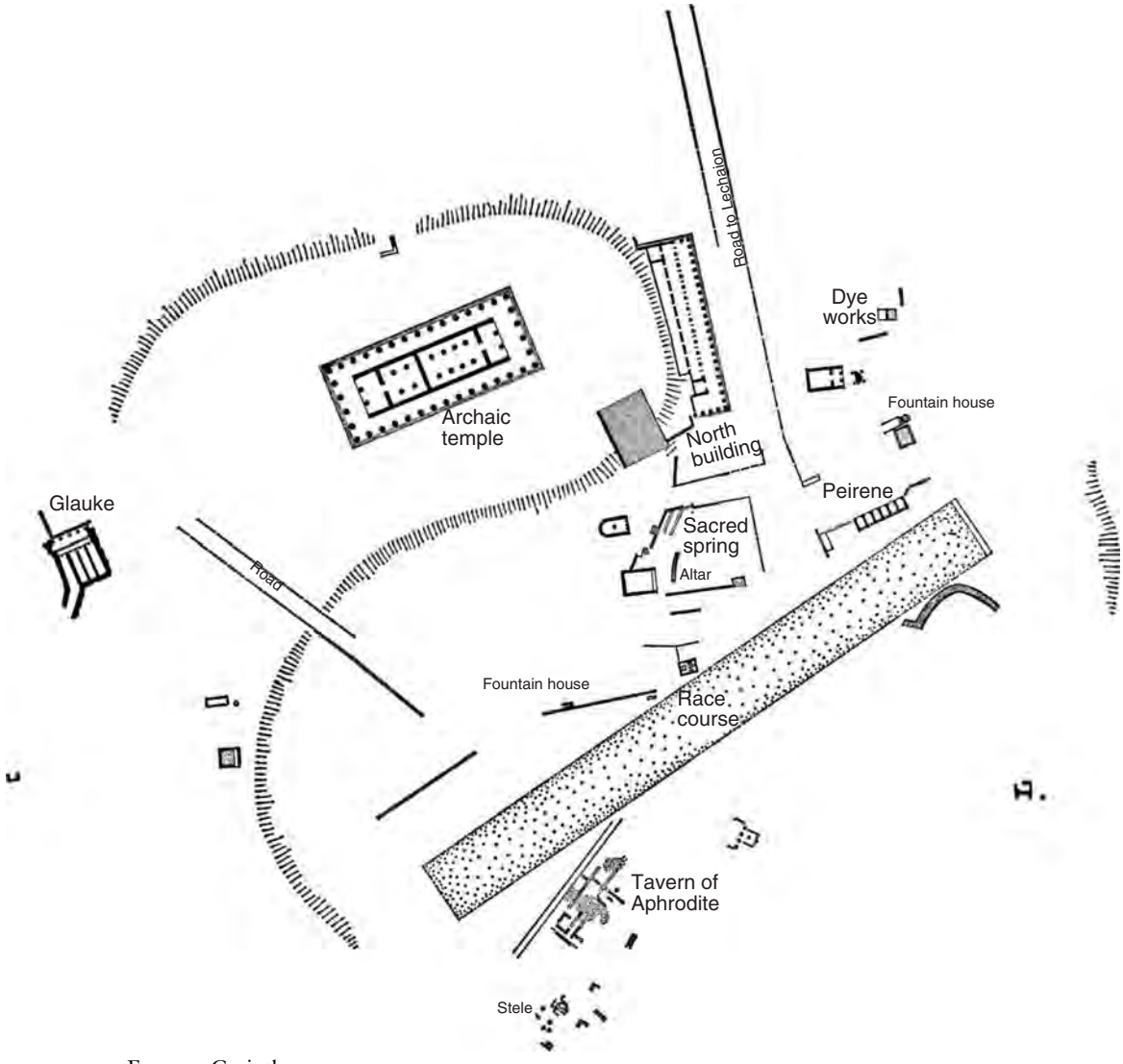


FIG. 45. Corinth *c.*400 BC

The torch-race has usually been associated with the festival of Athena Hellotis (the Hellotia), and while other patron deities (Dionysos or Artemis, for example) cannot be dismissed, this seems most likely.[141] This cult is of paramount importance in establishing the depth and nature of the connection between athletics and the Corinthian civic image. One of the three traditions behind the celebration of

[141] Williams (1978) 41–5, with previous bibliography; Herbert (1986) 32–5 offers the most recent appraisal of the range of possible associations.

Athena Hellotis reported by scholiasts to *O*. 13 has Hellotis as a daughter of Timandros who was burnt to death in the temple of Athena, where she was taking refuge from the invading Dorians.[142] Her sister, Kotyto, has plausibly been linked with the neighbouring Sacred Spring shrine.[143] Cult here may date back to the eighth century,[144] but the temenos was substantially enlarged during the latter part of the sixth or early fifth, with a triglyph terrace wall constructed during the second quarter of the fifth, along with a horos on the north side. An apsidal shrine building dates no later than the mid-fifth century, and may be as early as the late sixth.[145] Reorganization continued through the second half of the fifth century, and it is clear that the temenos was required to accommodate large gatherings.[146] If the cults linked to the race track and Sacred Spring are correctly identified, it seems that at around the time that *O*. 13 celebrated the city of Corinth and its civic history, the same trends can be found in cult developments focused in the key area of the upper Lechaion Road Valley (immediately south of Temple Hill, and along the line of the main route up to Acrocorinth). Athletic events were integral to this process. While it would be wrong to suggest that the entire area was given over to these functions at this stage,[147] later public buildings, such as the Centaur Bath of the second half of the fifth century, with its lavish mosaic pavement, may have contributed to them.[148] The association of communal history and cults may in turn help to explain why this area was later favoured for the display of victor monuments (both military and athletic), and for hero worship (to the south and west).[149] The circular monument south of the racetrack is perhaps the earliest such addition; this dates to the fifth century, likely before the last quarter,[150] and is followed by a probably early fourth-century quadriga base. After the mid-fourth century, among extensive alterations to the

[142] See n. 63.

[143] For archaeological evidence for cult practice, and tentative identification with Kotyto, see most recently Williams (1978) 113–19, 131–6; Steiner (1992). Both authors note the apparently satirical treatment of these rites in Eupolis' *Baptai* (Edmonds (1957) Eupolis frs. 68–89).

[144] Williams (1978) 93–4.

[145] Williams (1978) 11, 95–111, revising Williams (1969) 38–43 (phase 1); Pfaff (2003*a*) 123–4 favours a 6th-cent. date.

[146] Williams (1978) 112–25.

[147] See, for example, Buildings II, III, and IV: Williams (1978) 14–15.

[148] Williams and Fisher (1976) 109–15; Pemberton (1999) 152–5. Both liken the bath to a lesche rather than a specifically athletics-related facility. As noted by Munn (2003) 213 n. 161, it is also tempting to relate the Punic Amphora Building, from which both fish and wine were sold, to the needs of the crowd at the racetrack, along the lines of a modern fast-food outlet.

[149] The picture is summarized by Williams (1978) 158–62, emphasizing the poor representation of straightforward Olympian cults in this area. See the series of hero reliefs which dates from the late 5th-/early 4th cent. to 146 BC: Broneer (1942). See also Williams (1978) 30–5 (36–7 on figurine deposits), noting (34–5) the fragmentary inscription on the hydria C-28–131, *ΗΡΩΟΣ ΙΑΡΟΣ ΝΕΟΛΑΜ*, the last word of which may tentatively be restored in the nominative (noting the poorly preserved sixth character) as *ΝΕΟΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΣΤΑΣ*. On the underground shrine and heroon of the crossroads (probably and certainly earlier than the developments discussed here), see Williams (1978) chs. IV and V.

[150] Williams and Russell (1981) 20–1.

Sacred Spring complex a substantial new triglyph terrace wall gave space to support such monuments,[151] and from the fourth century onwards, it is notable that Isthmian victors were honoured in this area.[152]

No sooner was the Lechaion Road Valley complex established, than the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia was destroyed by fire (probably late in the period *c.*470–450)[153] (Figs. 46, 47). Clearly, it must have taken time to remove the ruins of the Archaic temple, but the sequence of construction in the sanctuary as a whole reveals the priority given to expanding athletic and assembly facilities, in many cases utilizing fire debris which could not otherwise be recycled. The road access to the shrine was renewed with the construction of Classical Road 1 in the north temenos, replaced late in the century by Road 2, cut through by post-holes which perhaps supported dedications or tents.[154] Second, the stadium was improved by raising and enlarging the embankment and making a second entrance, laying a new paved starting line, and setting water basins and channels alongside the track.[155] Only after this had been completed, a new altar and dining facility established in the north-east temenos (discussed below), and an extended assembly area (East Terrace 6)[156] constructed beside the altar, was the temple finally finished around the end of the century.[157] We do not know exactly when the new temple was started, but clearly its completion was not a high priority and overall, the level of investment in the city centre seems higher during this period.[158] Unfortunately, a second fire followed in 390 (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4. 5. 4), and this time repairs were not completed until the end of the fourth or early third century. Nor, indeed, was any other construction undertaken in the sanctuary. As the excavators point out, this may reflect the difficult times endured by Corinth after the Corinthian War, but it should be noted that the city centre fared rather better, especially during the second half of the century.[159]

Evidence from Corinth has been considered in some detail for two principal reasons. First, it is essential to understand the increasing intensity and complexity of the relationship between athletics and 'the Corinthian civic image' (for want of a better term) as background to the decision to commission epinikian poetry. The

[151] Williams (1978) 15, 119–25. On the monuments, see Williams (1978) 128–31, 143–7. During the 4th cent., these included the monument celebrating Timoleon's victory over the Carthaginians at the Krimesos river: Kent (1966) cat. 23.

[152] Williams (1970) 38–9.

[153] Gebhard (1998) 110; J. Bentz (1998).

[154] Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 15–19.

[155] Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 33–8; Broneer (1973) 48–51.

[156] Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 26–32.

[157] Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 6–10.

[158] See above, also Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 430.

[159] Gebhard and Hemans (1998) 10–12, noting the date of East Terrace 7 and Road G which included debris in their fill (43–51). Bookidis and Stroud (1999) 430. South Stoa: Broneer (1954) ch. I.III (see 94–9 on the date and function of the building).

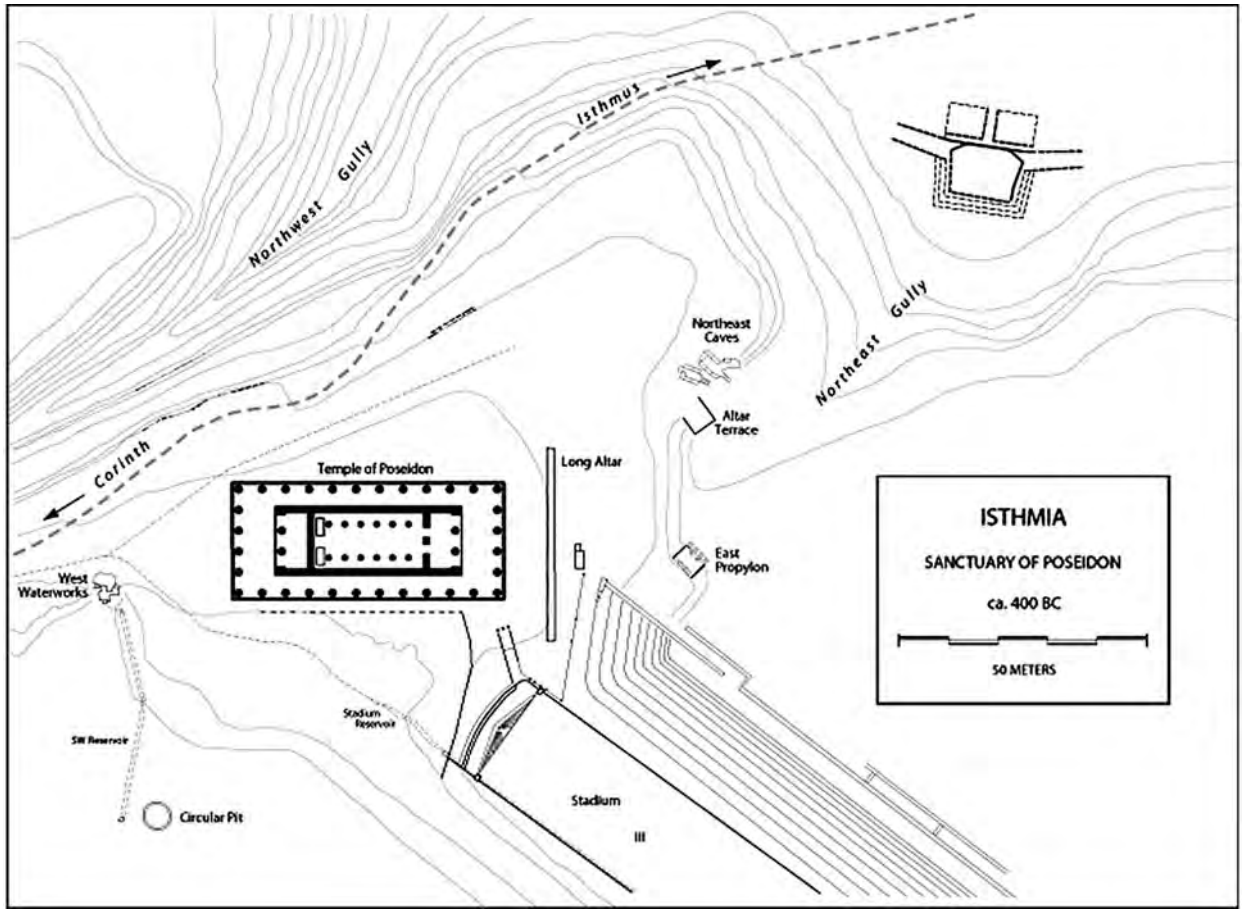


FIG. 46. Isthmia, the sanctuary of Poseidon *c.*400 BC



FIG. 47. The Early Stadium at Isthmia

Hellotia is mentioned in a timeless fashion by Pindar, but we have no earlier direct evidence for it, and if the association with the race track is to be relied upon, it was likely a very new creation and one which added a notable dimension to the local role of athletics. Second, echoing J. K. Davies' observations in this volume, festivals were costly concerns for individual states to sustain, and while there were obvious benefits, the charges on elites, however organized, were surely considerable. Hard choices had to be made, especially in times of prolonged warfare or when there were rival attractions, for example in costly domestic fashions.[160] There was indeed some building of at least a semi-public nature in central Corinth during the second half of the fifth century (much of it, like the Centaur Bath, associated with the athletic area), but Isthmia lacked a working temple for much of the second half of the fifth and the fourth centuries. This is not the place to discuss the impact (or lack of it) on the festival; I merely note that priorities for investment seem to have lain elsewhere.

ARGOS

Many of the same issues arise in Argos, albeit in a slightly different form. The persuasive suggestion that *N*. 10 was commissioned to celebrate a new cult order at the Heraion has been made most recently by Jonathan Hall,[161] and the ode's opening emphasis on Argos and Hera, with the use of past heroic achievements to establish a legitimative context for a specific present (the victory celebrated and a hope for the future) would fit such circumstances. Indeed, the very commission promotes a perception of comparability between a local festival and the crown games for which there are rather few parallels in the work of the three great epinikian poets (*N*. 9 celebrates a victory at Sikyon; Bacchylides, *Ep*. 13 [14], the Thessalian *Petraia*; and Simonides may also have moved beyond the crown circuit, although the extant corpus is too fragmentary to determine when and where).[162] The choice of an epinikian ode for this purpose is interesting, and it is worth examining whether *N*. 10 really does relate to innovation at the Heraion, and if so, how it fits into wider patterns of Argive myth-historical construction.[163]

The first clear evidence of contests at the Argive Heraion comes in a funerary epigram of *c*.500 on a Doric capital set up near the sanctuary.[164] The epitaph, in

[160] Pemberton (1999) 155.

[161] Hall (1995) 612.

[162] Thus, for example, Simon. fr. 9 (*PMG* 514), celebrates a chariot or mule car victory by Orillas, but only a scholiast links this to Pallene.

[163] See most recently D'Alessio (2004), who reconstructs from Pindaric fragments a small group of commissions in other genres to celebrate festivals across the Argolid—a group with which *N*. 10 shows close connections in mythological content.

[164] *CEG* 136 (Argos E 210): most recently discussed by McGowan (1995) esp. 628.

elegaic couplets on two faces of the abacus, reads as follows: [A] 'I, Kossina, have buried Hyssematas near the hippodrome, providing a memorial for many men today, and those who will come after, of a brave man [B] who died in battle and lost young manhood [. . .] prudent, a winner of victories and wise among his peers.' As Elizabeth McGowan has observed,[165] the epic tone of the language, the choice of a column (reminiscent of a turning post), the proximity to the hippodrome, the youth's athletic (or equestrian) success, and his early death, combine to raise his status to the heroic. Yet it is also worth considering the public perspective of permitting such a burial close to a shrine in an area which was not an established burial ground. Not only was a special honour being done to an outstanding individual, but the epic/heroic connotations attached to the manner of memorialization, explicitly mentioning agonistic victories, must surely have been attractive.[166] Overall, the monument bears comparison with the highly visual qualities of *N*. 10, recalling the way in which, as noted, the ode's paratactic opening section and graphically visual end accord with trends in myth-historical construction in visual art.[167] The monument and the ode draw on similar values to convey a similar message, but chronologically, they are probably separated by the period of the servile interregnum, to which we will return.

Epigraphical records of the Hekatomboia also point to a new beginning. Its existence and place in the athletic circuit are confirmed by victory lists on two monuments to outstanding athletes set up at Delphi during the first half of the fourth century, which purport to span the period 490/80 to 470/60 and 440–420.[168] The earlier, which contains one victory at the Heraion, is that of Theagenes of Thasos (later heroized in his home city).[169] The later, while partially preserved, may be that of Dorieus of Rhodes; it lists three victories in an equally distinguished career.[170] Earlier evidence for athletic events at the Heraion is lacking, and even the main source for the existence of the festival procession in the sixth century is open to question. A reference attributed to Solon in Herodotus' account of his discussion with Kroisos at Sardis (Herodotus 1. 3 1) seems to place the festival of Hera and its procession early in the sixth century. This date can no longer be supported by reference to the famous Argive dedication at Delphi of twin kouroi long seen as depicting Kleobis and Biton, as they have plausibly been reidentified as the Dioskouroi.[171] Herodotus' reference

[165] McGowan (1995) 628, 632.

[166] Pemberton (2002*b*) 121.

[167] Carne-Ross (1985) 79–90, hints in the same direction in speculating about the process of creating distinctive compositions with particular reference to *N*. 10.

[168] Amandry (1980) 220–3.

[169] Delphi Museum 3835: Moretti (1953) cat. 21. On epigraphical evidence for the career (and heroization) of Theagenes, see Pouilloux (1994) with previous bibliography.

[170] Delphi Museum 2526: Moretti (1953) cat. 23; Amandry (1980) 223.

[171] I follow here the arguments of Faure (1985) rather than Vatin (1982), although the end result is the same.

is therefore isolated, and evidence is too slight to make a judgement about its historicity. However, Hall is surely right to emphasize that the central aspect of the story of Kleobis and Biton as recounted by Herodotus, sleep after exertion on behalf of a god, also appears in the story of Trophonios and Agamedes attributed by Plutarch (*Mor*. 108f–109b) to Pindar, since these heroes fell asleep after building the first temple of Apollo at Delphi.[172] If there was conscious emulation, rather than separate recourse to a topos, which story was modelled on which?[173] Such uncertainties about the date of the procession are especially unfortunate, since this aspect of ritual above all ties the festival most firmly to Argos among the communities of the eastern plain, and its composition, armed youths, maidens, and cattle, to the expression of the communal values of the polis. As a tie to Argos, it therefore represents the same order of specificity as the city's patronage of the Hekatomboia.

The date of *N*. 10 is unknown. But whether it celebrated a concerted revival of an older festival or a major reform or innovation,[174] it most likely post-dated the eclipse which followed Argos' defeat at Sepeia (during which Mycenae claimed the right to administer the Heraion).[175] A date in the 460s, around the time of the destruction of Mycenae and Tiryns in 468, is plausible.[176] Yet Pindar's celebration of the festival is only a small part of this Argive renaissance (Figs. 48, 49). By contrast with Corinth, public building in the centre of Argos (excluding surrounding areas such as the Deiras) was limited during the Archaic period. The Agora was graded, a number of small shrines established, especially along the south side, and in the mid-sixth century the construction in the Agora of the Heroon of the Seven against Thebes forms a noteworthy precedent for the public commemoration of communal myth-history so evident in the fifth.[177] But the first monumental temple (perhaps that of Apollo Lykaios) was begun only on the turn of the century, probably immediately before Sepeia,[178] and there followed a hiatus until a positive explosion of public and religious construction in the city centre[179] and at the Heraion between *c*.460 and 440, coincident with the installation of democracy (Figs. 50, 51). In the city, the Hypostyle Hall,

[172] Hall (1995) 594–5.

[173] A further twist is added by Sansone (1991), who recognizes both Herodotus' presentation of Kleobis and Biton in the style of sacrificial victims, and their previous athletic success. They therefore have the right characteristics for heroes of a new or refounded event (including a 'historical' pedigree established by the Solonian dialogue), although this is, of course, a matter of pure speculation.

[174] Amandry (1980) 242.

[175] Diodoros Siculus 11. 65

[176] Supported by the dates of the two other Pindaric odes which mention the contest: *O*. 9 (468), and *O*. 13 (464).

[177] Morgan (2003) 64 n. 65; des Courtils (1992) 241–2; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente (1998) 166–8; Pariente, Pièrart, and Thalmann (1998) 211–13. Heroon: Pariente (1992).

[178] Des Courtils (1992) 242–4.

[179] Pariente, Pièrart, and Thalmann (1998) 213–18.

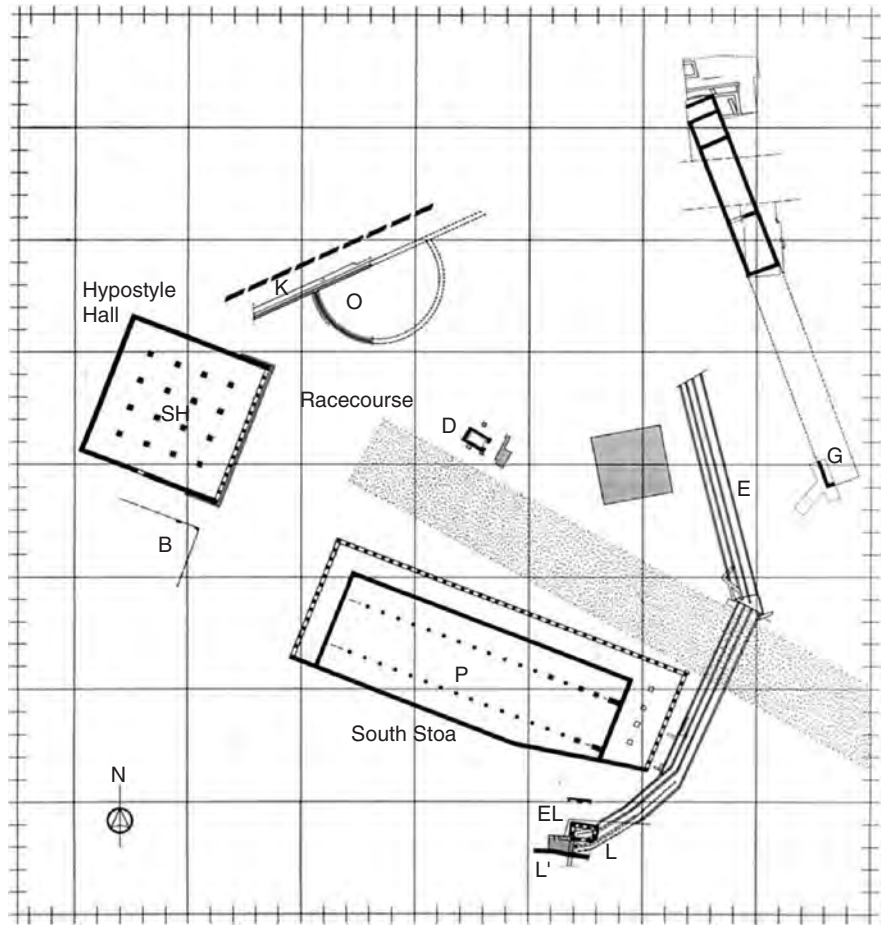


FIG. 48. Argos: the Classical and Hellenistic Agora



FIG. 49. The theatre at Argos

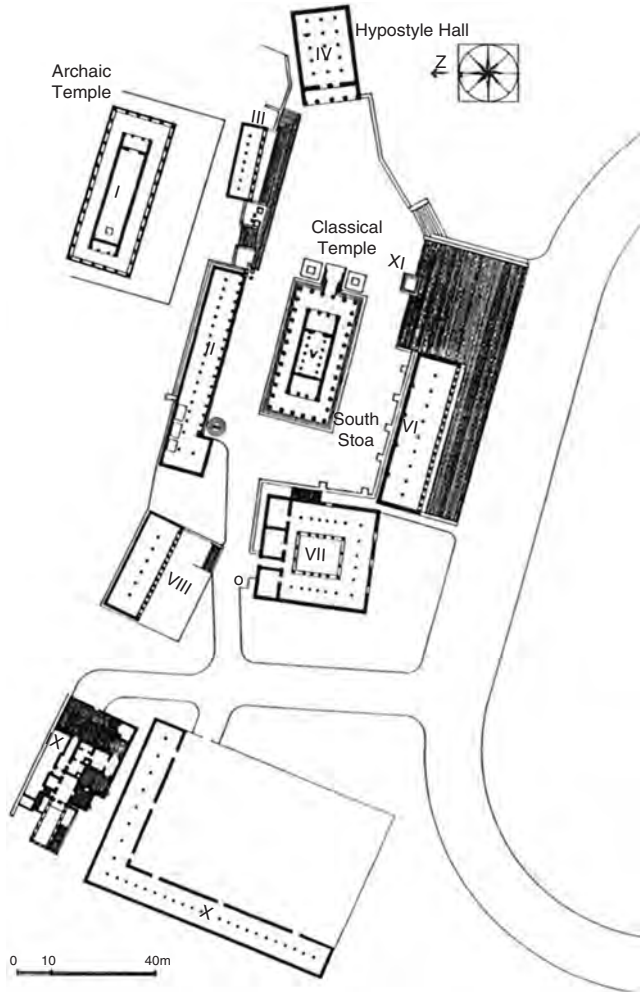


Fig. 50. The Argive Heraion



Fig. 51. The Argive Heraion, view from the first temple terrace

a building of uncertain but probably political function (perhaps a bouleuterion), may date as early as *c.*460[/450].[180] At the Heraion, the South Stoa is dated to much the same period both on internal evidence and by its architectural similarities to the Hypostyle Hall.[181] It was probably planned to support a new temple, although this was not built until after the destruction of the old temple by fire in 423.[182] The construction of the South Stoa was followed soon after 450 by that of the city's theatre/assembly place (perhaps for the Aliaia),[183] and perhaps also the first race track in the city.[184]

This simultaneous building in the city and at the Heraion marked the end of an exceptionally difficult period after the huge loss of citizen male life at Sepeia. It has plausibly been suggested, in the context of extensive public construction linked to the new democracy and elaboration of the sanctuary which Argos now controlled, that athletics were promoted partly as an Argive patriotic statement,[185] but also as a means of reasserting elite values after the so-called servile interregnum, whatever form this may have taken (noting the tensions which may have accompanied democratic reforms in the 460s).[186] The similarities in language and imagery evident in Hyssematas' column and *N.* 10, before and after the interregnum, further reinforce the point, and the monument of the Epigonoi at Delphi has also been linked to the reassertion of aristocratic domination.[187] The choice of the Heraion for the domestic aspect of this process demonstrated most effectively Argos' domination of the eastern plain after the humiliation of Mycenae's attempt to take control.[188]

But the issue of who paid for, and benefited from, these developments is problematic given the major dislocations of the recent past. Here bronze public inscriptions (including a significant collection of new finds) studied by Charalambos Kritzas are of particular interest.[189] One in particular, dating *c.*450, details arrangements for the payment of large but unequal sums of money by twelve

[180] Bommelaer and des Courtils (1994) see 29–30 on date, 45–8 on function (noting similarities in appearance and location with the later hypostyle hall at Sikyon).

[181] For a review of earlier scholarship on the South Stoa and discussion of the chronological arguments, see des Courtils (1992) 244–9, whose chronology I follow.

[182] Amandry (1980) 236–40. The key argument for an early decision to build a temple on this site is the relationship between the Hall and the temple: other aspects of Amandry's case, and especially the significance of Thucydides 4. 133, are discussed by Hornblower (1996) 412–13. As Christopher Pfaff notes (Pfaff (2003*b*) 191–4, noting also 6–8), the evidence of the extant sculpture and architectural members together seems to indicate that the temple was begun not long after 423 and completed either at the end of the 5th cen. or just into the 4th.

[183] Ginouvès (1972) see 75–82 for discussion of function.

[184] Pariente, Pièrart, and Thalmann (1998) 216.

[185] Des Courtils (1992) 251.

[186] On the interregnum: Herodotus 6. 83; Kritzas (1992) 232–4; Tomlinson (1972) 96–100; Pièrart (1997) 327–31; van Wees (2003). On democracy: Pièrart (2000) esp. 307–8; and (1997) 332–6.

[187] Pariente (1992) 223–5; Jeffery (1990) 163–4.

[188] Hall (1995) 611–13.

[189] Kritzas (1992) 235–40; *AR* (2003–4) 19–20.

magistrates to twelve groups (as Kritzas suggests, probably a new arrangement of phratries, with the inequalities reflecting either different group size or money derived from different sources). The text on the other side of this tablet deals with the distribution of income from the hides (probably of sacrificial victims) to be spent on the 'pentaetiris', surely the great festival of Hera. As Kritzas notes, the tribal structure and magistracies likely reflect a reform of the new democracy, but the sources of the large sums of money involved vary, from fines and confiscations to booty, interest on loans, and perhaps most importantly, sacred and/or public land. Indeed, this last is the one source of state income likely to have been sustained through this difficult period (and its continuing importance through the fourth century is also attested epigraphically).[190] Proper distribution of the benefits of the festival was also a public concern. In 460–450, Argive officials (probably the hieromnemones of the four tribes) dedicated at the Heraion proceeds which had accrued to them from some part of the games.[191] Whatever the precise details, provision for the Heraion therefore featured large in what may have been radically new fiscal arrangements.

If *Nemean* 10 was part of a publicity campaign, did it work? The festival merited mention in two other Pindaric odes of the 460s (*O.* 9 and 13), as well as the undatable Bacchylides, *Ep.* 10. It therefore seems to have found a place in the cycle of the more prestigious local games rather quickly.[192] Victory dedications citing the festival, along with those inscribed bronze prize vessels so far discovered, may also suggest that the promotion worked. Six inscribed bronzes survive, marginally more than from any other festival apart from the Panathenaia. All probably date to the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.[193] The earliest are three hydriae of *c.*460. One (Ankara 11047) comes from a grave in the Sinop area, the second found its way to Pompeii (where it was discovered in the house of C. Julius Polibius in the via dell'Abbondanza),[194] but the provenance of the third, now in New York (MMA 26.50), is unknown (as is that of a fourth, slightly later hydria of *c.*450–440, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 3293 Br36). The same form of inscription is found on two rather later vessels (*c.*430–420),[195] a tripod from the 'tomb of Philip' at Vergina, and a lebes from the so-called tomb of Aspasia in the vicinity of Piraeus (now in the

[190] Kritzas (1992) 237; *AR* (2003–4) 20.

[191] Jeffery (1990) 164–5, 170 cat. 32.

[192] That this place was maintained is confirmed by the careers listed in later victory dedications, including that erected at Delphi probably to the illustrious pankratist Dorieus of Rhodes in the first half of the 4th cent.: Delphi 2526, Amandry (1980) 220–3, listing also later examples of such inscriptions.

[193] Amandry (1980) 211–17; Amandry (2002).

[194] Amandry (2002) 31–2; Lazzarini and Zevi (1988–9).

[195] The chronology of these two pieces has been a matter of debate: for a summary, see Amandry (2002) 30 n. 6 (I cite here his preferred dates).

British Museum, Elgin Collection). As Pierre Amandry notes,[196] given the continuing fame of Argive metalworking it is likely that these were local products. Certainly, bronze was widely used at this time, for example for the Argive civic inscriptions noted above, and at Olympia, Argive sculptors were active in producing bronze monuments for past victors from other states.

The choice of metal vessels as prizes also fits fifth-century fashion (albeit perhaps self-consciously archaizing). There are parallels from Attica (notably at Marathon, where the Herakleian games expanded after the Persian Wars),[197] Boiotia (Thebes and the Herakleia at Thespiai), Euboia (the Eretrian Herakleia), Thessaly (see above), Rhodes (Halieia), Lampsacus, and Cumae[198]—not to mention Argos' hostile neighbour Sikyon (*N*. 9. 53, 10. 43). The fact that more than one vessel type is represented among the Argive prizes is, as Amandry points out, not uncommon (compare, for example, the Marathonian Herakleia). Indeed, where Pindar mentions the prizes at the Heraion (*N*. 10. 40–2; *O*. 7. 22–3), he refers simply to 'bronze', and a scholiast to *O*. 7[199] comments that this could be given in a range of forms, from tripods to shields. By the end of the first century AD, the shield had come to be identified as *the* Argive prize *par excellence*, to the extent that the shorthand reference for the games themselves became ἡ ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίς.[200] But during the fifth century, there is no evidence that shields were favoured among the range of bronze items that could be offered.

Where they were not dedicated, metal festival prizes often ended up as cremation urns in the victor's home city. At first sight, the wide and swift spread of the Hekatombaion prizes might seem to mark them out as unusual. In one case it least, it is clear that the Argive origin was significant: at Vergina, the Macedonian Royal Family's claim to Argive descent (both ethnic and geographical, i.e. Temenid) makes it wholly plausible that the tripod was won by a member of that family at the festival which symbolized their genealogy *par excellence*.[201] But this is the exception, and in the two other cases where vessels reached remote places, Pompeii and Sinop, they did so by indirect routes. The hydria from Sinop bears a later inscription which reveals its secondary use as a prize in the games to the Dioskouroi at Pheneos.[202] And that from Pompeii, the shape (and function)

[196] Amandry (2002) 30; on provenance, see also Diehl (1964) 23–5.

[197] Vanderpool (1969) (see also Amandry (1971)), noting the provenance of a prize hydria from a destroyed tomb near Karabournaki (Thessaloniki); on the reorganized festival, see Vanderpool (1942).

[198] For references to all of these prizes, see Amandry (1971) 602–19, augmented by Amandry (1980) 211–12 n. 4.

[199] Drachmann II. 230–1.

[200] Amandry (1980) 231–3.

[201] Amandry (2002) 31 (citing Herodotus 5. 22, 8. 137–8, Thucydides 2. 99. 3, 5. 80. 2). Hall (2002) 154–6 with previous bibliography.

[202] Amandry (1980) 212 n. 6; Kritzas (1989) noting (165) the parallel case of a bronze lebes which had served as a prize at two separate funeral games before being dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis; Pheneos: Tausend (1999) 374–7. A further parallel for such reuse is found in two vessels from the Pydna south

of which had been greatly altered, may have been looted from a Greek tomb.[203] In short, the Vergina tripod does indeed highlight a prestigious long-distance collection, and even though one cannot conclude from the other Argive prizes that they achieved the direct and wide circulation that their findspots seem to imply, there is nonetheless every reason to suspect that Argos was regarded as a generous provider of bronzes of all kinds.

No discussion of fifth-century Argos can be complete without mention of Nemea (Figs. 52, 53). Nemea is unique among the crown games sites for having no archaeologically documented long cult tradition (a particular point of contrast with Olympia and Isthmia).[204] In comparison with Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia, there is nothing to suggest that it had any significant local role to give it a year-round function outside the games. As a creation for one festival with no strong ties into any civic cult system, political control of it was a potential item of exchange (as distinct from economic profit, which surely always fell to Kleonai, a mere 6.5 km away).[205] During the sixth century, and likely connected with the establishment of the games, an extensive building programme created a temenos which replicated the physical appearance of the early Altis at Olympia. This took the form of a hero shrine to Opheltes centred on an artificial mound, which augmented an existing (perhaps Geometric) mound to create a monument which both emulated the 'Pelopion' (in fact an EH III tumulus) and served as an embankment for the stadium and hippodrome.[206] Nemea may have been the parvenu in the crown cycle, but its cult myth-history was exceptionally strongly legitimized by reference not merely to hero tradition, but to the physical

cemetery: Kephalidou (1996) 117, cat. 22aII, prize inscription from the Athenian Anakeia on the lip of a 5th-cent. bronze hydria used as a funerary urn, recut in the 3rd cent.; cat. 24, lip of a 5th-cent. bronze hydria, prize from the Athenian Poseidonio held at Sounion.

[203] Lazzarini and Zevi (1988–9), noting 39–41 on putative origin (Zevi). The passage used to support this argument, Strabo 8. 6. 23, is worth quoting in full, since although it indeed reports the looting of Corinthian graves, it stresses pottery at least as much as metalwork: 'And when these [i.e. the Roman colonists of Corinth] were removing the ruins and at the same time digging open the graves, they found numbers of terracotta reliefs and also many bronze vessels. And since they admired the workmanship they left no grave unransacked: so that, well supplied with such things and disposing of them at a high price, they filled Rome with Corinthian "mortuaries", for thus they called the things taken from the graves and in particular the earthenware. Now at the outset the earthenware was very highly prized, like the bronzes of Corinthian workmanship, but later they ceased to care much for them, since the supply of earthen vessels failed.' The anonymous author of *De Viris Illustribus* makes the more general claim (at LX) that the city was so looted of its treasures that it filled all Italy, although for suitably sceptical discussion of this subject and the specific problem of identifying as geographically Corinthian the bronzes so-claimed in Roman sources, see Payne (1931) 350–1; Mattusch (2003).

[204] See Kyrieleis (2002*b*) and Morgan (2002) for summaries.

[205] Wright *et al*. (1990) 586 fig. 2, 610–16, 647–52, note the lack of evidence for settlement from the wider area outside the higher order sites of Nemea, Phlious, and Kleonai. On the road from Kleonai to Nemea, see Pikoulas (1995) 47–9; Marchand (2002) 73–120.

[206] Miller (2002).

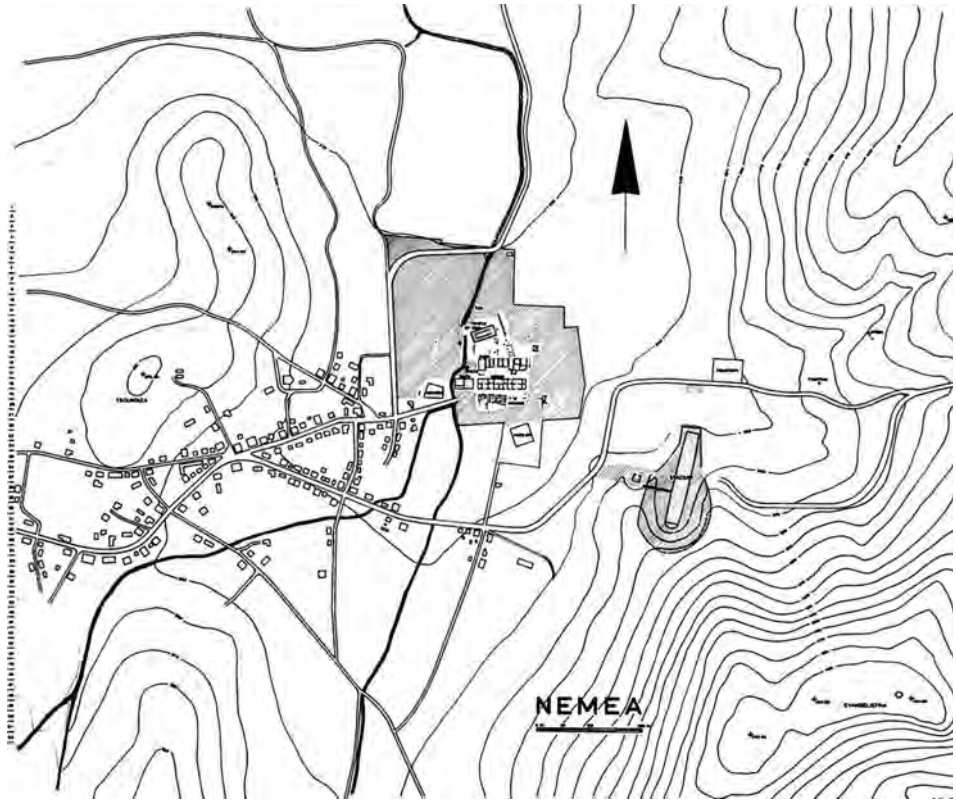


FIG. 52. The sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea



FIG. 53. The Temple of Zeus at Nemea

appearance of Olympia. It is often argued that Kleonai was in control of the games at least until late in the fifth century, and certainly the earlier of the two extant sixth-century victor dedications (*c.*560) was made by a Kleonian, Aristis son of Pheidon, four times victor in the pankration.[207] The shrine continued to be well provided for, with a rich collection of bronze vessels dedicated to Zeus as cult equipment late in the sixth century,[208] and a second major construction phase during the first half of the fifth, when nine oikoi, perhaps storerooms, meeting, or cooking places (although not treasuries) were built.[209] Oikos 8 subsequently became a workshop for bronze sculpture during the third quarter of the century.[210]

It is sometimes assumed that this enhanced development reflects close Argive 'friendship' with Kleonai, if not direct control of the games. The excavators associate change in actual control with the violent destruction of the temenos *c.*415/10 and the subsequent temporary transfer of the festival to Argos. However, there is strong evidence that Kleonai remained an independent polis into the fourth century, and may also have retained the games later than previously thought.[211] During the first half of the fifth century, matters may indeed have been rather complicated. That Corinth attempted (perhaps successfully) to gain control of the games in the 460s is implied both by Plutarch, *Kimon* 17. 2 and a scholiast in the hypothesis of Pindar's Nemean odes.[212] Certainly, Kleonai and Nemea are very readily accessible from neighbouring Corinth.[213] Of the various routes linking Corinth with the Argive plain, what was probably the main, much-travelled road for wheeled traffic into the Peloponnese via the Longopotamos valley ran directly via Kleonai. There are many indications that this road was of some antiquity and certainly in use during our period: sites along the way include Aetopetra (a substantial Late Bronze Age settlement where activity

[207] Illustrated by Miller (1990) 37–8, fig. 11. Ie; see also Jeffery (1990) 150, cat. 5. On the tenuous evidence linking Kleonai with the Nemean games, see Marchand (2002) 172–98, sceptical of purely Kleonian control from the start, and noting that *N.* 4 and 10 are key to the association.

[208] Miller (1990) e.g. 41–2, fig. 12.

[209] Miller (1990) 117–27, 160–8.

[210] Miller (1990) 162–4.

[211] Miller (1982) 106–7; Miller (1990) 42–3, 61–2. *Contra* Perlman (2000) 138–49 (and see also Marchand (2002) 142–5), who reviews evidence for the nature of the 'friendship' between the two states, noting that, according to Strabo (8. 6. 19), the Kleonaians aided the Argives against Mycenae in the 460s. As Perlman notes, Kleonai is more accessible from, and vulnerable to, Corinth than Argos, and the protection afforded by topography may have been a factor in the decision to join Argos rather than Corinth. Little archaeological research has so far been undertaken at Kleonai: Marchand (2002) 3–4, 71–2, 110–16 n. 116, ch. 5; Dickerman (1903) 147–54, ed. pr. of a sacred law of *c.*575–550 (= Jeffery (1990) 150 cat. 6); *RE* II (1921) s.v. Kleonai, cols. 721–8 (F. Bölte); Roux (1958) 171–3; Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971) 127–31. See, however, Mattern (2002) for a preliminary report of a mapping and publication project, and *AR* (2003–4) 18 for subsequent excavation.

[212] Drachmann III. 3–5 (*N.* hypoth. c–d).

[213] Marchand (2002) 120–7. On the location of the land border between Corinth and Kleonai, see Marchand (2002) 145–67, who does not wholly agree with Bynum (1995) 45–8.

resumed by the Classical period at the latest), the Classical Kivoria shrine and cemetery noted above, and possibly also the shrine at which the Penteskouphia plaques (found out of context) were dedicated.[214] Kleonai's nearest neighbour, Phlius, seems to have been pro-Corinthian and anti-Argive during our period, emphasizing the openness (or vulnerability) of this area to overtures from both sides.[215] The strategic importance of the region is considerable: as Bynum points out, the fifth-century alliance between Kleonai and Argos gave Argos the ability to control two of the main routes between the Isthmus and the central Peloponnese.[216]

To the north, Sikyon was also an interested party, noting Lolos' argument that a direct route along the Nemea river linked her with the sanctuary. Here too, Lolos argues for an Archaic date for the road, and there is no reason to doubt that it was in use by our period.[217] Sikyonian participation at Nemea during our period is attested by the Sikyonian script of two inscriptions of *c.*500, one on a jumping weight offered as a victory dedication and found north of the shrine of Opheltes, and the other on a bronze plaque which probably comes from an equestrian statue.[218] Geography apart, such interest is unsurprising. Sikyon was famed for horse-breeding, and two of her sixth-century tyrants, Myron and Kleisthenes, were victorious at Olympia (the latter also at Delphi).[219] According to Herodotus (5. 67), Sikyon's own games were instigated by Kleisthenes in honour of Pythian Apollo, and their status by Pindar's time is confirmed not only by *N.* 9, but by the evidence of a fragmentary base or stele from Sikyon of the first quarter of the fifth century, on one face of which were recorded the many victories of Agatha[rchos] at Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Sikyon, Athens (and presumably more as the inscription is partial).[220] In *N.* 9, however, as well as Bacchylides, *Ep.* 8 (for Automedes of Phlius), the foundation of the games is attributed to Adrastos during his exile from Argos. Adrastos, and the third candidate for founder, Amphiaraos, were both of Argive, Protid, descent, being among the Seven against Thebes during whose stay at Nemea the child-hero Opheltes-Archemoros died. Indeed, the cult of Adrastos was expelled from Sikyon by Kleisthenes as one of his anti-Argive measures (Herodotus 5. 67–8)—the beginnings of a hostility which continued into the fifth century.[221] While attention has focused on this aspect of Argive and Sikyonian myth-history, it is also worth emphasizing that the

[214] Bynum (1995) *passim*, see ch. 2 on the Longopotamos valley route; also Marchand (2002) 31–6, 40–64. Pikoulas (1995) 33–73, see 33–5 on the Longopotamos valley route.
[215] Jeffery (1990) 146–8.
[216] Bynum (1995) 75.
[217] Lolos (1998) 38; compare Marchand (2002) 160–7.
[218] Weight: *SEG* 49 (1999) no. 346 (illustrated *AR* 45 (1998–9), 25). Plaque: Miller (1990) 3–9.
[219] Lolos (1998) 23–4; Pausanias 6. 19. 2, 10. 7. 6; Herodotus 6. 126. 2.
[220] Jeffery (1990), 141, 143 cat. 13.
[221] Lolos (1998) 48–54.

prominence of the Dioskouroi in *N*. 10 (49–90), while easily taken as an assertion of the Argive importance of a cult strongly associated with Lakonia (and noting the Argive kouros dedications at Delphi mentioned above), also reflects a favoured Sikyonian theme, to judge by the sculpture of the monopteros at Delphi (assuming it to be a Sikyonian construction).[222]

Against this background, and that of the struggle for Kleonai between Corinth and Argos during the first Peloponnesian war,[223] the emphasis placed on Nemean as well as Isthmian victories in *O*. 13 and *N*. 10 gains considerable significance. From a Nemean point of view, the need to assert local identity may well help to explain why the hero shrine of Opheltes was such an elaborate monument, whereas that of his Isthmian counterpart Melikertes-Palaimon was likely a Roman (probably Neronian) creation, despite the importance of the dominant (albeit not the only) Isthmian founder legend in earlier times (of which Pindar was aware, as fr. 5 attests).[224] Certainly, there is as yet no secure evidence for the worship of Melikertes-Palaimon before the opening of Palaimonian Pit A. While one might suggest that Pausanias' observation (2. 1. 3, 2. 2. 1) of an altar by the shore, where the child's body was brought to land, points to the earlier location of the cult, we have no physical evidence for this, and such a distant site hardly matches the central, focal position of both the Greek Opheltion at Nemea and the Roman Palaimonion, which rapidly grew in scale and architectural complexity.[225]

CONCLUSION

Examination of the precise circumstances surrounding commissions of Pindaric epinikia brings to the forefront the conflicts and uncertainties of the early fifth century, which extended beyond rivalry between the crown games. Most of the Peloponnesian poleis which sponsored major festivals and participated in the festivals of others (directly, as corporate entities in the case of Argos, or indirectly via their citizens) were more or less hostile to each other, and used the publicity of victory to assert their own status. As noted in the introductory chapter also,

[222] Parker (1994) 414. In the absence of a corpus of Sikyonian sculpture to compare, the case for a Sikyonian attribution rests primarily on the treatment of architectural remains: Laroche and Nenna (1990). The case for a western attribution rests primarily on sculptural style and subject—see among others Szeliga (1986); de la Genière (1983); Ridgway (1991) 98–9; and (1993) 339–43, 361–2.

[223] However the meagre 'facts' are interpreted: compare e.g. Lewis (1981) 74–6, with Perlman (2000) 140–1.

[224] Hawthorne (1958); Pièrart (1998); Morgan (1999*a*), 341–3. The case for a Greek cult was first made by Will (1955) 168–80, 210–12, and is reformulated, largely on the basis of Pindar fr. 5, by Gebhard and Dickie (1999); see also Mylonopoulos (2003) 184–6, 196–7.

[225] Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes (1998) 416, 428–33 (see 436–44 for subsequent development).

the density of the festival network in the north-east and central Peloponnese, crossing hostile boundaries, is remarkable. Pindar certainly alludes to other circuits (in central Greece, for example; *O.* 9. 99, *I.* 1. 11–12, 56–8, *I.* 4. 69–70), but this one is particularly closely observed. The result, however, is presented as a timeless entity, even though such evidence as we have suggests very different time depths for individual festivals. By contrast, as Simon Hornblower has argued, Thucydides seems to take such religious concerns largely for granted, perhaps to the extent of deliberately ignoring them.[226] The truth lies somewhere in between and is far more complex.

Pindaric commissions must have been rare events. Epinikia were costly things commissioned by people with real power in the state (as Hornblower concludes in the case of Aegina, and may be inferred for Xenophon in Corinth).[227] There is substantial evidence (not least in victor lists) to show that by the sixth century at the latest, athletes were almost invariably closely identified with their poleis.[228] The links between victory, epinikia, elite status, and identification with the political interests of the polis, here explored in the cases of Argos and Corinth, are merely an extension of that principle. In the case of Argos, however, it is possible to go further and to see the commission as promoting a state agenda. It is not unparalleled to find the entire polis participating in the victory, and celebrated in the resulting ode (see e.g. *O.* 9), but the force with which a state-political agenda seems to be promoted in *N.* 10 is distinctive. This may seem paradoxical if victory was at heart an individual achievement, albeit one which redounded to the credit of the city and its elite, but it is not the first time that it has been proposed. In noting how Pindar passes from the victories of the individual to those of the larger kinship group, and then to the city, Hornblower cites (*inter alia*) *N.* 10.41–2, where, as emphasized above, the catalogue of victories won by Theaios is followed by those of his relatives and the city of Argos.[229] That the latter could be more than just a cipher is clear from the Olympic victory won by an Argive corporate chariot ([Ἀργ]είων δημόσιον τέθριππον) in 472.[230] Given the date of this victory, it is hard to see claims of this kind simply as a 'democratic' manifestation.[231]

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, a variety of interpretations have been proposed for the way in which Pindar emphasized certain values in the context of a period of social change. It is clear that the Athenocentric case for a last-ditch defence of elitist ideology cannot hold good for the north-east Peloponnese, whatever nuances are put upon it. Thus, for example, drawing on

[226] Hornblower (1992). [227] Stephen Miller (2000) 281–2.
[228] Heine Nielsen (2002) 203–10.
[229] Hornblower (2004) 228–9, noting a parallel structure in *N.* 5 (at 46).
[230] *P. Oxy. 222*, line 31 =*FGrH* 415; see also Carey (this volume, p. 201 n. 7).
[231] As suggested by Poliakoff (2001) 55.

the fact that the majority of commissions are from Aegina and the western colonies, Hubbard has concluded that they reflect a desire on the part of those newly wealthy from trade and commerce to purchase the trappings of the old aristocracy—and in the case of Athens, he reverses the argument by suggesting that the old landed aristocracy used epinikian poetry to rehabilitate their reputations after exile or ostracism.[232] Whatever one's view of their appropriateness for Aegina or Athens,[233] neither argument fits the circumstances of Corinth or Argos. Argos may seem superficially similar to the Athenian model, but we know too little of the relationship between the old aristocracy and the servile population, or of the circumstances of the democratic 'revolution', to sustain any such conclusion,[234] and the strongly civic, corporate feel of *N*. 10 is unusual. In the case of Corinth, there is no good parallel for the way in which the commissioning of epinikia is comprehensible within a tradition of aristocratic liturgy, yet represents a new and more intensive manifestation of it. Emphasizing the rarity of Pindaric commissions, Gregory Nagy has linked them to the kind of political power enjoyed by tyrants or quasi-tyrants, not in the sense that commissions were confined to actual or aspiring tyrants, but rather that there is a pervasive thematic parallelism between the reality of an athlete's victory and the potential of a tyrant's power.[235] At first sight, this observation may seem to bear little resemblance to the circumstances of post-tyrannical, oligarchic Corinth. But at the risk of building an edifice with no sound foundations, in the context of Pindar's refence to *stasis* and the material evidence for intensification and innovation in public and private display outlined in this chapter, Nagy's observations offer food for thought. What this chapter has shown, however, is the painful reality which lay behind creating, sustaining, or reviving athletic events that continued to acquire ever greater and more complex significance in civic life. Even in Corinth, fifth-century mores were no more conservative than the poetry which they inspired.

[232] Hubbard (2001) 390. [233] See Hornblower (this volume).
[234] As emphasized by van Wees (2003). [235] Nagy (1990) 152–98 (paraphrasing 187).

This page intentionally left blank

TEN

Elite Mobility in the West

Carla M. Antonaccio

Pindar's patrons were located all over the Greek world, from Thessaly and Macedon to Cyrene, from Sicily and Italy to Ionia. He was particularly favoured, however, by patrons in the west. Of forty-five poems in four books of Pindaric epinikian, seventeen were commissioned for victors from what is customarily called 'Western Greece' or Magna Graecia (Fig. 54). Most of the *epinikia* for these so-called western Greeks, moreover, were composed for Sicilians—only two celebrated south Italian victories, both of Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Lokroi (*Olympian* 10 and 11), a victor in boys' boxing in 476.

Aegina, with eleven Pindaric compositions, is the only single community to have nearly so many as the westerners; five poems went to victors from the poet's native Thebes; and a colony, Cyrene, brings up the rear with three. Seven poems were composed to honour various other mainland and island victors; finally, the surviving fragments of epinikia inform us of additional victors from Rhodes, Aegina, and Megara.[1] The Sicilian victors, therefore, comprise the largest group by geographical origin. A significant number of these poems are connected just with the Sicilian tyrants of the early fifth century, especially the Deinomenids who came to power when Gelon, son of Deinomenes, seized power at Gela after the death of the tyrant Hippokrates whom he had served as commander of cavalry.[2] Gelon ruled from 491 to 485; in that year he gained control of Syracuse and left Gela in the hands of his younger brother, Hieron. Gelon consolidated his power with alliances to the Emmenids of Akragas. He married the Emmenid tyrant Theron's daughter, Damarete, and Theron in turn married the daughter of Gelon's other brother, Polyzalos. (Theron's niece, the daughter of his brother

I am exceedingly grateful to the organizers of the seminar, Cathy Morgan and Simon Hornblower, for inviting me to participate, and for their very generous hospitality while I was in England. I am particularly indebted to Cathy for her generosity and her many suggestions and references that substantially improved the final paper. It should go without saying that all omissions and errors are mine alone.

[1] Cf. Race (1997) 9–10. Although other forms of lyric composed by Pindar are not the focus here, as Race notes, encomia were also composed for individuals from Syracuse and Akragas, but no westerners are among the honorands of either dithyrambs or paeans.

[2] On Pantares, father of Gela's first tyrant Kleandros, succeeded by Hippokrates, who had a win at Olympia in 508, probably in the quadriga race: Herrmann (1988) list II, no. 1 and Hdt. 7. 154.



FIG. 54. THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

Xenokrates, was married to Polyzalos' brother Hieron.) In 480, Gelon defeated the Carthaginians at Himera, an event that made him pre-eminent in the island, and is alluded to in both Pindar's poetry and in major dedications, as will be seen.

In 479 Gelon died, Hieron took over at Syracuse, and Polyzalos ruled Gela, having married Gelon's widow, Damarete. Hieron founded the new city of Aitna on the slopes of the eponymous volcano, in 476, populating it with settlers from Syracuse, the Peloponnese, and other towns in Sicily, though his son Deinomenes actually ruled there. He, too, defeated a barbarian enemy, the Etruscans, at Cumae in 474. After his death in 467, the last of these four brothers, Thrasyboulos, took over at Syracuse, but was driven out after a year, following which the Syracusans established a democracy. The Emmenids, meanwhile, had fallen shortly after Theron's death in 472, when the city established a democracy after a brief period of rule by Theron's son Thrasydaios.[3]

Of these figures, Pindar wrote for Hieron in particular: four epinikians, a hyporchema (fr. 105), and an encomium (frs. 124d, 125, and 126). Indeed, the compositions for colonials chiefly concern not only Sicilians, but the two tyrannical clans of the early fifth century, the Deinomenids of Gela and Syracuse, and

[3] See Luraghi (1994) 255–62 and *passim*, for the interrelations of the two houses, as well as Bell (1995).

the Emmenids of Akragas.[4] It is on the poems composed for them and their close associates that this chapter centres. I set aside the two *Olympians* composed for Hagesidamos, a boy victor,[5] and also *Olympians* 4 and 5 for Psaumis of Kamarina, victor in the chariot race of 452 and the mule cart race of 448, who won after the age of the Sicilian tyrants was done. Ergoteles of Himera's *Olympian* 12 will be briefly invoked. That leaves only one other victory poem not written for a tyrannical victor: *Pythian* 12, for Midas of Akragas, who won in the aulos competition in 490, a musical contest not comparable to the athletic, especially the equestrian, competitions.[6] There are, nevertheless, eleven poems of the seventeen with which we began left to consider. These are *Olympian* 1, for Hieron of Syracuse, winning the single horse race, in 476;[7] *Olympian* 2, for Theron of Akragas, who won the chariot race in 476 also, and not forgetting *Olympian* 3, composed for the same occasion but focused on a *theoxenia* for the Tyndaridai, to whom Theron was specially devoted.[8] 476 saw the first Olympics to be held after two significant events in the west: the Battle of Himera in 480 (synchronized by Herodotos *inter alii* with the battles of Salamis and Plataia); and the founding by Hieron of the new city of Aitna on the slopes of Mt. Etna.[9] It was in 476–475 that Pindar was in Sicily and for that year's wins that he composed no fewer than four victory odes, three for Hieron. It was probably in 476 that Xenokrates won the chariot race at Isthmia, for which Simonides may also have composed a poem, at the same time that this poet moved to Sicily permanently. (Of course Aeschylus visited Syracuse in connection with his play, *Aitniai*, that he wrote on the occasion of the foundation of the new city of Aitna.)[10]

In either 472 or 468 *Olympian* 6 was written for Hagesias of Syracuse, closely linked to the Deinomenids, in honour of his victory in the mule cart race (*apēnē*). It was Bacchylides who celebrated Hieron's chariot win at Olympia in 468, with his third ode. *Olympian* 4 was for Ergoteles of Himera (formerly from Knossos),

[4] See McGlew (1993) 35–51; see also Vallet (1984).

[5] Malcolm Bell notes in an article forthcoming in studies offered to Giovanni Rizza, that a quarter of the epinikians were for boy victors. For a western Greek example, the poet composed *Olympian* 10 and 11 in 476, for the aforementioned Hagesidamos of Lokri Epizephyri, a winner in the boys' boxing.

[6] Bell (1995) suggests that the tyrants essentially rigged the equestrian competitions so that they never competed directly against each other in the decade 480–470, and possibly before.

[7] Pausanias mentions a chariot group by Kalamis in connection with the tethrippon victory in 468, set up by his son Deinomenes after Hieron's death; it was flanked by two horses that won for Hieron at Olympia in 476 and 472, these by the sculptor Onatas. See Bell (1995) 20; Herrmann (1988) list I, no. 108, Pausanias 6. 10. 1, and Smith (this volume). Bacchylides composed his 5th epinikian for the chariot win of 476 as well.

[8] Race (1997) 76–7.

[9] Race (1997) 8.

[10] Bell (1995) for concise discussion of the cultural ties between mainland artists and the tyrants. Simonides and Bacchylides may also have been guests at Syracuse, in addition to Pindar. See, Molyneux (1992) 233–6, with extensive discussion of the date of this ode and his time in Sicily, on which see also p. 225.

who won the dolichos in 466 (probably), and whose adopted city was recently delivered from the control of Akragas by Hieron.[11] Of the *Pythians*, 1 was for Hieron, winner in the chariot race of 470, also celebrated by Bacchylides' fourth ode; 2 was also for Hieron, another chariot race victory of uncertain date, but on the same occasion Pindar composed the hyporchema for his patron (schol. *P*. 2. 69). *Pythian* 3 alludes to Hieron's illness in 476–467 and mentions the Pythian victory of his celebrated horse Pherenikos. *Pythian* 6, was for Xenokrates of Akragas, the younger brother of Theron but devoted to his son Thrasyboulos, for a chariot victory probably in 490 in which he was probably the charioteer. As mentioned, *Pythian* 12 was for Midas of Akragas who won the aulos in 490. Of the *Nemeans*, 1 and 9 were composed for Chromios, Hieron's general who had previously served Gelon, Hieron's older brother. Finally, *Isthmian* 2 was also composed, like *Pythian* 6, for Xenokrates of Akragas, possibly around 470 after his death; it also addresses his son Thrasyboulos and also praises a win in a chariot race.[12]

Poetic expressions of colonial, and tyrannical, patronage are of course only one manifestation of western elite participation in Panhellenic interactions and competitions. These were also materially expressed, though most of the victory monuments are now lost. An exception is the famous charioteer from Delphi, celebrating the victory of Polyzalos in either 478 or 474 (or perhaps of Hieron, in 482 or 478) (Figs. 30, 31; see further below).[13] The numerous treasuries (Fig. 56), too, are also testaments to a mobility, a circulation, of persons between the western colonies and the homeland ritual centres. This circulation is of competitors, poets, and sculptors, among others. Hired poets celebrated the victories of elite winners who sometimes, as in the case of chariot or mule-cart racing, even paid someone else to compete, but took credit for the win.[14] Statues continually proclaim the victory, recording the name and origins of the victors for future generations to know.[15] Winning charioteers secure the victory for the owners of the teams, but in two victory monuments they may embody and express their own victories, as well as those of their patrons (see below). As Malcolm Bell has observed of chariot racing in particular, 'Although the Sicilian tyrants were hardly the first political leaders to compete in the games, as a class they consistently

[11] Ergoteles was recorded by Pausanias (6. 4. 11) as *periodonikēs* twice over in this event; cf. Herrmann (1988) list I, no. 49. See also Silk and Thomas, this volume.

[12] On this see most recently Bell (1995). Simonides also composed for Xenokrates but only a fragment (505) survives: see Molyneux (1992) (above n. 10); Pindar composed an encomium (frs. 118, 119) for Xenokrates as well as an encomium for Thrasyboulos, his son (fr. 124ab). On the possibility that Simonides also wrote for Chromios, see Molyneux (1992) 231.

[13] On the Delphi charioteer, see Smith (this volume), and cf. Maehler (2002), who has re-examined the recut inscription on the base and concluded that the monument was originally dedicated by Hieron after a win in either 482 or 478, and subsequently usurped by Polyzalos after he became master of Gela.

[14] Bell (1995) 17–19; Nicholson (2003).

[15] Herrmann (1988) 119.

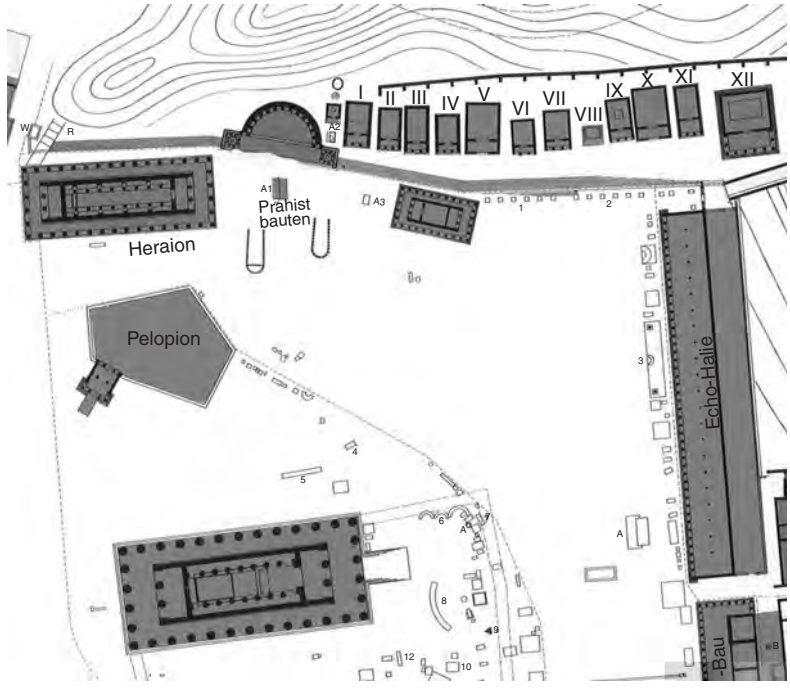


FIG. 55. The treasury terrace at Olympia

sought the prestige of victory as a way of enhancing and dramatizing their authority. For them participation in the games was far more costly than for their competitors in Greece, requiring long voyages for horses, staff, and equipment; and their celebrations of victory were more elaborate, including the commissioning of choral odes and sculptures, the offering of hospitality to the poets, and the issuing of silver coins.'[16]

This mobility has a context beyond that of Archaic and Classical Panhellenism and the *periodos* of the games, however: early western involvement with Panhellenic sanctuaries before they were truly Panhellenic—when they were, instead, regional sanctuaries—in the ninth and eighth centuries. Although only Greeks could compete in the games (at least in the Olympics),[17] and only Greeks won the praise of epinikian poetry, dedications could be made by Greeks and non-Greeks alike. This activity is not only 'pre-colonial' but non-Greek as well, and it will be argued in this chapter that it helps prepare the way for the western Greek patronage of epinikian poetry, and its particular linking of the west and

[16] Bell (1995) 15. See also Nicholson (2003) on chariot racing.

[17] See the extensive discussion of Hall (2002) 154–8 on Olympia as a locus for the formation and proclamation of Hellenic identity as expressed by mythological descent (rather than cultural identity). Hall points out (p. 154) that participation is explicitly limited to Greeks only at Olympia.

sanctuaries 'at home'. Moving back and forth within and among the texts and following paths to and through the sanctuaries as well, allows examination of material manifestations of these movements and the patronage and power they display.

HOMELANDS AND *TEMENĒ*

In the Greek homeland, the Panhellenic sanctuaries had their start as local or regional gathering places for cult and competition. Cult activity at Olympia and Delphi can be traced to the eleventh and eighth centuries respectively (although at Delphi, settlement dates back considerably further, as J. K. Davies notes in this volume).[18] This early use, however, as Catherine Morgan has argued, does not support the notion that Panhellenism may be extrapolated backward from the late Archaic into the late Early Iron Age and early Archaic periods. Taking into account the variety of forms of activity and of formalized facilities, as well as the disparate dates of these, across Greece in the Iron Age, Morgan suggests that in the late Early Iron Age there was 'a growing consensus of opinion on the appropriate monumental development of major community cult places, but also of community investment'.[19] Morgan notes that building a temple was a state prerogative from at least the Archaic period. Monumental construction within states (or polities) takes place earlier, however, than in sanctuaries outside the territories of particular polities—that is, the later Panhellenic ones, which do not have such facilities before the seventh century, the eighth-century oracular function of Delphi and Olympia notwithstanding.[20]

Since there were regional cult centres in Greece as early as the middle of the Iron Age, and state sanctuaries in the colonies and their territories from the start, one may ask why were there no Panhellenic sanctuaries in Sicily—or at least, no regional sanctuaries. The island was colonized at the time when the sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi were coming into their own, but had not yet achieved the prominence they would attain in the Archaic period. Indeed, these mainland sanctuaries were more regional affairs, and did not become interregionally prominent until the establishment of their games at varying times, so why did not the colonies in Sicily, in particular, develop comparable cult centres?

While the history of Pindar's century, the fifth century, is one of particularly widespread dis- and re-location, from the start of the colonial movement, new

[18] Morgan (1988), (1993); see most recently Eder (2001*a*; 2001*b*) and Kyrieleis (2002*b*).

[19] C. Morgan (1993) 19. This view (indeed, with reference to this very quotation) has been challenged recently by Umholz (2002) 280 for the Classical period (and earlier); temples could be built and dedicated by individuals who had been responsible for financing their construction.

[20] The view that Delphi and Olympia developed outside the polis is, however, no longer unchallenged, as Cathy Morgan points out to me; see Davies (this volume).

settlements featured mixtures of individuals of different origins and the resultant cities, cultures, and populations were both independent of their homeland origins and still participants in Greek cultural and ritual forms. Recent scholarship has suggested that the western colonies in particular were innovators in many spheres from their very foundations more than two centuries before epinikian flourished. Orthogonal city planning, some of the most impressive early monumental buildings in the entire ambit of Greek culture, even hero cult, have all been suggested to be colonial formations. This raises the now venerable question of when the polis came into being and what, exactly, defines it—formally, archaeologically, socially. Thus, it may be asked, does it take a polis to found a colony? or, does it take a polis to found a polis? While opinion certainly differs on these important questions, some recent scholarship has moved toward the view that 'what was at work in the eighth century BC was a process of general demographic mobility which resulted in groups of Greek settlers being disseminated all over the Mediterranean, rather than a structured colonizing movement, and that we should think in terms of Greek settlement—some of it within existing communities—rather than colonial foundation'.[21] Indeed, Robin Osborne has pointed out that during the last generation of the eighth century south Italy or Sicily saw the foundation of a new settlement every other year on average.[22]

Colonies mapped out living and ritual space immediately, including sacred space, locating both urban and rural sanctuaries along with housing blocks, agora, and cemeteries, as often illustrated with the site of Megara Hyblaia.[23] The *chōra*, the territory, was also ordered, put to use in ways different from those of the indigenous inhabitants, as can be documented best, perhaps, at Metapontum. Other surveys, in the words of Joseph Carter, 'provide evidence for a pattern of life in the countryside that can now be said to have been habitual for the Greeks in the West'.[24] As Carter notes, the orthogonal ordering of both city and countryside are striking parallels, although the emplotment of the landscape in lots of equal size may not be as early a feature of colonization as that of the cityscape's division and order. Yet, taken as a whole, the reordering of the landscape, and creation of new kinds of settlements, are hallmarks of the settlement movement.

There is no space here to investigate in detail the development of Greek sanctuaries in the west,[25] but we may at least raise some of the factors involved in demarcating the use of space in colonial territories, and operating against the formation of Panhellenic or pan-regional centres. For, as much remarked, the

[21] Lomas (2000) 172; see also Osborne (1998). [22] Osborne (1996) 129.
[23] On which see Malkin (2002*b*).
[24] See the essays in Pugliese-Carratelli (1996); quote from Carter p. 361.
[25] See Bergquist (1990) for one review.

colonies invested heavily at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of the old country, especially the western colonies. This is predicated on the apparently simple fact that there are no Panhellenic sanctuaries in the colonial west. Neither are there major investments by the colonies in sanctuaries of their founding cities.[26] As with burial customs in Sicilian colonies, this investment, argues Gillian Shepherd, was aimed not at preserving metropolitan ethnic identity or political or cultural ties, but at colonial self-promotion. The general independence of the early colonies from their founding cities in matters of religion is of a piece with their political independence. So, too, Catherine Morgan suggests that, early on, the western colonies 'chose to invest in those mainland sanctuaries most removed from the contemporary state structure' and that the expression of colonial identity was a more important factor, in the final analysis, than the mere proximity of Italy to western Greece. The use by colonials of Olympia and other sanctuaries like it 'would have had the advantage of maintaining general links with the source of a colony's Greek identity, while avoiding the kind of close connection with the mother city which might compromise its independence'.[27] At the same time the absence of a shared sanctuary in the west itself also allowed the colonies to interact with each other, but outside colonial, and disputed, territories. This is reinforced by the report of an attempt by Sybaris and Kroton to transfer the Olympic contests to southern Italy in the last quarter of the sixth century, without success.[28]

On the other hand, Irad Malkin has argued that there did indeed exist a Pansikeliote shrine: the altar of Apollo Archegetes at Naxos, the first colony on Sicily. In Malkin's judgement, all Sicilian Greeks sacrificed at this altar before beginning a journey on official business (*theōria*). The basis for Malkin's view is Thucydides, who reported the sanctuary's foundation by the founder of the colony: 'Thoukles established the altar of Apollo Archegetes which is now outside the city, on which, when *theōroi* sail from Sicily, they first sacrifice' (6. 3. 1). Because this altar and any sanctuary associated with it remains unexcavated, its features are unknown, but in Malkin's account it was a sort of Plymouth Rock for Sicily.[29] Thucydides, however, does not actually state that all Sikeliote *theōroi* sacrificed here, so the passage may refer to Naxian *theōroi* bound specifically for Delphi, or just those Sicilian envoys headed for Delphi; it is doubtful that every *theōria* from every Greek city in Sicily would have had to go first to Naxos before embarking. Nevertheless, even if all Sikeliote *theōroi* did sacrifice at the altar of

[26] Shepherd (1995) 73–6.
[27] C. Morgan (1993) 20.
[28] Philipp (1992) 46 and n. 50, citing Athen. 12.
[29] Malkin (1987) 19 and nn. 23, 24; Malkin (1986) 964: Octavian landed here, and the sanctuary (*hieron*) supposedly had a statue, of whom we are not told. See also Morgan (1990) 176 and n. 66, who sides with Malkin on the importance of the cult of Apollo for the foundation of Naxos, calling it of 'pan-colonial importance'. Malkin has also suggested that the Panhellenion at Naukratis may have had a similar function for the Greeks of Egypt, but the context, specifically, and the name, reflect a different formation.

Apollo the Founder, this specialized and restricted function does not compare with those of the sanctuaries at Olympia or Delphi, nor is the sanctuary comparable even with the federal sanctuaries of *ethnē*. As I have argued elsewhere, 'the identities of the *Sikeliōtai*, either as a group or as individual communities . . . do not find expression at a shared sanctuary in Sicily, but back in the homeland'.[30]

If we agree to leave aside the altar of Apollo at Naxos, then we are left without a Pansikeliote sanctuary. The obvious reasons for its lack are that for much of the time the colonies were in existence, there was a near constant state of struggle over territory with both the indigenous Sicilians and between colonies, to say nothing of the Carthaginians and Athenians. Moreover, no Pansikeliote—or Panitaliote—federation or league had any other than the most fleeting existence. Without previous Greek habitation, a mythological or cultic charter or pedigree is lacking for the west, as are the tomb cults and hero cults that played an important role in the late Iron Age and early Archaic period in the Greek homeland. Instead, in the colonies such cults were centred on communal founders and on Herakles' Panhellenic travelling road show.[31]

In any event, a distinctive colonial identity does find expression in the ambitious but eclectic architecture of the colonies. The Syracusan temple to Apollo with monolithic columns, dedicated by a singular inscription, is a building that Dieter Mertens has suggested as the 'forerunner of the entire set of temples built in the first half of the sixth century B.C.' in the old country.[32] As Mertens argues, the colonies never established a consistent *colonial* architectural vocabulary. Nevertheless, distinctive coroplastic traditions will make it possible to identify colonial treasuries by their roofs, as will be seen.

OLYMPIA, 'TERRITORY COMMON TO ALL'

Thus, elite mobility in the Archaic period took the form of the circulation of persons to and on the mainland. It entailed participation in networks of prestigious exchange, display, competition, and feasting; and, in the fully colonial world of the sixth and fifth centuries as well as before, of mobility even for native or non-Greek elites who make dedications (even without participating in the games). Sicilian or Italian elites went to Olympia and Delphi for the opportunities afforded by the sanctuaries that developed as a regional common ground—what Pindar, in *Olympian* 6, would later describe as back to παγκοίνον χώραν (l. 63). The regionally prominent sanctuaries that already existed in what we are accustomed to call the homeland, moreover, were completely within the sphere of these westerners, something that needs stressing, and might help account for

[30] Antonaccio (2001) 134; on *agōnes* in Sicily, see Arnold (1960) 249.
[31] See Antonaccio (1999). [32] Mertens (1996) 324.

the lack of a western centre like Delphi or Olympia. Olympia and Delphi were perhaps no more difficult of access for westerners than for a distant inhabitant of the Peloponnese or islands (Fig. 54). Hanna Philipp has even characterized Olympia as a Peloponnesian-West Greek sanctuary, rather than a Dorian one (although, of course, Ionian Greeks competed and won there) until the end of the fifth century. Though not so exclusive and bounded as the Panionion of the East Greeks, Olympia was, nevertheless, 'Das "Panionion der Westgriechen", das ihnen gemeinsamen Zentrum'.[33]

Philipp supports this argument with the limited, but still telling, evidence of victories, votive statues, and epinikian poems: the poetry of Bacchylides as well as of Pindar, the descriptions of the sanctuaries by Pausanias, the victor lists. Carefully noting how small is the percentage of surviving votives, and that victors do not tell us anything about who actually participated—but lost—Philipp still demonstrates very early participation of the western Greeks in the games. The earliest west Greek victor at Olympia was Daippos of Kroton in 672, and that century saw an additional 3 from western Greece, although the number of Peloponnesian victors was overwhelming (41 according to her count) while 9 other mainlanders came from outside the Peloponnese. In the sixth century, 24 victors were from western Greece, however; 34 were Peloponnesians, and 24 from the rest of Greece. In the fifth century, it was 39 westerners, 85 non-Peloponnesians, and the Peloponnesian victors were 74 in number. By the fourth century, the number of western Greek victors had fallen dramatically, to 11, compared to 73 Peloponnesians and 59 from the rest of Greece, unsurprising given the events of the late fifth and early fourth centuries.[34]

The corollaries to victory, their performed and material expressions, were poems and statues. As mentioned at the outset, 17 out of 45 Pindaric *epinikia* were for western Greeks (9 for Olympic victories). The poems took the fame of victors from the sanctuaries to their homes and beyond. So did the victory monuments, which were seen by subsequent visitors to Panhellenic sanctuaries for generations, indeed for centuries, to come; victory monuments could also be erected at home. Indeed, the earliest known victory monument was erected in the seventh century, by one Kleombrotos of Sybaris, who put one up at both Olympia and at home, as recorded in an inscription from Francavilla Marittima.[35]

[33] Philipp (1994) 88, 91; see also her earlier article (1992).

[34] On victors, see also Giangiulio (1993) 99–102, and Hall (2002) 160. Hall also points out that the first known inscription of any kind from Olympia (bronze, early 6th cent.) may have been dedicated by an Achaian west Greek colony, at just the time that an Achaian ethnic identity was being promulgated for colonies in south Italy (loc. cit. and n. 145).

[35] Philipp (1994) 80; see also Giangiulio (1993) 100 with references in n. 18; Giangiulio dates the Kleombrotos dedication well into the 6th cent., but notes that the date is uncertain. See Hornblower, Morgan, and Smith in this volume as well. On victor statues at Olympia see also Herrmann (1988), discussing the record of Pausanias in conjunction with the epigraphic sources, and Smith, this volume, for a list of attested victor statues at Olympia.

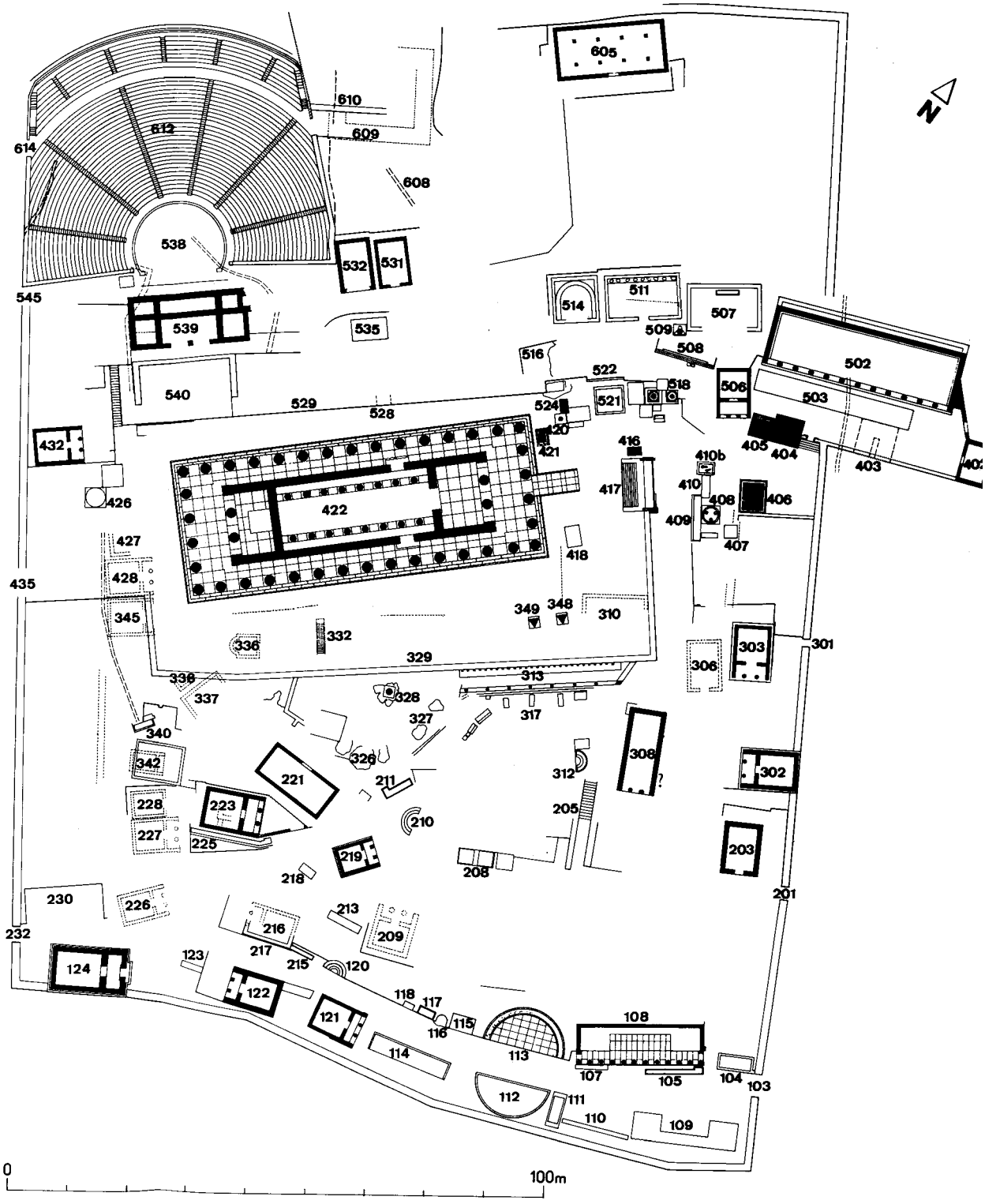


FIG. 56. Dedications at Delphi

Steiner has written eloquently of the symbiotic relationship of poems and monuments (as well as other artefacts): 'the artefacts simultaneously evoke actual monuments to a victor or hero, and serve as images for song and songmaking', and, further, of the poems that 'like the inscriptions on statues and other agonistic dedications, their texts permit the celebrants to proclaim a second time the formulaic statement of the win'.[36] A fifth-century example of such a monument at home is the so-called Motya charioteer, a marble, rather than bronze, figure found on the island of Punic Motya off the western coast of Sicily, but certainly a Greek work of the earlier fifth century. Though many identifications of this figure have been offered, Malcolm Bell has recently, and convincingly, identified the figure as Nikomachos, the Athenian charioteer who won for Xenokrates of Akragas at Isthmia, and also, as told in *Isthmian* 2, for Theron at Olympia (476), and at the Panathenaia as well (474?) (Figs. 37–9). This figure may be seen as a corollary to the bronze charioteer from Delphi mentioned above, of the same decade.[37] As is true of the poems, among the non-Peloponnesian victors down to the end of the fourth century western Greeks seem to have commissioned about a third of the statues, according to Philipp.[38]

TREASURIES, DEDICATIONS, AND THE EARLY WEST

Statues were not the only monuments with western connections. As is often noted, half of the eleven treasuries documented by Pausanias at Olympia belonged to the western colonies (Fig. 56). The rest were erected by polities located chiefly in the Peloponnese; pre-eminent states such as Athens and Sparta had none, and most of the others were connected with the mother cities of colonies in the west. According to Pausanias, one of the last treasuries built was a dedication of the Syracusans and of Gelon, after the Battle of Himera in 480 (6. 19. 7). As Philipp notes, there was never any 'Olympic' style building or votive, and in the case of the treasuries a very definite local, colonial expression was clearly made in the different, local types of architectural terracottas on their roofs.[39] At Delphi,

[36] Steiner (1993) 167, 172; see now Steiner (2001) 259–61, and Thomas, Smith, and Morgan in this volume. Steiner (1993) 161, notes the prominent mention of *agalmata* in the poems of Pindar, especially in those for Aeginetan victors, which she connects with the prominence of sculptors from the island.

[37] On dates, Bell (1995) 18–20. The statue was taken from Akragas after the sack of that city in 409 to Motya by the Carthaginians; see further below. Bell also suggests that the figure might instead represent Thrasyboulos, the son of Xenokrates. Nicholson (2003) 121 is sceptical of the identification of the figure as a charioteer because he argues against their inclusion in victory monuments generally; he regards the Delphi figure as part of the representation of the chariot, rather than sharing in the victory (104). On the Motya figure see also Smith (this volume).

[38] Philipp (1994) 87 and n. 45.

[39] See also Neer (2003) 129, who says that treasuries comprise 'a little bit of the polis in the heart of a Panhellenic sanctuary, so that when it is placed in a treasury, a dedication never really leaves home at all'. On the treasuries at Olympia, see Mallwitz (1972).

approximately thirty small structures lining the Sacred Way (a number that includes two that are located in the Marmaria) may all have functioned as treasuries. Of these, perhaps a half-dozen were colonial dedications: of Massalia, Sybaris, Syracuse, Cyrene, and Kerkyra, fewer in proportion to those at Olympia, but a respectable number.[40] Treasuries are, in fact, invoked by Pindar in *Pythian* 6, composed for Xenokrates of Akragas, where a *thesauros* of songs forms part of the imagery.[41] There is also an invocation of a building, a *megaron* this time, as a metaphor for praise in *Olympian* 6 for Hagesias of Syracuse (see further below).[42]

It is striking that this colonial dedicatory behaviour is prefigured by early material originating in pre-colonial Italy. Italian or Sicilian offerings, beginning at Olympia with fibulae dating as early as the ninth century, are indicators of widening horizons for the sanctuary, and as Catherine Morgan suggests, 'the beginning of the especially close relationship between Olympia and the west which is already evident in the relatively large number of treasuries constructed by colonial cities'.[43] Naso, however, records 250 bronzes in the Iron Age and Orientalizing periods from Olympia, Delphi, Samos, and Dodona as well as other sanctuaries, of which a third are fibulae.[44] Among the early, pre-colonial dedications, Philipp noted the presence of what might be termed 'exotic' metal dedications, but with a few exceptions, for example two shields from Cyprus and one that may be identified as late Hittite, all the non-Greek material at Olympia is either Etruscan or south Italian.[45] Apart from jewellery, most of the imports are weapons.[46]

To understand these western objects in Olympia and also in Delphi, which at the very least prefigure the later colonial investment and activity, means confronting the meaning of uninscribed votive dedications in the sanctuaries and votary intention. For jewellery the offerings may, at least in many cases, reveal most about the interests, identities, and moments of importance in the lives of their donors, rather than about the divinity or cult *per se*. Thus the pins and fibulae—and perhaps also clothing that they might have secured—could be the dedications of women facing marriage or childbirth or some other event or crisis, like illness. It ought not to be forgotten, however, that men used some of

[40] Treasuries at Delphi: Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) and Partida (2000). Remarkably, two treasuries were also dedicated by Etruscan cities (see below). Based on the architectural terracottas, it has also been suggested that other Sicilian or S. Italian cities, perhaps Kroton or Gela, dedicated treasuries as well (Rougemont (1992) 172–3; Jacquemin (1992) 193–4). See further below.

[41] See Steiner (1993) 169–70 for further discussion. The ancient word for the buildings termed treasuries by modern scholars is either *thesauros* or *oikos* in ancient sources: Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 59; see Partida (2000) 25–6.

[42] Lines 7–8, Steiner (1993) 170 and n. 43, suggests that the porch of this *megaron* is like the façade of a treasury, inscribed with the name and occasion of the votive; see also p. 173.

[43] Morgan (1990) 34; n. 18 with refs.

[44] Naso (2000) 196.

[45] Philipp (1994) and (1992).

[46] Philipp (1994) 86; C. Morgan (1993) n. 37 on p. 40; cf. the comments of von Hase in *Atti Taranto* 31 (1992), 280–3: 25% of the Italian dedications at Olympia are weapons. See also von Hase (1997).

these items, too.[47] If this is the case, then there are two possibilities for the Italian jewellery: these items, either acquired by trade or pre-colonial contacts, were dedicated by Greeks, or they were the dedications of Italian visitors themselves.[48]

Before discussing the jewellery further, the other dedications should be addressed. Dedications of weapons and other booty in later periods are state votives that commemorate military victories. May the early ex-votos of weapons be considered personal dedications, like the jewellery? The practice of dedicating weapons at Olympia is already current in the eighth century, and not restricted to this sanctuary, but known at Delphi and Isthmia as well (though to a much lesser degree in the Corinthia).[49] All three sanctuaries had Italian weapons.[50] Herrmann identified twenty fragments of south Italian and Etruscan shields of the eighth century from Olympia, a number revised downward to sixteen by Naso, who noted, however, that many fragments had been pierced for nailing in display.[51] Kilian identified an Etruscan helmet fragment at Delphi and one from Olympia as well, dating them to about 800 BC.[52] Herrmann also lists a greave fragment at Olympia of a type known from Etruria, northern Italy, and the Balkans, as well as Calabria and Cyprus, and ranges in date from the Late Bronze Age to the seventh century.[53] The Olympic example is late in the series. There are also giant spearheads from mid-peninsular Italy which probably date to the first half of the eighth century, some of them deliberately broken, a gesture that is paralleled by the Iron Age Greek custom of 'killing' a weapon (or other object) before depositing it in a grave.[54] This would perhaps parallel the later dedications of the Tarentines at Delphi, celebrating their victories over the local natives.[55]

[47] Morgan (1990) 34–5; see also Morgan (1999*a*) 330–2.

[48] Shepherd (2000) details dedications of Italian fibulae, very few in number, at other homeland sanctuaries in the 8th and 7th cent., and explains them as 'likely to be odd ornaments picked up by mainland Greeks on trading expeditions and deposited in return for a safe passage' at Perachora, for example (p. 68), or 'convenient dedicatory trinkets picked up by . . . traders wheeling and dealing around Italy and Sicily' at Lindos (p. 64), etc. Naso (2000) emphasizes the dedication of clothing, not just jewellery. See also von Hase (1992) 281–2 (above, n. 46) and von Hase (1997) esp. 307 ff.

[49] Philipp (1994) 82, Morgan (1999*a*), with references.

[50] Naso (2000) presents a convenient summary with comprehensive bibliography.

[51] Naso (2000) 198. The author also suggests that some of the sheet bronze belongs to the decoration of Etruscan thrones of the 7th cent., which he connects with a reference in Pausanias to a throne dedicated by the Etruscan king Arimnestos, 'the first barbarian to honour Zeus at Olympia with a votive offering' (198 n. 20; Paus. 5. 12. 5); see also Colonna (1993) 53–5.

[52] Kilian (1977); Naso (2000) 198 suggests that the fragment, which is very small, may instead belong to a sword scabbard of Italian origin.

[53] Herrmann (1984) 279–82; Naso (2000) 198–9 places it late in the group and notes Bosnian influence on the category.

[54] Herrmann (1984); Naso (2000) notes 13 examples from Olympia, 7 from Delphi, and elsewhere, with parallels in the Mendolito bronze hoard from an indigenous site on the slopes of Etna (p. 200 with references).

[55] Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 117–18, no. 114 ('Tarentins du bas', first quarter of the 5th cent., located on the lower Sacred Way near the Sikyonian Treasury) which celebrated a victory over the Messapians, and 163–4, no. 409 ('Tarentins du haut', near the Plataian dedication), of the first half of the 5th cent., commemorating the defeat of the Iapygians—both indigenous foes.

Morgan advocated the view that the dedication of weaponry was linked to the notion of warfare as a common enterprise, rather than an individual one. Local sanctuaries would have been more appropriate venues for display for expensive personal—or captured—weapons by individuals, or, possibly, such dedications may have represented communal identity, insofar as dedicating such objects to the gods in a shared sanctuary may be regarded as a kind of levelling ideology.[56] This personal motivation may have pertained at Isthmia, definitively still a local shrine in the eighth century. At Olympia and Delphi, however, early dedications of arms and armour might have been the actions of members of the elites that took place outside their own communities, but still among their own kind. Indeed, while Morgan has documented instances of individual dedications, booty is much more frequent from the sixth century onwards. Nevertheless, even booty might originate in individual action (i.e. stripping the dead on the battlefield). 'There is no reason to assume that dedications of equipment and spoils did not reflect a wide spectrum of interests, ranging from the purely personal to the purely communal'.[57]

From the foregoing, there are three ways to think about the meaning of early foreign arms in Panhellenic sanctuaries: (1) They were obtained by Greeks in trade and dedicated by individuals, males presumably, as personal and occasional dedications in much the same way as jewellery. (2) They were dedicated by Greeks as individuals or communally as booty, perhaps a tithe, in the aftermath of a victory, in which case they commemorate early conflicts between Greeks and Italians. (3) They were the dedications of Italians themselves, either individually or in common. Philipp, Shepherd, and others certainly prefer the explanation of Greek booty, a practice that can be traced from the eighth to the fifth centuries. Thus, Herrmann believes the Italian shields mentioned above not to be exotic trade items but to originate in armed conflict between Greeks and Etruscans, and the foreign arms to be booty from battles fought by Greeks with Italian enemies. This might also explain the single Sicilian spearhead from Isthmia, which could be a trophy from early Corinthian colonial violence, perhaps at the founding of Syracuse.[58]

This view is supported by much of the later evidence. The vast majority of arms and armour, helmets and greaves in particular, dedicated at Olympia come from the Peloponnese. They seem to have been displayed mostly at the bank of the

[56] Morgan has modified this view of warfare as a communal activity in more recent work: Morgan (2001) esp. 24–7 on dedication of arms.

[57] Morgan (2001) 26.

[58] See Naso (2000) 194 for a summary of all the opinions about early votives, leaving out the work of Morgan, however. He concludes, 'It is preferable not to formulate an overall interpretation valid for all the different objects; they arrived in Greece as a result of exchange circuits activated by relationships of various different kinds' (p. 194).

stadium, rather than in the Altis itself.[59] These are taken to be the result of the countless battles fought between groups of Greeks and with their enemies, as sometimes proved by inscription, especially from the sixth century on. Kunze counts about 200 greaves, 14 inscribed. That the western colonies participated in this way is demonstrated by the 5 or 6 examples inscribed by western Greeks, and the roughly 20 inscribed items of weaponry from western Greeks in all.[60] These provide context for the famous dedication of inscribed helmets by Hieron and the Syracusans after the victory over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474, a victory invoked by Pindar in *Pythian* 1 (72), for Hieron (about which more below). Explaining ninth- or eighth-century dedication of arms, however, as the spoils only of Greek victors projects later practice onto the past. Philipp quite rightly asks whether a late Hittite shield should be explained in the same way, or Cypriot helmets. As with other heirlooms and exotica, less common at Olympia than in eastern sanctuaries like the Samian Heraion, these may have another explanation for their presence, one that accounts for them as valued for their rarity and age. But such materials do shed doubt on the idea that all the other dedications of weaponry from afar are *Greek* celebrations of victory over *foreign* adversaries. It seems possible that the earliest, at least, together with the metal objects of jewellery that are imported, might come instead from the dedications of Italians as individuals.[61]

This possibility, it must be admitted, has been considered by scholars working on metal votives from all over Greece and the Mediterranean, and rejected. Herrmann himself suggests that it might be the case for dress ornaments, but is not likely for weapons, at least at Olympia.[62] At least it is not demonstrated by epigraphic evidence. A famous example that would seem to be an exception, the inscribed helmet of Miltiades also from Olympia, is according to Herrmann not the helmet worn at Marathon, but instead a dedication originating in his ventures in the Chersonese between 524 and 493. Herrmann suggests that the Etruscan material is connected with conflicts around the settlement of Italian Cumae. Philipp, meanwhile, suggests that it is small victories that would be particularly important for the western Greeks to advertise by commemorating them at Panhellenic sanctuaries—in the same way that Miltiades' helmet would inform the wider Greek world of his exploits in the Chersonese, rather than the

[59] See the comments of Rolley in *Atti Taranto* 31 (1992) 288–91, noting the different dedicatory behaviour at Olympia and Delphi, emphasizing the very small number of Italian arms at Delphi, and insisting on a strong contrast between the dedication of objects in the 8th cent. and later periods.

[60] Philipp (1994) 83; (1992) 37.

[61] Naso (2000) 196 refers to the work of Sordi (1993), which indicates a similar custom of dedicating a portion of booty to the gods among Italians as well; see also the comments of Sabbione as cited in Jacquemin (1992) 214–17, on the dedications of weapons in S. Italian sanctuaries.

[62] Herrmann (1984).

famous Marathon.[63] An inscribed joint dedication of a shield from a victory of Hipponion and Medma over Kroton is a west Greek example of this imperative; we do not otherwise know of this conflict and victory. Another example is a victory of Taras over Thurii some time in the 430s, as recorded in an inscription on a bronze spear butt found in Olympia.[64]

An explanation stressing hostility between Greeks and non-Greeks reinforces the Greek/barbarian divide and invokes sources on Etruscan piracy.[65] But the early history of Greek and Etruscan interactions is very complex, and clearly not always hostile. In the earliest period, it was enabled by the early Euboian presence in the Bay of Naples and nearby.[66] The adoption of elite Greek culture by Etruscans includes epic poetry, drinking customs, artistic conventions, and so on in the pre- and early colonial period. There is a large number of Etruscan dedications at Olympia from the seventh century, exceeding those of the ninth and eighth centuries. This cannot all be booty, nor need it be: we have the evidence to demonstrate that Etruscans made dedications at both Delphi and Olympia. For example, a basin, possibly of gold, was offered by the Etruscans around 490–480 in conjunction with their struggle with the Liparians (that is, Knidian colonists) over the Straits of Messina. This dedication was made near the entrance to the temple, very close to the dedications of gold tripods by the Deinomenids that commemorated their victory over the Carthaginians at Himera.[67] The Liparians, meanwhile, upon achieving more than one victory, apparently over the Etruscans, themselves made two dedications, one very large, at Delphi in the second quarter of the fifth century.[68] To this we may juxtapose the find of a helmet dedicated by Hieron after the battle of Cumae in 474. Sources also relate that two treasuries at Delphi were erected by the Etruscan cities of Agylla (Caere) and Spina, the former after 535, the latter about a decade

[63] Philipp (1994).

[64] ML, p. 154 no. 57 with references.

[65] For a convenient summary, see Torelli (1996).

[66] This traffic left traces in Greece as well as in Italy; note the 8th-cent. Etruscan bronze belt from Euboia: Naso (2000) 200 and fig. 4, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the exact findspot unknown. From the latest Bronze Age in Euboia, interestingly, are examples of painted carinated cups with high-swung handles from LH IIIC Xeropolis (Lefkandi), of a type common in Sicily and S. Italy: Popham and Milburn (1971) 338, fig. 3.5, 6, 7 (also noting handmade, burnished examples). A handmade mug, also possibly Italian in origin, from the same level: Popham and Sackett (1968) 18, fig. 34.

[67] Colonna (1989) discusses the limestone base ('cippus') that survives and its inscription, restoring the first line as 'from the Knidians'; the usual restoration is 'dekatan', a tithe (see Naso (2000) 202; (2003) 321), although *akrothinion* is a possible restoration, or *apo laistōn* (Colonna (1993) 61–6, with complete references to prior publications). The rest of the inscription is, however, completely clear, declaring that the Turranoi (Etruscans) dedicated the object on top to Apollo. On the involvement of Anaxilas of Rhegion in this struggle: Luraghi (1994) 116 n. 183 with references. On the Deinomenid tripods, Krumeich (1991); Bommelaer (1991) no. 518, 188–9; see also Molyneux (1992) 221–4.

[68] Torelli (1996), citing Pausanias 10. 11. 3, on the Liparian dedications, see Bommelaer (1991) 126, map no. 123 (next to Siphnian Treasury); 150–3, no. 329 (analemma around the temple, with inscriptions and dedications).

earlier—the only non-Greek polities to do so, but the presence of much older votives provides some context.[69]

Thus, it seems reasonable to propose that the earlier Italian booty and other objects are the traces of early Italian visitors to the Greek mainland sanctuaries who made offerings to the gods of Olympia and Delphi, at least, on their own account. The choice of Olympia in particular, but also Delphi, for such dedications by Greek and non-Greeks is not difficult to understand. In the earlier Iron Age, Olympia was 'a meeting place for the petty chiefs of the west, at which they reinforced their status at home and amongst their fellow rulers via the dedication, and perhaps also circulation, of prestige goods'.[70] The societies of Sicily and Italy in the Iron Age were not so incommensurate with, say, that of Arkadia in the early period. The distribution of sanctuaries in this region probably reflects settlements' territorial boundaries, and these sites were the main focus for ritual activity in a given local territory. Yet, there was a discernible amount of Arkadian activity at Olympia, too, meaning that it was used at least on occasion by Arkadians, and Morgan suggests that 'participation at Olympia meant different things to different societies'.[71] Yet all participated in the cult of a warlike Zeus, one who from the time of the earliest votives is shown as a helmeted fighter, and the choice of the stadium site for dedications of booty in later times seems apropos, in the context of the athletic *agōn*. (As an aside it is interesting to note that armour and arms at Isthmia, originally dedicated in the northern sector of the *temenos*, were apparently brought inside the temple at some point.)[72]

It is, then, possible that the early Italian dedications, at Olympia in particular, provide a trackway for investment in the sanctuary by the colonies, and help to explain the later colonial architectural investment at interpolity sanctuaries in the form of treasuries and the prominence of westerners among victors in the seventh, sixth, and fifth centuries. Among the 'petty chiefs of the west' frequenting Olympia in the early Iron Age were those who established pre-colonial routes to Italy, as suggested by Malkin, and their Italian counterparts.[73] Indeed Naso also suggests that ninth-century Italian objects in Greek sanctuaries demonstrate

[69] Naso (2000) 200–1; Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 231–2, no. 342 (X), to the immediate west of the Treasury of the Athenians, as 'the Treasury of the Etruscans', possibly of Spina; cf. Partida (2000) 199–211, rejecting the identification and arguing for no. 228 (IX) just to the south. Bommelaer suggests that the Treasury of Agylla/Caere might have been just below on the Sacred Way, no. 209 (XII): cf. p. 143, where this structure is discussed but the hypothesis is not developed.

[70] C. Morgan (1993) 21; cf. von Hase (1997) 307–8: the small Etruscan ornaments likely to have been dedicated by occasional Italian visitors; the weapons, however, he believes to have been dedicated by Greeks victorious over Etruscan opponents as noted above.

[71] C. Morgan (1993) 21–2.

[72] Jackson (1992) 142: votives set up on the north side would have been visible from the Archaic road; Jackson's distribution map shows other areas where weapons have been found, including the interior of the temple and to the east. See also Gebhard (1998).

[73] Malkin (1998) 88–92; and (2002*a*). von Hase (1997) 307, speaking of the number of Etruscan metal objects at Olympia in particular, reflects privileged connections with the west.

'the re-starting of relationships with the Italian peninsula' in this pre-colonial period.[74] What motivated the earliest Greeks in Italy was metals, says Herrmann among many others, and Morgan suggests that early dedicatory activity among Greeks at interstate shrines in general is probably related to pre-colonial prospecting for metals, and the location of the sanctuaries of both Delphi and Olympia on the route to Italy by way of the Corinthian gulf and north-west Greece.[75] The western Italian elites may be, then, integral to the earliest sphere of meeting, exchange, and dedication–that in the pre-colonial and possibly early colonial period west is west, rather than Greek and Italian. Indeed, Malkin suggests that early Italian elite interlocutors of Greek elites were regarded as *xenoi*, with all the social, cultural, and economic baggage of the concept, rather than *barbaroi*.[76] This would change, however, with colonization, especially once the initial interest in coastal settlement and trade shifted to territory and expansion—something that happened very fast.

CONCLUSIONS

This extended discussion of early dedications at Olympia and Delphi leads us back, finally, to Pindar. In *Pythian* 1, composed for Hieron's victory in the *tethrippon* in 470, the victory at Cumae is likened to the battles of Salamis and Plataia, which also saved the Greeks from the burden of slavery. The victory at Himera, synchronized with Salamis, is also invoked (71–80). This was probably monumentalized with the treasury known as the Treasury of the Carthaginians in Pausanias' time, but he records dedications there by Gelon, Hieron's brother, and the Syracusans, and the ascription of the treasury itself to Carthage seems to be mistaken (6. 19. 7). Gelon and Hieron dedicated gold tripods at Delphi, meanwhile (covering that front), in order to advertise the victory at Himera (see above), in a form and at a location precisely juxtaposed (even in basic form) with the serpent column and tripod at Delphi, the allied Greek dedication for Plataia, and, as we have seen, with the Etruscan monument to victory over the Liparians which comprised another golden vessel. Pindar does all this in a poem

[74] Naso (2000) 197; 194–6 on the presence of Italian Bronze Age artefacts in Greece; Crete is a major destination especially for metal, and it is interesting to note the presence of a sword of Sicilian type on the Ulu Burun wreck of the very late 14th or early 13th cent. BC.

[75] See Morgan (1990) 199 with references as well as Morgan (1988); cf. Malkin (1998), who argues for an earlier investment by pre-colonization explorers and traders in the sanctuary of the Polis cave on Ithaka, and Shepherd (1999) 289, against Olympia as 'an obvious stopping-off point for traders'. On the position of Delphi, see now Freitag (2000) *passim*; on approaches to Delphi in particular, 114–35, noting Bacchylides' mention of Kirrha, Delphi's port, in *Ep.* 4. 9 (p. 120 and n. 635).

[76] Malkin (1998); see my review in *AJP* 2000; I do not accept Malkin's further suggestion that this *xenia* operated into the 5th cent., given the raw realities of the oppositional colonial experiences in S. Italy and Sicily.

commemorating a victory at Delphi in a way that manages to move us to Olympia as well, since the treasury dedicated by Gelon in the aftermath of Himera is at Olympia.[77] In this ode, moreover, Hieron is invoked as *oikistēr* of Aitna—an echo of hero cult—and the poet invokes Hieron's son Deinomenes, who is *basileus* of Aitna; it was as a citizen of Aitna that the herald announced Hieron's victory at Delphi. Indeed, the ode celebrates the foundation and Deinomenes, but though linking Sicily, Delphi, and Olympia, the occasion seems clearly to be Hieron's victory.

Aitnian Zeus is also invoked in *Nemean* 1, an ode to Chromios, the general who served both Hieron and Gelon. Of course, another, intimate link between Olympia and Syracuse is the mention of Ortygia and the Alpheios, which is said to issue forth at the spring of Arethusa on the island. In this ode Pindar notices the prominence of Olympic victors who are Sicilians, again moving us from one Panhellenic venue to another; moreover, these victors recreate the Alpheios' course to return to Syracuse. This movement back and forth between Sicily and the homeland is especially pronounced in *Olympian* 6, for Hagesias of Syracuse, who won the mule cart race in 472 or 468. As Sarah Harrell notes, Hagesias is celebrated as a Syracusan, a citizen of his adopted city as well as an Arkadian of the Iamidai, the family of seers centred on Olympia; he is also named a *synoikistēr*, a co-founder with Hieron, presumably of Aitna.[78] As *despotēs* of the *kōmos* that is the celebration in which the victory ode is sung, Hagesias leads this moving revel which returns the victor to his city, from Olympia to Arkadia and to Syracuse, according to Harrell: the *kōmos* is received at Syracuse by Hagesias. This is, moreover, the third place in which Pindar invokes buildings as metaphors for songs: opening the ode by comparing it to a splendid palace (*thaeton megaron)* whose well-built porch is supported by golden columns, a façade shining from afar (ll. 1–4). The gift of prophecy, moreover, which is his family's, is a double treasury, *thesauron didymon*.[79] Finally, Pindar makes explicit several times the closeness of Olympia with Syracuse in particular by mention of the Alpheios which, as specifically alluded to in *Pythian* 3 as well as *Nemean* 1, composed for

[77] Dinsmoor proposed a mid-6th-cent. Syracusan Treasury at Delphi (Paus. 10. 11. 5). Its location has proved elusive, however; Dinsmoor (1950) 116–17 located it on the lower Sacred Way, on the foundation no. 216, but recently the consensus seems to be to place it on the slope between the two main switchbacks, just within the eastern peribolos, and date it to the late 5th cent. associating it with the Syracusan victory over the Athenians. Bommelaer (1991) 140–1, suggesting no. 203 or 209; cf. Partida (2000) 135–43, who assigns no. 203. See also Rougemont (1992) 168–9, 172–3, arguing against an Archaic Syracusan treasury.

[78] It is interesting to note that Hieron is said to have founded *agōnes*, the Aitnaia, to celebrate the founding of Aitna: Arnold (1960) 249 and n. 62, referring to schol. Pindar *O*. 6. 96, Drachmann I. 192. See Molyneux (1992) 229–30 on a possible poem by Simonides for Hieron connected with the founding of Aitna.

[79] Steiner (1993) 169–71 on the metaphor of a treasury or other building; cf. *Nemean* 3. 3–5, the young men of the *kōmos* are described as *tektones* (cited on p. 165). In *Nemean* 8. 46–8, notes Steiner, Pindar speaks of the stone of the Muses (pp. 165, 171).

Hieron at a time of illness, was thought to be directly linked to the Arkadian river which flowed by Olympia.

To sum up: the very early links between Italy and Olympia, in particular, but also at Delphi would later make these two sanctuaries appropriate, even natural, places to assert colonial claims to status and identity as visible in the half of the Olympian treasuries dedicated by Sicilian or Italian Greek communities. It is also especially true of tyrannical claims of an authentic, but hybrid, complex identity, expressed in the context (and normative terms) of Olympic and other victories. The high number of epinikian poems for westerners and monuments dedicated by western tyrants celebrating both athletic and military victory proclaim multiple identities, as Sarah Harrell notes—identities grounded in specific locations and lines of descent rather than ethnic groups or ties with mother cities. An insistence on a local, often civic identity (and sometimes on multiple local identities) is constantly made in both the odes and in the dedications. Thus Olympia and Delphi became the prime venues for the proclamation of western identities, especially for the tyrants of the west, but also for their precursors.[80] The early western activity at Olympia and elsewhere breaks the path which leads to the peak of this investment in the late sixth to fifth centuries.[81]

[80] Harrell (1998) ch. 3. I am indebted to the author for allowing me to cite her unpublished dissertation here.

[81] For other sanctuaries, see the papers collected in *La Magna Grecia e I grandi santuari della Madrepatria* (*Atti del 31 Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia)* Taranto 1991 (pub. 1995).

This page intentionally left blank

ELEVEN

'Dolphins in the Sea' (*Isthmian* 9. 7): Pindar and the Aeginetans

Simon Hornblower

1. INTRODUCTION: THE ISLAND

The title of my chapter[1] alludes to the creatures whom Pindar memorably compares to the Aeginetans, maritime and music-loving worshippers of Apollo Delphinios (see below, n. 3). My subtitle declines the obvious 'Pindar and Aegina', because it is Pindar's people I am chiefly interested in, and I want to avoid the usual scholarly misuse of single geographical abstractions to designate plural political agents ('Corinth', 'Sparta', and so on, meaning the male decision-taking elite).[2] But one must start with the island itself, because Pindar was acutely and eloquently conscious of its singularity as a place.[3] He memorably called it

> island whose name is famous indeed,
> you live and rule in the Dorian sea,
> O shining star
> of Zeus Hellanios. (*Paian* 6. 123–6)

[1] Which provides some of the detailed argument and statistics taken for granted in the Aegina section of Hornblower (2004), that is pp. 207–35. On the other hand, I have tried, in the present chapter, to avoid repeating detailed arguments and evidence already set out fully in that section of my book, although I continue to maintain my explanation in terms of Aeginetan hospitality, indeed one of the aims of the present discussion is to substantiate that explanation.

[2] Hornblower (2002) 14–15.

[3] Burnett (2005) is an excellent treatment of Pindar's eleven fully-surviving 'Aeginetan' odes, discussed chapter by chapter, with four introductory chapters about Pindar's reception, the island and the Aiakidai, the Aphaia pedimental sculptures, and 'Contest and Coming of Age'. There is an Afternote 'Audience as Participant'. She does not deal separately with the short and incomplete *Isthmian* 9, which is for an Aeginetan. That poem, however, deserves attention: the lovely comparison of the Aeginetans to dolphins (*οἷοι δ' ἀρετάν | δελφῖνες ἐν πόντῳ*, 'as for their excellence, they are like dolphins in the sea', lines 6–7; cf. the title of this chapter), recalls what he says at *N*. 6. 64, about Melesias. *Isthmian* 9 could thus have been drawn on with advantage by Burnett at her p. 163 and n. 24. She there aptly cites Pi. F 140b for dolphins as fond of music and calm seas (cf. also F. *Hel*. 1454–6). Now, Apollo Delphinios was specially worshipped at Aegina: Burnett (2005) 144. This fact is surely relevant to the poet's choice of the dolphin to represent Aeginetan values, because the Greek word for dolphin begins delph- not dolph-. See Burkert (1994) 55: 'It is not at all clear whether the cult of Apollo Delphinios is originally related to the dolphin at all [on this see Graf 1979], but in the sixth century the association was definitely made'. For Pindar's Aeginetan odes see also Walter-Karydi (2004).

These lines do not come from a victory-ode, or even for a poem written directly for Aeginetans or an Aeginetan. It is inscribed for 'the Delphians to Pytho'.[4]

The one-polis[5] island of Aegina is a not specially fertile triangle of land in the Saronic Gulf. Pausanias (2. 29. 6) says it was the most unapproachable, ἀπορωτάτη, of all the Greek islands and that Aiakos intended that this should be so, as a protection against pirates. Pausanias evidently means that there was no alternative to using the main polis harbour, which was, and is, a good one: Aegina is not Ikaria, harbourless and therefore virtually without history. Strabo (8. 6. 16) says that Aegina was barren except for some barley. It is situated due south of Salamis and in clear sight of Athenian territory. For this reason Pericles called it 'the pus in the eye of the Piraeus', λήμη τοῦ Πειραιέως (Arist. *Rhet.* 1411[a]15; Plutarch, *Per.* 8. 7). Philip Stadter convinces me that the traditional rendering 'eyesore' is too weak and actually misleading with its suggestion of mere unprettiness (as in 'that new Engineering building is an eyesore!'); it refers to the very nasty effects of conjunctivitis.[6]

Aegina's main architectural glory was the temple of Aphaia, a minor goddess who was identified with the Cretan Britomartis or Diktynna and like them was eventually merged with Artemis (Paus. 2. 30).[7] Pindar never mentions either the goddess or temple in any epinikian ode. This is surely a curious omission, given the sheer bulk of epinikian material we have for victors from Aegina. The neglect is in a way only apparent, because we know from Pausanias that Pindar wrote a separate poem to the Aphaia temple for the Aeginetans (F 89b Maehler: Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾆσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε). Modern editions classify this among the prosodia or processional odes. One might speculate whether the families who looked to the Aphaia temple in the east of the island, and those families which supplied the athletic victors and were perhaps concentrated round the harbour-city of Aegina in the west, were different and in rivalry with each other.[8] I return to this point at the end of my chapter. In any case, the mere existence of the poem is a warning that we do not have every poem that Pindar wrote even about Aegina for whose citizens he wrote so much.

The temple can still be visited, but much of its late Archaic pedimental sculpture is in Munich. Plenty of sculpture, however, remains in situ or rather

[4] Rutherford (2001*a*) 298–338. See also Walter-Karydi (2004) 508.

[5] Strabo *cf.* 5 says the island has a polis of the same name. The point is not discussed by Reger (1997). Figueira (1986) 321 thinks that unity (i.e. synoikism) came with independence, *sc.* from Epidauros in the Archaic period; before that (he conjectures) the island will have been a collection of villages like those of Megara. See now Figueira (2004) 620–2.

[6] Stadter (1989) 108.

[7] Sinn (1987) and above all Burnett (2005) 29–44. The identification with Athena sometimes canvassed seems to me unlikely.

[8] For *stasis* at Aegina see Hdt. 6. 88–9 and 91 with Hornblower (2004) 218–21 so, rightly, Hansen and Nielsen (2004), app. 19. Herodotus does not use the word *stasis* but that is clearly what it is.

in the apotheke or storehouse where I saw it in 1989; to me its most striking feature was the amount of garish paint preserved. Burnett[9] well discusses the unusual history of the sculptures of the pediment: it seems that there was a radical change of mind on the part of the commissioning authorities about what themes to present. It is hard precisely to correlate the eventually chosen sculptural themes with Aeginetan political history. Nor is literature's relationship with the sculptures straightforward. Aiakid achievements, as sculpturally depicted on the Aphaia temple, are reflected by Pindar in a general sort of way, and this is excellently brought out in Burnett's book. But as she also shows, there are sometimes small but significant mismatches between the sculptural and the Pindaric handling of the same episodes.[10]

The island of Aegina had a glorious and prosperous early history, never matched by local literary talent. We know of only two Aeginetan historians, Pythainetos and Theogenes (*FGrH* 299 and 300). Both seem to be late and to have been interested mainly in mythology; Pythainetos filled at least three 'books' with it. They were thus useful to the Pindaric scholiasts. Jacoby, introducing these two figures, said rather severely that Aegina was 'spiritually unproductive' and 'got its poets from abroad' (*FGrH* IIIB p. 2 n. 5). Aegina was never isolated: at one time it belonged to a sacred league or amphiktyony centred on Kalaureia, modern Poros. It is surprising that no Aeginetan features in the list of early sixth-century notables in a famous chapter of Herodotus (6. 127). What we miss is an Aeginetan equivalent of the Argive member of the list, who is Leokedes, a relation of the great Pheidon of Argos. These young men were suitors for the hand of Agariste, daughter of another tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon. This famously Homeric gathering was a constellation of what Wade-Gery in another connection called the 'international aristocracy'.[11] Another member of the family (though perhaps in exile) is celebrated in what has been called 'one of the earliest surviving agonistic dedications'. He is Aristis, son of Pheidon, who won the pankration at the Nemean Games in about 560 BC.[12]

Traditions that made the tyrant Pheidon strike the first silver coins on Aegina are now discounted. But certainly coinage was struck early on Aegina. And it

[9] Burnett (2005) ch. 2, esp. 44, where she imagines the lords of Aegina saying to themselves that the Rape of Aegina and the Battle with the Amazons 'must stand down as we now proclaim ourselves heirs to Aiakid warriors who were twice victorious at Troy'. She makes the interesting point (43–4) that the sculptural themes on this temple are not 'propaganda' in the usual sense because the temple was little visited by strangers. (Are we sure of this?)

[10] See for instance Burnett (2005) 86 on the change implied by the choice (in *Isthmian* 6) of Herakles, rather than Athena (as in the sculptures), as the central figure in the first taking of Troy.

[11] Hdt. 6. 127. 3 (with an apparent muddle about the men called Pheidon); 'international aristocracy': Wade-Gery (1958) 246 and Davies (this volume) 60.

[12] ML 9; the quotation in my text is from p. 188. Aristis' father is not likely to have been the well-known tyrant but a relative, perhaps a grandson and the same as the father of Leokedes.

must say something important about Aegina that Pindar and Bacchylides celebrate exclusively athletic not equestrian activity in their many Aeginetan victory odes, which are for events like wrestling, running the pentathlon, and the pankration. This was not a landed horse-breeding upper class like those of Sicily or Thessaly or even Athens. In support of the theory that Aegina was a great trading state it has been calculated that it had a population of 41,000 on territory which could support only 4,000 from its own agricultural resources, and those resources do not include the pistachios for which Aegina is nowadays celebrated. This population count, which Hansen has now reduced to 20, 000, rests mainly on two sorts of data: fleet totals and tribute paid to Athens after 458.[13] Aegina paid 30 talents, an enormous total, given that 1 talent is 6,000 drachmas. 30 talents is the highest total of any tributary ally, equal to that of mineral-rich Thasos in the early years. In their recent book on the Mediterranean Sea, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell cite these demographic findings and say 'the conclusion that Aegina was heavily dependent on a complex, reliable and large-scale trade in staples seems inescapable'.[14] Not everyone believes that Aegina was a great trading state. A chapter in Geoffrey de Ste. Croix's posthumous essays on Greek economic history denounces this picture of Aeginetan trade as anachronistically modernizing.[15]

De Ste. Croix is right that if (*a*) colonization and commerce necessarily went together and (*b*) Aeginetans were commercially hyperactive, then it is odd that Aegina as a community did not colonize. More accurately, Aegina was not one of the early and entrepreneurial colonizing mother-cities, though it participated in the multi-polis Egyptian trading station of Naukratis (Hdt. 2. 178. 3), and Aeginetans were said to have settled at Kydonia, modern Chania, in Crete, and in Italian Umbria (Strabo again). But in fact there are all sorts of reasons why Greek communities did and did not send out settlements (a better if clumsier way of describing the process than the word colonization with its Roman-style state-sponsored overtones); and I am not sure what it proves about Aegina's economy that no other community that we know of called Aegina its metropolis. Let us think instead in terms of mobility and 'interconnectivity'. The scale and geographical spread of Aeginetan naval activity, some of it presumably commercial despite de Ste. Croix, was commented on by contemporaries and is attested by inscriptions. *Nemean* 5 starts like many Pindaric odes with a bang. The poet contrasts the manufacture of statues which do not move, with the different sorts of merchant vessels which go out all the time from Aegina and which the poet instructs to carry his precious cargo of song. Rosalind Thomas discusses these lines elsewhere in the present book (above p. 145 f.) and Carol Dougherty

[13] Figueira (1986) 22–52; Hansen (2006). [14] Horden and Purcell (2000) 119 and 381–3.
[15] De Ste. Croix (2004); but see Hansen (2006) 12–14.

has analysed them in her recent book *Raft of Odysseus*.[16] Dougherty overdoes the commercial aspect for her own purposes and unduly minimizes the Aeginetans' reputation as *fighting* sailors referred to in line 9, *εὔανδρος καὶ ναυσίκλυτος*, 'brave men and renowned for sailing', where the first adjective has a definite warlike resonance. Aeginetan valour at Salamis was praised by Pindar and is a fact. To this extent I side with de Ste. Croix's impatience with attempts to see Aeginetan trade everywhere. I return to this important topic below.

But though the Aeginetans did not colonize collectively, there is no doubt that the island was a prime supplier of examples of individual mobility. I give two examples from inscriptions, one from the beginning and one from the end of the fifth century. An Aeginetan, Sostratos, was singled out by Herodotus as the man who made the greatest trading fortune we know of, and a stone anchor dedicated to Apollo by this or a related Sostratos of Aegina in about 500, and found thirty years ago in central Italy, suggests that this trade was with the Etruscans.[17] Another Aeginetan, son of Pytheas, was honoured at the end of the fifth century at Lindos on the island of Rhodes, as an inscription now in Copenhagen tells us (*Syll.*[3] 110; see below, p. 304 for more detail). The man's own name ended in -as but is not fully preserved; but we can read the precious lines which say that this X, son of Pytheas, was an interpreter at Naukratis. Now Pindar and Bacchylides both composed victory-odes for a Nemean victory won by an Aeginetan called Pytheas son of Lampon, and Pindar wrote other odes for members of this family; while Herodotus has an unpleasant story about an Aeginetan, Lampon son of Pytheas.[18] The later X, son of Pytheas, moved between Egyptian Naukratis and the Pindaric and Dorian islands Aegina and Rhodes, and is thus a prime example of mobility. There is a clustering of the name Pytheas on Aegina and one might wonder if the Naukratis interpreter was an enterprising member of the old athletic and military family, forced to make a new life for himself in Egypt after the Athenians took his home from him in 431.

2. THE EPINIKIAN POEMS FOR AEGINETANS

Michael Silk observes above (p. 196) that epinikian poetry was a very strange genre. Was it a separate genre at all? The expression is in fact not nearly as well established in antiquity as modern use of it might lead one to think. 'Epinikian

[16] Dougherty (2001) 41–3. The contrast between statue-making and poetry has been much discussed. See for instance Gentili (1988) 163–5, who interestingly compares Isok. 9 *Evagoras* 73–4 (cf. Hornblower (2004) 63 and n. 24 for other similarities between Pindar and Isokrates' Kyprian orations) and Burnett (2005) 63, who detects in the Pindar opening a reference to the fixed pedimental sculpture of the Aphaia temple.

[17] Hdt. 4. 152; Jeffery (1990) 439 no. E.

[18] I discuss Aeginetan prosopography elsewhere (Hornblower (2004) 218–21).

poetry', that is 'poetry for (athletic) victory', does indeed go back to Pindar himself, who, however, uses it only once. *Nemean* 4, for the boy wrestler Timasarchos of Aegina, refers to 'victory [lit. "epinikian"] songs', *ἐπινίκιοι ἀοιδαί* (line 78). It might therefore seem obvious that epinikian was thought of as a distinct genre. But the position is not so straightforward, as Nick Lowe shows (this volume, p. 167 f., drawing on Harvey): for Pindar 'epinikian' is an adjective and in any case the normal fifth-century word for a victory-ode was 'enkomion'. And epinikian poetry borrowed freely from and imitated other poetic genres. Pindar borrows characteristics of hymns, funeral dirges, and military poems.[19] Of the 'epinikian' odes, *Nemean* 11 is strictly non-athletic (it was written for the installation of Aristagoras of Tenedos as councillor), and might have been classed as an encomium. It presumably found its way into the epinikian group only because it has much about Aristagoras' early athletic successes. All this is relevant because I shall be making use of non-epinikian poems of Pindar which deal with Aegina, such as *Paian* 6. The poem I referred to above, *Nemean* 4, does not only contain Pindar's only use of the expression 'epinikian poems'. What the relevant strophe or stanza says is even more valuable for our purposes:

> *Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀεξιγυίων ἀέθλων*
> *κάρυξ ἑτοῖμος ἔβαν*
> *Οὐλυμπίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ Νεμέᾳ τε συνθέμενος,*
> *ἔνθα πεῖραν ἔχοντες οἵκαδε κλυτοκάρπων*
> *οὐ νέονθ' ἄνευ στεφάνων, πάτραν ἵν' ἀκούομεν,*
> *Τιμάσαρχε, τεὰν ἐπνικίοισιν ἀοιδαῖς*
> *πρόπολον ἔμμεναι,*
>
> It is for the Theandridai that I contracted to come
> as a ready herald of their limb-strengthening contests
> at Olympia and the Isthmos, and at Nemea.
> From there, when they compete, they do not return
> without the fruit
> of glorious crowns to their home, where we hear,
> Timasarchos, that your clan is devoted
> to victory songs. (*Nemean* 4. 73–9)

There are three important points here. First, the Theandridai are a *patra* or clan: odes for victors from Aegina stress to a quite exceptional extent the contribution of the wider kinship unit and this stanza illustrates that. Other kinship groups feature in the odes (the *genos* of the Iamidai at Arkadian Stymphalos, the *oikos* of the Emmenidai at Akragas), but to an unusual degree these Aeginetan victories are treated as family achievements.[20] Second, the stanza warns, by its reference to

[19] Hornblower (2004) 30.

[20] Parker (1996) 63 n. 26, noting esp. *P.* 8. 35–8 and *I.* 6. 62–3. See further below p. 303.

Olympia, against associating victors from Aegina too exclusively with the sanctuaries and games at nearby Nemea and Isthmus. It is true that of the twelve (or eleven) Aeginetan odes, 6 are for the Nemean games and 4 for the Isthmian, but *Olympian* 8 and *Pythian* 8 (for Delphi) should not be forgotten. Third, the line 'your clan is devoted to victory songs' implies special addiction to athletic victory odes on the part of this family of Aegina. That expresses succinctly, and forms a good transition to, my main problem: why did the elite of Aegina commission so many victory odes?

Before I address this problem, a word is needed about the character of the Aeginetan odes.[21] In terms of literary quality the Aegina group of poems is not as distinguished as a group as are the six odes for Sicilian rulers, that is the first three Olympian and the first three Pythian odes, for Hieron of Syracuse and Theron of Akragas. The three Cyrene odes are also more varied and interesting as a group, including as they do the witty *Pythian* 9 which has the sexually excited young Apollo asking advice about girl-pursuit from the old centaur Cheiron, who has to remind the young god that oracular Apollo is supposed to be omniscient; not to mention the Argonautic pocket epic *Pythian* 4. In the Aegina odes by contrast there is (it may be felt) altogether too much about the Aiakid family, that is, unmemorable material, of uniform character, about the doings of Achilles, Ajax, and Peleus. But the Aegina odes are peaks and troughs, and the greatest of the peaks is one pure masterpiece, *Pythian* 8. This was Pindar's last poem, written in 446 according to a good tradition of a kind not available for any of the Nemean and Isthmian odes, which float undatably in a way particularly frustrating for the student of Aegina and its history. *Pythian* 8 ends with a famous stanza about the ephemerality of human life; this stanza, as Michael Silk showed in a brilliant recent article,[22] provoked a reply from Plato in the myth of Er at the end of the *Republic*.

No fewer than eleven[23] of Pindar's forty-four victory-odes—and two of Bacchylides' sixteen (12 and 13)—are dedicated to Aeginetan victors from Aegina, nearly all of whose names are known to us (the anonymous exceptions are the subjects of one fragmentary poem each by Pindar and Bacchylides).[24] Why Aegina?—that is, why did Pindar (and Bacchylides) write so many odes for Aeginetans?

[21] *O.* 8 (460 BC); *P.* 8 (446); *N.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; *I.* 5, 6, 8, 9, fr. 4 (all undated and undatable). See also fr. 89b 'for the Aeginetans to Aphaia'. Bacchylides 12 and 13 (both epinikians for Aeginetans). For Paian 6 see above, p. 287.

[22] Silk (2001).

[23] Add the brief *Isthmian* 9 and the even more fragmentary Pindaric Isthmian ode fr. 4 to Meidias of Aegina; the evidence is a quotation from a scholiast on *I.* 5.

[24] Simonides' poem for Krios of Aegina (fr. 2, *PMG* 507) may have been less than encomiastic, though it probably did have an athletic aspect.

3. WHY AEGINA AND AEGINETANS?

There are really two related questions: why did the Aeginetans go in for sport so much, and why did Pindar write about them so much? In other words, there is a historical and a literary question. But there is little historical evidence outside Pindar and to a lesser extent Bacchylides for fifth-century Aeginetans as sportsmen.[25] The two Aeginetans in Ebert's collection of inscribed athletic epigrams, Theognetos and Pherias, are known to us already from Pindar and Pausanias respectively.[26] The question is in the end a Pindaric one. No completely satisfactory solution has been found.

One way into the problem is to ask whether the Aeginetan odes have anything distinctive in common, apart from being written for people from that distinctive island. Anne Pippin Burnett has come up with a simple answer: they are all for young men (so that her book is called *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina*).[27] She seems further to want to say, though she does not quite do so explicitly, that this group of poems is distinctive for its stress on initiation and rites of passage to manhood.[28] As for the first feature (youth), she is quite right, but this is, in a way, another way of saying that there are, as we have seen, no Aeginetan equestrian victors in Pindar or Bacchylides:[29] equestrian events were a way in which older men could compete and win.[30] As for the second point (transition to manhood), this too is a good one, but Pindaric use of initiatory themes is not of course confined to young Aeginetans (cf. above, p. 27 n. 104). If *Nemean* 3 treats the education of Achilles by Cheiron and sketches the career of Herakles, 'patron of youth and the palaestra',[31] then much the same is true of *Pythian* 9 for Telesikrates of Cyrene. That poem features Cheiron as a teacher-figure (but of Apollo not Achilles), Herakles—and marriage.

Is Aeginetan prominence in Pindar to be explained by the kinship connection between Pindar's home city Thebes and Aegina? (The tie was symbolized by the myth, set out most clearly in *Isthmian* 8, which made the nymphs Thebe and Aegina into daughters of the river-god Asopos and thus sisters.) Was it 'wealth of heroic saga' which drew Pindar to Aegina?[32] Did Pindar like the Aeginetans because they were archetypal Dorians?[33] Is the Aeginetan commitment to Pindaric values of the kind the games represented in contrast with 'what Athenians were choosing in the same period'?[34] In another book I have discussed these various modern answers to this question and I do not want to repeat all that here.

[25] See above, pp. 137–8.

[26] Paus. 6. 9. 1 and 6. 14. 12; Ebert (1972) nos. 12 and 19. Theognetos is maternal uncle of Aristomenes the honorand of Pindar, *Pythian* 8: see line 36 and below p. 306.

[27] See esp. Burnett (2005) 45 [28] Burnett (2005) 46 and n. 7. [29] Burnett (2005) 46.

[30] Hornblower (2004) 29, citing Golden (1998) 119–20. See van Bremen (this volume) 358.

[31] Burnett (2005) 141. [32] Carne-Ross (1985) 67; cf. Mullen (1982) 144.

[33] Race (1986) 101. [34] Osborne (1996) 326.

One theory I shall say more about, because it leads into my own suggestion. Were the Aeginetan patrons of Pindar a 'problematized elite', meaning new-rich families who aspired to traditional landed status[35] whom Pindar celebrates because he values the success brought by trade and commerce?[36] Hubbard relies on the findings of Figueira. This old 'commercial Aegina' or 'mercantile aristocracy' position (as in effect it is) was challenged long ago by de Ste. Croix in a long footnote in 1972, and a full treatment by him has now appeared posthumously.[37] De Ste. Croix's very thorough chapter was written in the 1960s, before the new evidence about Sostratos of Aegina came to light (see above). But some of de Ste. Croix's arguments[38] still have force, especially some details of his discussion of the evidence of Pindar. But he was too absolute in his insistence that the oligarchy of Aegina in *c.*600–450 BC was a 'rich land-owning class of archaic type'.[39] Figueira more plausibly concludes that the Aeginetan elite must in fact have been involved in the island's undoubted commercial activity, and not just as passive consumers and participants either.[40] Pindar is crucial to the argument here, in two ways: through maritime metaphors and imagery, and through stress on *xenia*, hospitality or guest-friendship.

As their *aristeia* implies (p. 302), and as de Ste. Croix insists, the ships of Aegina which Pindar glorifies are, in their context, not only merchant ships[41] but more obviously the warships which triumphed at Salamis, a battle celebrated explicitly as an Aeginetan triumph (*Isthmian* 5. 48). In particular, 'renowned for sailing' (*Nemean* 5. 9) refers in its context to prowess in war. The same is true of 'long-oared Aegina', δολιχήρετμον Αἴγιναν (*Olympian* 8. 20), where the description is appropriate only to triremes, that is, warships. Even the celebrated opening of *Nemean* 5, which tells some unspecified abstract person to go forth 'on board every ship and every boat', ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, and spread the praise of Lampon, should not be over-interpreted, though the ship-words used are indeed mercantile. De Ste. Croix observes: '[t]here is nothing here of an *Aeginetan* merchant fleet: Pindar is thinking of all the merchants who trade

[35] Osborne (1996); Hubbard (2001) esp. 390.

[36] Hubbard (2001) 391–2.

[37] De Ste. Croix (1972) 267 n. 61 and (1981) 120. For the full treatment see de Ste. Croix (2004).

[38] Figueira (1981) 297 n. 98 does cite Ste. Croix (1972) 267 n. 61—for Aeginetan metics: Lampis at Dem. 23. 211, mid-4th-cent., is the chief exhibit. Clearly, for those who deny the mercantile aristocracy view of Aegina, the hypothesis of a large metic population of an Athenian type is an obvious recourse. But for the Pindaric period we have simply no evidence.

[39] De Ste. Croix (1972) as above; cf. (2004): no different from 'the other land-owning oligarchies of that time'.

[40] Figueira (1981) 321–2.

[41] On the other hand de Ste. Croix denies the mercantile aspect to Pindar's Aeginetan ship-references and ship-metaphors too completely. He gets rid of the opening of *N.* 5 (see below), but for ναυστολέοντες, in which the notion of cargoes is certainly dominant, see below. The question is, how far we see these as references and how far as metaphors with a job to do; see below.

from and with Aegina'.[42] This seems to me a better way of taking the words if we have to choose, but perhaps the whole argument is misconceived. This exhortation comes from the discursive opening to the poem.[43] Pindar has just said that he is not a sculptor, to fashion statues which stand on the same base and which are thus signifiers for absence of movement. Then he goes on to say: go forth on ships and boats, which are signifiers for movement. That is all. He was not writing with the economic historian in mind. But if we were going to press the reference to the statues, it would have to be said that the Aeginetan sculptural tradition was a real one, and statue bases were an alternative form of commemoration to epinikian poetry, which is interesting to find associated so strongly with Aegina in the relevant books of Pausanias.[44]

It has been suggested[45] that the Bassidai, the Aeginetan family praised in *Nemean* 6 (line 30), were themselves shipowners, because of the metaphor at line 32, *ναυστολέοντες*, 'carrying a shipload' of victory-songs. But though this is certainly a mercantile figure of speech,[46] the basic idea here is simply that of the 'ship of song', found also in *Nemean* 4, another Aeginetan ode: turn the ship's tackle, *ἔντεα ναός*, back to Europe (line 70). That Pindar was specially fond of using maritime imagery for Aegina is agreed.[47] But Deborah Steiner has shown that the ship-of-song motif turns up in non-Aeginetan and non-maritime connections also;[48] she cites for instance *Pythian* 11 for Thrasydaios of Thebes, where the poet pretends (line 39) to wonder if he was thrown off course by the wind like a small boat at sea. Chris Carey, discussing *ἀναβάσομαι* ('I shall embark') in *Pythian* 2 for Hiero of Syracuse (line 62), observes that 'the ship of Pindar's song usually appears, as here, in transitions (e.g. *P* 11.39–44, *N* 4.70)'.[49] Aeginetan maritime imagery in Pindar is, we may conclude, an extension of a predilection well attested in other contexts. This does not drain it of specific

[42] De Ste. Croix (2004); *contra*, Hubbard (2001) 393 and above all Figueira (1981) 323 and esp. 324.

[43] Race (1982*b*) 18. Hubbard (2001) 393 sees this essentially literary point and puts it well, but nevertheless presses it as evidence for Aeginetan maritime commerce. Even on its own terms, this argument needs to recognize that the 'static foil of statuary' is just as Aeginetan as is the maritime imagery.

[44] Thomas, Smith, and Morgan in the present volume, pp. 149, 166, and 109, and Steiner (1993) for statue-imagery in Pindar; also Walter-Karydi (2004) 510. See further below, pp. 230 f.

[45] Gerber (1999) 66, cf. Figueira (1981) 323.

[46] Note, however, that the poet immediately goes on to talk, in a characteristic mix of metaphors (Hornblower (2004) p. 44 n. 181, and for the switch here see Gerber (1999) 66 'the imagery now shifts from nautical to agricultural'), about how much the Bassidai of Aegina can supply the ploughmen of the Muses to sing about. But nobody has yet tried to use this as evidence for Aeginetan landed interests. For the conceit cf. *P*. 6. 1 with Steiner (1986) 44.

[47] Steiner (1986) 67 who, however, also has just remarked in the same breath that 'many of the city-states for whom [Pindar] wrote were dependent on the sea'. For sea language in Pindar's Aegina odes cf. also Gzella (1981) 6 n.1 and Hubbard (2001) 393.

[48] Steiner (1986) 73–4.

[49] Carey (1981) 46. We should also recall the famous comparison, a few lines later, between Pindar's song and Phoenician merchandise being sent over seas, *P*. 2. 67–8.

aptness for a seafaring island, but historical and economic arguments should show cautious respect for poetic convention.[50]

As for the many Pindaric references to Aeginetan hospitality, *ξενία*, and 'strangers', *ξένοι*, these too have been somewhat over-interpreted. A proper statistical treatment is called for. Clearly, the Aeginetan references must be balanced against the non-Aeginetan. Both kinds of reference must be looked at in detail.

4. WERE THE AEGINETANS SPECIALLY HOSPITABLE?

Were Aeginetans, on the evidence of Pindar and Baccylides,[51] thought of as specially hospitable and alert to the demands of hospitality?[52] As already mentioned, it will not be enough to assemble passages about Aeginetan hospitality (first list) without also listing those which speak of other places and individuals as hospitable (second list). The following passages are the most relevant (all from Pindar except nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 27, which are from Bacchylides).

First list: Aegina

1. *Paian* 6. 131: 'the virtue of just regard for strangers', *θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν*
2. *O.* 8. 21–3: Zeus Xenios (Of strangers/hospitality) sits next to Themis (personified Right) on Aegina; this Zeus is venerated here i.e. on Aegina 'most among men', *ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων*
3. *O.* 8. 26: sea-girt Aegina has been set up as a divine pillar 'for foreigners from all places', *παντοδαποῖσιν . . . ξένοις*
4. *N.* 3. 2–3: the Muse is entreated to 'come in the Nemean sacred month to this much-visited Dorian island of Aegina', *τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν*
5. *N.* 4. 12: Aegina 'that beacon of justice protecting all foreigners', *δίκᾳ ξεναρκεί κοινὸν φέγγος*
6. *N.* 4. 23: an Aeginetan victor will come in glory to the 'welcoming city', *ξένιον ἄστυ*, of Thebes; here *ξένιον* refers to reciprocal guest-friendship with Aegina and says something about Aegina too
7. *N.* 5. 8: Aegina a 'land welcoming to foreigners', *φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν*
8. *N.* 5. 33: Peleus (Aeginetan archetype) fears Zeus Xenios, god of hospitality, so he resists Hippolyta's sexual advances
9. *N.* 7. 70: Sogenes from the clan of the Euxenidai, *Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Σώγενες*; the name of the clan means something like 'hospitable', and it

[50] *N.* 6. 32 (*ναυστολέοντες*) is not, however, located at a point of marked transition.
[51] There is not much other literary evidence.
[52] So Instone (1996) 154 on *N.* 3. 2–3 (my no. 4), also citing nos. 2–3, 7, and 11 below.

has been suggested[53] that its mention is intended to 'evoke the theme of guest-friendship'; this seems plausible, especially since the words come so soon after lines 61 and 65 with their references to guest-friendship, *ξεῖνός εἰμι* and *προξενίᾳ πέποιθα*; for proxeny, see also below, p. 300.

10. *I.* 6. 70: Lampon 'is beloved for his acts of kindness to foreigners', *ξένων εὐεργεσίαις ἀγαπᾶται*
11. *I.* 9. 6: Aeginetans praised as 'transgressing neither divine law nor justice due to strangers', *οὐδὲ δίκαν ξείνων ὑπερβάλλοντες*
12. B. 12. 4–7: not easy to translate (*ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα νᾶσον Αἰγίνας ἀπάρχει ἐλθόντα κοσμῆσαι θεόδματον πόλιν*) but Victory is apparently ordering the poet to go to the blessed island of Aegina and adorn its god-built city for his hosts/friends; the difficulty is in the dative plural *ξείνοισι* which stands apart from the grammar of the sentence and seems to say emphatically that he is to do this 'for his hosts', i.e. in exchange for their hospitality? Slavitt (1998) 57 translates 'for my hospitable friends'; see also Figueira (1981) 325
13. B. 12. 34:]*ξείνου*[may be part of a 'hospitality' word
14. B. 13. 95 (restored): the eponymous Aegina is 'queen of a hospitable land', *δέσποινα παγξείνου χθονός . . .*
15. B. 13. 224: Lampon's 'splendour-loving hospitality', *ξενίαν τε* [*φιλά*]*γλαον*.

Second list: places other than Aegina

16. *O.* 2. 6: Theron of Akragas is 'just in his regard for guests', *ὅπι δίκαιον ξένων*
17. *O.* 4 for Psaumis of Sicilian Kamarina, lines 4–5: 'when guest-friends are successful, *ξείνων δ' εὖ πρασσόντων*, good men are immediately cheered'
18. *O.* 4. 15: Psaumis 'delights in acts of all-welcoming hospitality', *χαίροντά τε ξενίαις πανδόκοις*
19. *O.* 11. 16–17: the Muses will find that the Western Lokrians are not 'people who shun a guest', *φυγόξεινον στρατόν*; the form of the expression is typically Pindaric, a strongly positive thought disguised as a negative thought or litotes[54]
20. *O.* 13. 3: the house of Xenophon of Corinth is 'an assiduous host' for foreigners, *ξένοισι δὲ θεράποντα*
21. *P.* 3. 69–71: Hiero of Syracuse is called 'Aitnaian host . . . to guests a wondrous father', *Αἰτνᾶιον ξένον . . . ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ*
22. *P.* 10. 64: the 'comforting hospitality' of Thorax of Thessaly, *ξενίᾳ προσανεί*

[53] Carne-Ross (1985) 147. [54] Köhnken (1976) and Race (1983).

23. *N*. 1. 19–24: the 'home' of the 'generous host' Chromios of [Sicilian] Aitna, *ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου*, is 'not unfamiliar with guests from abroad' *ἀλλοδαπῶν ουκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι ἐντί* (for the negative thought cf. on no. 19 above with n. 54)
24. *N*. 7. 43: the Delphians are 'hospitable', *ξεναγέται* (but note that this ode is for an Aeginetan)
25. *N*. 11. 8–9: Zeus Xenios (Zeus the god of hospitality, Zeus protector of strangers) is venerated in feasts at Tenedos
26. *I*. 2. 39–40: the table of Xenokrates of [Sicilian] Akragas is hospitable, *ξενίαν . . . τράπεζαν*
27. B. 14. 22: Pyrrhichos father of the Thessalian victor Kleoptolemos is 'hospitable and right-judging', *φιλοξείνου τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκου*

Inevitably, when compiling a list of this sort, one comes up against doubtful passages, but I hope I have not tilted the list in favour of the conclusion ('the Aeginetans were a hospitable lot') which I started out trying to test. I have, for instance, confidently excluded mere references to generosity such as the 'ungrudging hand' of 'beneficent' Theron, *O*. 2. 94 (he gets in anyway, cf. 16 above). I am slightly less confident about my exclusion of *O*. 1. 16–17, the 'friendly table', *φίλα τράπεζα*, of Hiero of Syracuse, and line 103 of the same poem which calls him a *ξένος* which means 'host' in the context (cf. 21 above for Hiero: he too gets in anyway). But if we allow those passages in, we might want to add a compensating item to the 'Aegina' list: the fragmentary closing lines of *Paian* 6 (lines 178–9): reference to the 'homeland city', *πόλιν πατρίαν*, and to the 'kindly people of friends', *φί[λων] δ' ἐύφ[ρον]α λαόν*.

Perhaps arbitrarily I have allowed in the Euxenidai (no. 9) without adding in the name of the Aeginetan *Xen*arkes of *P*. 8 (line 70)—or *Xeno*phon of Corinth or *Xeno*krates of Akragas.

In *Paian* 10 (A2 Rutherford), line 15 begins *ξενοκαδ*[which Slater in his Lexicon to Pindar thinks is part of 'caring for strangers', but this poem is as Ian Rutherford says 'an enigma'.[55]

I exclude references to hospitality shown to the Dioskouroi, as *Nemean* 10. 49, the Dioskouroi came for hospitality, *ἐπὶ ξενίαν*, to the house of Pamphaes, ancestor of Theaios of Argos whom the poem celebrates, or *Olympian* 3. 40 (the Emmenidai of Akragas). I have also, perhaps wrongly, excluded *Pythian* 5. 56–7, the ancient prosperity of Battos is a 'bastion for the city [Cyrene] and most splendid light for foreigners', *πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον*. This[56] has a certain similarity to *Pythian* 3. 71 (which I have included as no. 21 above), but I suspect that *Pythian* 5. 56–7 is no more than an expression of the 'citizens and foreigners alike' variety, that is, it is just a flowery way of saying 'everyone', as at

[55] Slater (1969) 357; Rutherford (2001*a*) 201. [56] As Gildersleeve (1899) 310 notes.

Isthmian 1. 51, 'tongues of citizens and foreigners', πολιατᾶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας. Finally, I do not think that the Corinthian sacred prostitutes belong in the conventional 'hospitality' category, though it is true that Pindar calls them 'young women who welcome many guests', πολύξεναι νεάνιδες (F 122 line 1).

Finally, πρόξενοι (I. 4. 8) and προξενίαι (fr. 94b, 41) probably refer to Theban hospitality. My conclusion is that over the corpus of poems by Pindar and Bacchylides there are fifteen references to Aeginetan hospitality and twelve to hospitality manifested everywhere else (fourteen if we include Theban προξενία, above), and that this is indeed a definite and impressive Aeginetan lopsidedness, though equally it would be wrong to say that hospitality is confined to Aegina (and it would have been absurd to expect it to be). Among the non-Aeginetan places, Sicily and Thessaly score well, but there is a fairly even spread of places with one score each (Tenedos, Corinth, and so on).

5. INFERENCES

Hubbard interprets the references to Aeginetan *xenia* as evidence that Aegina was a great commercial centre, and even suggests that Pindar is 'using the pan-Hellenic stature of his odes to promote the island's economy' like a modern 'chamber of commerce or advertising agency'.[57] He is again following the lead of Figueira, for whom Pindar is alluding to the 'Aiginetan legal apparatus' when he talks of 'foreigner-protecting justice', δίκᾳ ξεναρκέι (*N*. 4. 12, my no. 5) or the 'virtue of just regard for strangers', θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν (*Paian* 6. 131, my no. 1). But only a few of the Aeginetan *xenia* references can do this serious work (and if we are going to work these references hard we must also be willing to see a reference to private international law in the description of Theron of Akragas, 'a man just in his regard for guests', ὅπι δίκαιον ξένων, *O*. 2. 6, my no. 16). In *Nemean* 3. 2 (my no. 4), Aegina is just the 'much-visited', πολυξέναν, Dorian island, and in Bacchylides (13. 95) the eponymous Aegina is 'queen of a hospitable land'. These are hardly ways of stressing Aeginetan business probity (de Ste. Croix: 'it is an absurd error to treat this as essentially mere friendliness to traders'). De Ste. Croix is right that most of them refer more simply to Aeginetan 'aristocratic hospitality' or guest-friendship.

My conclusion on this issue is a compromise one. I do not think that either the sea and ships in Pindar's Aeginetan odes, above all *Nemean* 5, or his allusions to Aeginetan ξενία, would have suggested a commercial aristocracy if we were not looking for it. De Ste. Croix was, however, wrong to deny so fiercely the existence of any such thing, and to discount the possibilities that Pindar's patrons

[57] Hubbard (2001) 394.

engaged in trade and that Pindar was aware of this and even alluded to it. But the allusions are secondary (and some of them metaphorical), and here de Ste. Croix was right. What Pindar stresses primarily and unequivocally are the glorious recent achievements of the Aeginetan navy in battle, and their attention to guest-friendship and hospitality as normally understood.

These allusions to ξενία are, I argue, the clue to the question which remains whatever view we take of the Aeginetan elite, and I suspect they did not feel themselves problematized but perfectly normal. That question is, Why so many poems about these people? As with so many problems to do with Pindar's varied social world, the answer to the question 'why Aegina?' is no doubt multi-factorial: there is force in several (though not all) of the explanations considered above. We should not shrink from biographical explanations for the disproportion, unless we are to regard Pindar as a purely passive recipient of patronage with no choice in the matter. I myself argue elsewhere that Pindar's wholly disproportionate attachment to Aegina, and his very marked emphasis on Aeginetan hospitality and guest-friendship, reflect the friendly and attractive Aeginetan reality, individual and collective.[58] Pindar found there an unusually hospitable ethos even among hospitable Greeks. Aegina was not so much his ideal place as his favourite place, and the allusions to ξενία disclose the fact. 'How much was Pindar paid per ode?' is a question we would much like to know the real answer to (3,000 drachmas has come down to us in one unreliable-looking anecdote, cf. Smith, above pp. 101–2 n. 62).[59] But in any case perhaps payment mattered to him less than did the attraction of congenial sympotic company for private performances of his odes,[60] or the knowledge that for public performances he could rely on finding local choruses with exceptionally high standards in dancing.[61] He found Aeginetan social characteristics and cultural traditions specially congenial and returned there again and again.

One of the attractive Aeginetan characteristics for a poet who was far from parochial himself, was surely cosmopolitanism. Aegina was an unusually prosperous island with plenty of rich families. In Greek communities everywhere and of every political type, conspicuous expenditure at the games and in the form of patronage of poets was a good way of spending your wealth. Perhaps the

[58] Figueira (1981) 328 maintains that Pindar regularly praises the hospitality of Aegina as a community whereas elsewhere hospitality is something he predicates of individuals. There is truth in this, but Figueira himself notes *P.* 5. 56–7 (Cyrene) and on the other side there is the individual praise for Lampon of Aegina at *I.* 6. 70 and Bacchylides 13. 224.

[59] Scholiast on *N.* 5. 1a, Drachmann III. 89. See Gzella (1971) 193. The point of the story is the relative value of poems and statues. At first the poet asks for 3,000 drachmas and the Aeginetans say it would be better to get a bronze statue made for the same money but then they realize they have made a mistake, etc. The anecdote seems obviously generated by the opening of the poem, 'I am not a sculptor . . . '.

[60] For Pindar and the symposium see Hornblower (2004) 35.

[61] For this explanation see Mullen (1982) 145.

Aeginetan elite was particularly mobile (though hardly more so than the Athenian). Certainly some Aeginetans worked and traded at great distances from home, as illustrated by Sostratos' anchor and the inscription from Lindos on Rhodes honouring the Aeginetan interpreter (above, p. 291). Aeginetans got around. Accordingly we should expect all four Panhellenic festivals to exhibit Aeginetan victors, and they do.

The distribution of the Aeginetan odes is, however, lopsided: of Pindar's eleven fully surviving odes for Aeginetans, and Bacchylides' two, all but two are for Nemean or Isthmian victories (six and three respectively, and Snell–Maehler print the fragments of a further Isthmian ode as *Isthmian* 9, clearly for another Aeginetan, see n. 3 above). The exceptions are one Olympian and one Pythian ode (Pi. *O*. 8 and *P*. 8). But this lopsidedness is partly chance, because Pindar's *Nemean* 6 for Alkidimas of Aegina (line 35) has an incidental reference to a Pythian victory by a relative. So it would be wrong to infer Aeginetan disdain for Delphi. On the contrary: Herodotus (8. 122) mentions the gold stars dedicated there by the Aeginetans from their *aristeia* (prize) for the Battle of Salamis in 480. The distribution of epinikian odes surely has something to do with proximity: Nemea and Isthmia were closer to Aegina than were either Delphi or Olympia.

One obvious difference between Aegina and Athens was that Aegina—like Sicily, another great producer of Panhellenic victors—was a literal island, as opposed to the metaphorical island to which ancient commentators compared Athens (Th. 1. 143. 5 and Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol*. 2. 14). And Aegina's population was quite unusually large. In their brilliant study of the Mediterranean Sea and region, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell explain 'why islands have large populations' (answer: zones of easy movement have the highest concentrations of peoples), and they cite Aegina as 'the clearest case of all'.[62] To be sure, Athens and Attica had a large population as well, but the total area of Attica was vast compared to that of Aegina.

6. HERODOTUS AND THE AEGINETAN PATRONS OF PINDAR

So much for the collective ethos of the Aeginetans of Pindar's time. I now wish to try to pin down some particular patrons prosopographically, so as to see how far Pindar was writing for the governing class. Onomastic evidence will concern us particularly; 'It is the naming which immortalizes'. So wrote Chris Carey in 1989, in the course of a study of Aeginetan prosopography in two odes of Pindar.[63]

[62] Horden and Purcell (2000) 381 and 119, drawing on Figueira (1981) 22–64.

[63] Carey (1989*a*) 3, or as he put it earlier on the page '[f]or immortality the naming is essential. To be preserved in song as an anonymous father, uncle or grandfather is not to be preserved at all. In contrast, to be named in song without having one's precise relationship to the patron defined is still to be

The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (first volume 1997 and publication ongoing) enables us to speak with greater confidence about names and their regional distribution, rarity and meaning.[64]

The main control on Pindar's people is Herodotus' narrative. Prominent Aeginetans of the Persian War generation feature in both Herodotus and the epinikian poets. One of these is Krios, 'the Ram', who confronted King Kleomenes of Sparta (Hdt. 6. 50 and 73) and who was also the subject of a mocking poem by Simonides. It seems that Simonides as well as Herodotus played on his name, and that the poet laughed at him for an athletic failure. Krios was both son and father of a Polykritos, and the younger Polykritos of Aegina won glory in his own right at the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8. 93, cf. 92 for the patronymic).

Another great Aeginetan family, that of Pytheas, was celebrated in three odes of Pindar and one of Bacchylides; but Herodotus, perhaps transmitting Athenian malice,[65] gives a less than glorious role to one of its members. Pytheas son of Lampon was the honorand of Pindar's *Nemean* 5 and of Bacchylides 13, which celebrate the same Nemean victory; while Pindar's *Isthmian* 5 and 6 were for Pytheas' brother Phylakidas. They were from the *patra* or clan of the Psalychiadai (*I*. 6. 63) and from the *oikos* of Themistios, Pytheas' maternal grandfather (Schol. *N*. 5. 50): the stress on collective achievement, and the careful balancing of paternal *patra* and maternal *oikos,* are as we have seen characteristic of Pindar's Aeginetan odes.[66] Now Herodotus tells us (9. 78) that an Aeginetan called Lampon son of Pytheas made the disgraceful suggestion that Pausanias the Spartan regent should mutilate the corpse of the Persian general Mardonius; Pausanias indignantly repudiated this. A close relationship between Herodotus' Lampon son of Pytheas, and Lampon the father of Pindar's Pytheas, seems irresistible.[67] But there is an obstacle to actual identity[68] in that Pindar (*Isthmian* 6. 16) calls his Lampon 'son of Kleonikos', *Κλεονίκου παῖς*. How and Wells suggested that strict identity could be preserved if we either suppose that Kleonikos was a 'remoter ancestor' (*sc.* than father); alternatively and even more ingeniously, they wondered if *Κλεόνικος*, a compound of 'glory' and 'victory', might have been 'a title given to Pytheas from the numerous athletic victories of the family'.[69] But the name Kleonikos is not uncommon, and we need not suppose it was a nickname any more than

preserved . . . '. He then gave examples from Pindar, and continued in good Pindaric ring-fashion with the quotation in my text. The odes he studied were *O*. 8 and *N*. 6.

[64] Note that Aegina is covered in *LGPN* vol. IIIA (the Peloponnese etc.) rather than in vol. I where one might have expected it (the Islands etc.).

[65] Jacoby (1913) col. 465. But individual Aeginetans do not always come off badly in Herodotus: see below for his signalling of the bravery of Polykritos son of Krios and of Pytheas son of Ischenoos.

[66] See above, n. 20 citing Parker. The Scholiast: Drachmann III. 99.

[67] Pfeijffer (1999) 104.

[68] Identity is accepted by *LGPN* vol. IIIA under *Λάμπων* (1). Cole (1992) 50 prefers to think that the two Lampons were close relatives, perhaps cousins.

[69] How and Wells (1912) ii. 321.

was the name Pytheas itself which may suggest a victory at Delphi somewhere along the line. Similarly, the prominent Aeginetan Nikodromos son of Knoithos, called an ἀνὴρ δόκιμος by Herodotus (6. 88), has a name which suggests paternal or ancestral victory on the running track. It is enough for our purposes if Herodotus' Lampon belongs to the same family as the father of Pindar's victors, as he surely does. Pindar's patrons were clearly the governing elite.

The father of Lampon is not the only Aeginetan Pytheas known to Herodotus: there was also Pytheas son of Ischenoos, who was on one of three Greek look-out ships captured by the Persians in the run-up to the battle of Artemision. He was cut to pieces in the fighting with the Persian boarding-party and then solicitously bandaged up again (7. 181). If he were part of the Pindaric clan we have been discussing, there would be a coincidental connection between the two athletic families of Krios and Lampon, because it was in the ship of Polykritos son of Krios that Pytheas son of Ischenoos finally returned to Aegina, after Polykritos rammed the Sidonian ship which was carrying Pytheas (9. 92). There is, however, no overwhelming reason, though there is a temptation, thus to bring him into some relation with Pindar's Pytheas.

The same is true of a very intriguing epigraphic attestation of an Aeginetan Pytheas, whose son (his name ended in -ας) was honoured towards the end of the fifth century at Rhodian Lindos, at a time of transition shortly before the synoikism of the island in 408 (for which see Diod. 13. 75 and above p. 291). In the inscription (*Syll.*[3] 110, *ILindos* 16) he is given proxeny 'of all the Rhodians', an expression which seems to indicate a federal set-up intermediate between the old three-city arrangement known to Homer and Pindar, and the new synoikized state of Rhodes which had such a brilliant Hellenistic future ahead of it.[70] The honorand had been an (?) interpreter at Naukratis and so presumably spoke Egyptian (or Aramaic?).[71] He moved between Naukratis and the Pindaric and Dorian islands of Aegina and Rhodes, and is a choice illustration of elite mobility even if we decline to integrate him directly into Pindar's world.

Olympian 8 of about 460[72] is for Alkimedon of Aegina. The date is tricky and I have discussed it elsewhere; the victor's family has been sorted out prosopographically in some of its aspects by Chris Carey but Herodotean big

[70] For this interpretation of the inscription see Andrewes (1981) 92 n. on Th. 8. 44. 2, following Hiller von Gaertringen (1931) col. 763; cf. also Hornblower (2002) 176. For Homer see *Iliad* 2. 655–6 with Kirk (1985) 225; Pi. *O.* 7. 18 and 75–6. The three cities are Lindos, Ialysos, and 'chalky Kamiros', as Homer calls it, Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον.

[71] *Syll.*[3] 110; *ILindos* no. 16, ἔδοξε τâι β]ολâι ἐπὶ πρ[υτανίων τ]ῶν ἀμφὶ Δει[ν . . . . .]αν Πυθέω Αἰγ[ινάταν τ]ὸν ἐγ Ναυκράτ[ιος] ξ̣ρμ̣[α]νέα πρόξενον [ἦ]μεν Ῥοδίων πάντων etc.; cf. *LGPN* IIIA 'Πυθέας' no. 5.

[72] This is a suitable moment to say that I regard most of Burnett's datings for the Aeginetan odes as too confident, for the reasons given at Hornblower (2004) 207–35, cf. 41–4.

names, or names attested in other sorts of control sources such as inscriptions, are lacking.[73]

The last Pindaric honorand in chronological sequence was Aristomenes son of Xenarkes (in *Pythian* 8 of 446 BC). An inscribed funerary monument from Aegina discovered and published in 2002 commemorates an Aristouchos son of Aristomenes. The lettering is fourth-century, so this Aristomenes could be a near relative of Pindar's wrestling champion; it might even be the wrestler himself.[74] Aristomenes is a very common name all over the Greek world, but this new attestation is only the second from Aegina, the son of Xenarkes being the first. The monument is a modest one and this fits the view of Aegina offered above: it was not an island of showy spenders. Pindar's Aristomenes was a wrestler not a wealthy equestrian victor; we have seen that none of Pindar's Aeginetans were that. We shall discuss Aristomenes' family in the next section as well, when we look at another sort of sculptural commemoration, namely victory monuments made for athletes by Aeginetan sculptors.

7. AEGINETANS AS SCULPTORS: PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

Pindar began *Nemean* 5 'I am not a sculptor' *οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ'*, and we have already discussed the contrast implied here between stationary and moving, and between sea and land. (And see Thomas, this volume p. 149.) We have also seen that the lines imply a contrast between two ways of commemorating success at the games: epinikian poetry and bronze statues. But the choice of sculpture for the opening metaphor was entirely appropriate for Aegina, which was, as the Appendix to Chapter 4 shows, a great centre for the manufacture of bronze victor-statues.[75] Glaukias of Aegina is a particularly big name in this department; he specialized in expensive victory monuments for high-profile athletes and equestrian victors: Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, Glaukos of Karystos, and Theagenes of Thasos, an extraordinary figure who was worshipped as a hero after his death.[76] It might have been expected that Aeginetan sculptors, a numerous class, would be commissioned by Aeginetan victors or their families, another numerous class, but this is noticeably not so for the most part. There is one exception: Theognetos of Aegina whose statue was by Ptolichos—also of

[73] Hornblower (2004) 230–1; Carey (1989*a*) 1–6.

[74] Polinskaya (2002).

[75] Overbeck (1868) 78–84 collects the evidence for a dozen identifiable Aeginetan sculptors from this period.

[76] Overbeck (1868) p. 82 for Glaukias; the Gelon quadriga is Overbeck (1868) no. 429 (Paus. 6. 9. 4) and the statues of Glaukos and Theagenes are nos. 432 and 431 (Paus. 6. 10. 1 and 6. 11. 2). All these were to be seen at Olympia. For Theagenes see Pouilloux (1994) and for both Glaukos and Theagenes see Fontenrose (1968) and above, p. 41 n. 166.

Aegina;[77] and this commission is out of line in another respect, as we have seen, because Theognetos also features in Pindar (see above, pp. 294 n. 26, 305 for *Pythian* 8, in which he is one of the maternal uncles of Aristomenes). It is true generally that there is little overlap between commissioning epinikian odes and commissioning bronze victory statues, but there are some Sicilian examples of such double commemoration, notably Ergoteles of Himera (see Thomas, and Silk (this volume) pp. 100, 159, and 181), and certain of the tyrants. But of all the 'Pindaric' Aeginetan victors, only one can be proved to have got a statue as well as an ode, and even he was not the direct honorand but a relative (maternal uncle). So, to recapitulate, the family of Aristomenes—unusually for Aeginetans—commissioned an ode from Pindar as well as a bronze statue from a sculptor, and this statue was commissioned by Aeginetans from an Aeginetan sculptor and this too was unusual because Aeginetan sculptors seem to have worked for non-Aeginetans on the whole.

Can these negative tendencies (Theognetos apart) be explained? Thomas's chapter explores odes and statues as alternatives methods of commemoration (p. 157: 'the poets were right to fight their corner in the business of commemoration'). Smith discusses Aeginetan sculptors. Perhaps money is the answer to both peculiarities. We may conjecture that Aeginetan sculptors were usually too expensive for their own fellow-countrymen to afford.[78] And if you were immortalized by Pindar, why bother with a statue? Leave that sort of double commemoration to prestige-hungry colonials in the western Mediterranean, with money to throw around (Himera not Ergoteles paid for the statue, one suspects, and perhaps also for Pindar's fee and expenses). After all Pindar was—financially—cheap: I have suggested that what he liked about Aegina and Aeginetans was the network of warm hospitality (above, Section 5) and perhaps also the knowledge that his poems would be properly performed by a chorus personally known to him and which would do what he told them. Aristomenes' family seem to have been exceptional; but even they put up a modest enough funeral monument if the identification is correct (above, p. 305 and n. 74).

There is a further absence of overlap, that with which we began. The temple in the Aphaia sanctuary and its surely rich rituals and festivals play absolutely no part in the epinikian odes or for Aeginetans. In Pindar's native Thebes, the local festival of Herakles is fully integrated into the close of *Isthmian* 4, so that Krummen[79] suggested that this epinikian poem was performed in a firmly civic

[77] Paus. 6. 9. 1; Overbeck (1862) no. 411. His father has the most unusual name *Συννόων*.

[78] For the anecdote about the relative value of statues and victory odes in the scholion to *Nemean* 5 see Thomas (this volume) p. 301 above, n. 59 and p. 149 n. 27. I suspect that it has little value, and was merely generated by the opening words of the poem, 'I am not a maker of statues'.

[79] Krummen (1990) ch. 1.

context, 'above the Elektran gates' of the city (line 61). Is there anything of this sort in the Aeginetan odes? In *Pythian* 8, we are told that

> . . . οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἁρπαλέαν δόσιν
> πενταεθλίου σὺν ἑορταῖς ὑμαῖς ἐπάγαγες
>
> and earlier at home you [Apollo] bestowed the coveted gift
> of the pentathlon during the festivities for you both. (lines 65–6)

Here the scholiast says that Aristomenes had been victorious ἐν οἴκῳ, τουτέστιν ἐν Αἰγινῃ ἀγῶνα ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πένταθλον. ἄγεται δὲ ἀν Αἰγίνῃ Δελφίνια Ἀπόλλωνι, 'at home, that is to say in the sacred contest of Apollo, the pentathlon; the Delphinia are held for Apollo on Aegina', and then he glosses the plural 'you both', ὑμαῖς, as plural for singular, but adds: τιμᾶται δὲ σφόδρα ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, 'Apollo and Artemis receive much cult on Aegina'. In *Nemean* 5, Pindar says of Pytheas that

> ἁ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν
> μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων,
>
> Nemea stands firm for him,
> as well as the local month that Apollo loved. (line 44)

The last words are not quite transparent but are thought to refer once again to the Delphinian games for Apollo, which were famous for some sort of contest involving running with amphorae, the 'Hydrophoria' or 'amphora contest'.[80] The ode ends (line 53) with an exhortation to bring flowers to προθύροισιν Αἰακοῦ, 'the portals of Aiakos' temple'. We know that this Aiakeion was close to the harbour (Paus. 2. 29. 6)[81] and the temples of Apollo and Artemis were also clearly in this region (Paus. 2. 30. 1). *Olympian* 8 opens with an invocation of Olympia which has been thought to show that it was performed there, but the poem also speaks of 'this sea-girt land', τάνδ' ἁλιερκέα χώραν and of how Aiakos was escorted 'here', δεῦρο (lines 25, 51) and I agree that this probably indicates local performance—in the vicinity of the Aiakeion? But these local allusions are all to the cults of Aegina city, not to the Aphaia temple and cult. We can imagine that something like Krummen's picture of Thebes might apply to Aegina city. But Aphaia is out of the picture. So who were the collectively described 'Aeginetans' for whom Pindar wrote his poem for the Aphaia temple (fr. 89b, see above, p. 288)? Obviously we cannot say without even a fragment of the poem itself; we can only hope that something will turn up on papyrus. It will not do to say that the explanation of Pindar's silence about Aphaia in the epinikians is that the temple was remote from the polis and harbour where the returning athletes would have disembarked if their victories were won on

[80] Pfeijffer (1999) 174. [81] Pfeijffer (1999) 192.

the mainland, or where the victories if local would have actually been won. After all, the temple, though distant, was not in any other sense marginal but clearly the focus of huge financial investment by the community of Aegina, and there must have been many processions, πομπαί from polis to temple. I suspect that there is some explanation in terms of local politics and family or clan rivalries but cannot see further than that. How the so-called *thearoi*, magistrates attested epigraphically on Aegina from the Hellenistic period,[82] might fit into the religious politics of the island is not easy to see, but the *thearoi* are evidently connected with the cult of Apollo and with the physical polis of Aegina not with the temple and cult of Aphaia. The names of several of the Aeginetan *patrai* are known, such as the Meidylidai of *Pythian* 8 (line 38), but it is frustrating that without other evidence we can do nothing with these names.

8. CONCLUSION

I have tried[83] to explain the unprecedentedly large number of odes for Aeginetans not in terms of Aeginetan wealth—they were not in the 'quadriga' class, and mostly did not commission bronze statues as well as victory odes—but in terms of the hospitable appeal that the island held for Pindar. He seems to have been drawn mainly to the polis and its harbour in the west of the island, and to its civic cults, rather than to Aphaia in the east; and perhaps the eventual locus of performance reflected this geographical, social, and cultic lopsidedness—in which case the analogy with Thebes, where no such pattern is detectable, is intriguingly imperfect. But the intriguing existence of a poem to the Aphaia temple shows that this may not have been the whole story.

Finally, a word on the Athenian dimension. One reason for writing and listening to these peaceful celebrations of Dorianism was surely political: the best way of countering Athenian *polypragmosynē* was simply—to pretend that the Athenian empire did not exist. To ignore someone is the most provocative and infuriating form of rejection.

[82] Figueira (1986) 314–21.
[83] For an interesting and quite different explanation, see Lowe above, p. 176 and n. 31.

TWELVE

Thessalian Aristocracy and Society in the Age of Epinikian

Maria Stamatopoulou

'*Ὄλβία Λακεδαίμων, μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία*', 'fortunate is Lakedaimon, blessed is Thessaly'.[1] With this emphatic statement begins the earliest known epinikian ode of Pindar, the 10th *Pythian*, composed for the Thessalian aristocrat Hippokleas of Pelinna, victor at the boys' diaulos at the Pythia of 498, when Pindar was about 20 years old.[2]

Thessaly, through a favourable comparison with Lakedaimon—*μάκαιρα* instead of *ὀλβία*—appears to be even more fortunate than the most powerful state in Greece at the time.[3] The reason for this good fortune is given in the next lines: both regions are governed by descendants of Herakles. Therefore from the beginning the ode is as much a matter of praise for Thessaly and its ruling family as it is a celebration of the boy's athletic success.

In the next few lines (3–9), Pindar states the impetus for the composition of the ode: Pytho, the place of victory, Pelinna, the hometown of the victor, and the sons of Aleuas, are calling upon him to honour Hippokleas, victor in the boys' diaulos at Delphi: *Πυθώ τε καὶ τὸ Πελλιναῖον ἀπύει Ἀλεύα τε παῖδες, Ἱπποκλέᾳ θέλοντες ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν ὄπα*, 'Rather, Pytho and Pelinna are calling upon me, and Aleuas' sons, who are eager to bring to Hippokleas men's glorious voices in revelry'.[4] This is the single known case of an epinikian ode commissioned not by the victor or his family, but by a third

[1] I would like to thank Simon Hornblower and Catherine Morgan for the kind invitation to participate in the seminar series. I should also thank H. Kim (Ashmolean Museum), E. Stasinopoulou and H. Moraiti (National Museum, Athens), and P. Marzolff for providing photographs; also M. Mili and M. Kalaitzi for their useful suggestions and D. Saw for proofreading the text and for help with illustrations. I dedicate this chapter to Prof. V. Lambrinoudakis with gratitude for his continuous help and support.

[2] On the ode: Burton (1962) 1–14; Donlan (1999) 95–110; Kirkwood (1982) 235–44; Kurke (1991) 53–7, 141–3; Brown (1992).

[3] Burton (1962) 2; Helly (1995) 139; Bowra (1964) 104–5 and Hornblower (1992) 181; Hornblower (2002) 97 have seen in this comment evidence for an alliance with Kleomenes of Sparta. See also: Andrewes (1971) 219; Lazenby (1993) 85–7; Parker (1997).

[4] On the type of performance of the odes: see below, p. 310 and nn. 20–1. For Hippokleas' victories at the Olympic games: schol. Pi. *P.* 10. (Drachmann II. 242).

party, the Aleuads.[5] What is the significance of this? It is well known that Larisa was the seat of the Aleuad family: it was, and still is, the richest and most powerful settlement in Thessaly, profiting from its position by the Peneios river, near major routes of communication and with extremely fertile agricultural land.[6] Pelinna, the home of the victor, has been identified with the ancient city at Petroporos, formerly Palaiogardiki. Pelinna lay a few kilometres to the west of Larisa on the opposite bank of the Peneios river, and guarded the pass leading to western Thessaly. Very little is known about Pelinna before the fourth century, when the city flourished under Macedonian control.[7] The dearth of evidence about Pelinna's early history precludes the possibility of successfully interpreting the relationship of the town, and that of the aristocratic family of Hippokleas, to the Aleuads. Were the two families linked by friendship, as is suggested in a scholion to the ode (schol. Pi. *P.* 10. 5 and 64) where Aleuas' sons are called ἑταῖροι, and the commission on the part of the Aleuads therefore a token of this *philia*, so typical of Archaic elite families?[8] Or could there have been an additional motive behind the commission of the ode by the Larisaean ruling family? Studies by Kurke and Stehle have demonstrated the importance of choral performance for the self-definition of aristocracies within a community.[9] According to Stehle, choral performance was 'one of the ways in which prestigious families traditionally staged their centrality in the community, and their right to speak for it and to identify its interests with their own'.[10] In the light of this, could it be that the Aleuads, by the commission and performance of the ode, were also aiming to stress their *charisma* and the legitimacy of their rule to their neighbouring communities, where other elite groups might also be interested in exercising power?[11] In the absence of any relevant evidence, all we can do is speculate.

Further on in the poem, Pindar explains that the victory of Hippokleas was prompted by divine favour—a favourite motif in his odes—but surely was also due to the ability inherited from his father, Phrikias, twice an Olympic victor in the

[5] On the Aleuads: Helly (1995) 112–24; also *RE* s.v. Aleuadai; Axenidis (1947*b*) 43–8; Kirkwood (1982) 239 on l. 5; Molyneux (1992) 118–21 (very hypothetical). On the commission of the odes: Kurke (1991) 21 and n. 18.

[6] On Larisa: Axenidis (1947*b*); Helly (1984) and (1987); Tziafalias (1994*a*).

[7] On Pelinna: Tziafalias (1992). Virtually nothing is known from the region for the Archaic period, except for the mid-6th-cent. hydria (Fig. 69) from a tomb, now NAM 18232: Verdelis (1953–4); Stibbe (2000) 52–4, no. 24. For finds of the Classical period: Tziafalias (1992) and Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. II, cat. no. 48. Helly has challenged the identification of Petroporos with Pelinna, and suggested instead that Petroporos should be identified with ancient Pharcadon: *BE* (1995) 481, no. 334; *SEG* 43. 293.

[8] Drachmann II 242, 251 f. (8a, 99a). On *philia*: Herman (1990) 85. On aristocratic gift exchange: Kurke (1991) 85–107. Most believe that Pelinna at that time was dependent on Larisa: Axenidis (1947*b*) 47, 96; but as Tziafalias (1992) 88–9 rightly notes, our evidence for 6th-cent. Pelinna is too meagre to allow for certainty.

[9] Stehle (1997) 12–25, 319; Kurke (1991) 5 (for the audience of the odes), 258–9 for the epinikia as outlets for prestige displays.

[10] Stehle (1997) 23–5, esp. 25.

[11] See Kurke (1991) 163–224: on the epinikion in relationship to the polis community, as a means to reintegrate the patron.

hoplite race and once at the Pythia (lines 10–16).[12] Pindar thus sets out the athletic pedigree of the family. The victory of Hippokleas is a logical extension of the *kleos* of his family, already secured by the Olympic victories of his father.[13]

After briefly stating his wish (line 20) that Hippokleas, having been granted successes, should 'encounter from the gods no envious reversals', *φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μετατροπίαις*,[14] Pindar turns his attention to the boy's father in lines 22–6. He comments on his great fortune, having been a victor himself and living to see a victorious son. Using a geographical metaphor and the world of the Hyperboreans as an example of the limits of human accomplishment,[15] Pindar paves the way for the mythical narrative, which recounts the deeds of Perseus (lines 27–48, especially 31–6). At first glance the choice of Perseus as the protagonist of a myth for a Thessalian victor might appear surprising, especially given the very frequent references to famous Thessalian heroes, namely Peleus, Achilles, or Jason, in other odes, especially those for Aeginetan victors.[16] However, Perseus is 'genealogically' linked to Herakles, who has already been said by Pindar to be the ancestor of the Aleuads.[17] Therefore Perseus is a hero who can be used to glorify the victory of the boy, whose achievement can be compared with his deeds, but also to subtly enhance the glory of the aristocratic/ancestral lineage of the Aleuads. Therefore, it might be not too far-fetched to suggest that Perseus was chosen exactly because of his relation to the Herakleid Aleuads.[18]

In the 4th strophe (lines 55–9) Pindar returns to the victory at hand, and he wishes that the performance of the ode by the Ephyraeans around the river

[12] On Phrikias and Hippokleas: Moretti (1957) nos. 150, 156, 175, 184. On the importance of inborn ability in Pindar: Bowra (1964) 100, 171; Donlan (1999) 97–8 and on divine *charis*: Kurke (1991) 104–8.

[13] Kurke (1991) 15–61 esp. 19–20, on the importance of the family in the negotiation of symbolic capital (as defined by Bourdieu (1977) 171–83) conferred by athletic victory and the performance/commission of the victory song.

[14] On *phthonos*: Bowra (1964) 190. It should be noted that in this ode the *phthonos* motif is used only with reference to the gods, as in the odes for Sicilian rulers.

[15] On the Hyperboreans as a boundary beyond which mortals cannot pass and the use of metaphors in Pindar: Kirkwood (1982) 242–3; Kurke (1991) 21–3, 53; Pfeijffer (1999) 287. Lefkowitz (1991) 27–9 sees the myth as a digression of the story. See also Helly (1995) 139.

[16] Odes with Thessalian element in their myths: *P.* 3. 100–3; 4. 71–246; 9. 5–25; *N.* 3. 32–63; 4. 46–68; 5. 9–13 and 19–39; 6. 49–53; *I.* 5. 38–45, 6. 25–6; 8. 21–60. Also references to Thessalians in hyporchemata fr. 107a: Plut. *Quest. Conv.* 9. 15. 748b, On the use of myth in Pindar: Kurke (1991) 195–224, esp. 200. It is certainly interesting that Achilles, Peleus, Pelias, or Jason, heroes appropriated by cities such as Pharsalos and Pherai-Iolkos respectively, were used by Pindar in an Aeginetan, and not a Thessalian, setting. However, I think that Molyneux (1992) 117–45 and Podlecki (1980) 382–7 are exaggerating when they suggest that it is possible to identify exclusive links between specific aristocratic families and epinikian poets, for example a link between Pindar and the Aleuads and Simonides and the Skopads and Echekratids. The evidence is inadequate, both in terms of preserved epinikian songs, esp. for Simonides and Bacchylides, and also for the history of Thessaly in the late 6th cent.–early 5th cents. The increasing rivalry that we see among the various elite groups in Thessalian cities in the course of the 5th cent. may have started earlier, in the 6th cent., but at present there is no way of proving this.

[17] On Perseus and the Aleuads: Bowra (1964) 30.

[18] On the use of mythical/legendary ancestors for forging a heroic past by Archaic aristocrats: Thomas (1989) 106–7, 173–7; and (1992) 109. On the importance of noble birth in the Archaic period: Donlan (1999) 95–101. On genealogies: Hornblower (1994) 14: McInerney (1999) 29–33. Although the historicity of Pindar's odes is, justly, a very debatable issue, I agree with Pfeijffer that an epinikian ode is more than

Peneios will make Hippokleas even more glorious and attractive in the eyes of his contemporaries, especially the girls.[19] These lines have been discussed extensively in the debate regarding the choral or solo performance of the odes. Lefkowitz and Heath have seen them as evidence for a subsequent informal performance of the ode.[20] If we assume a choral performance by a chorus of men, which seems the most likely scenario,[21] then the setting of the victory celebration is somewhere near the river Peneios, at a locality which is definitely Thessalian, but not specified. It is noteworthy that a third group, besides Pelinna and the Aleuads, appears in the ode—the Ephyraeans. Their identity is elusive: it is generally believed that the Ephyraeans must be identified with the inhabitants of nearby Krannon, another leading Thessalian city and the seat of the aristocratic family of the Skopads, and therefore that a third community is participating in the celebration of the victory of Hippokleas.[22] However, we should not exclude the possibility that the Ephyraeans were a phratry, as suggested in a scholion to the ode (schol. *P.* 10. 55, Drachmann II. 251 (85c)).[23] In the absence of epigraphic or other evidence the question must remain open.

To return to the ode, in lines 63–8 Pindar turns his attention to his patron, Thorax, first mentioned by name in line 63.[24] The poet emphatically states his trust in the *xenia*, real or metaphorical, of his patron.[25] Thorax has proved to be a real friend, as he has yoked the four-horse chariot of the Muses, the song, 'as friend a friend', *φιλέων φιλέοντα*.[26] The choice of words—*φιλέων φιλέοντ'*, *ἄγων ἄγοντα*—stresses the equality and reciprocity of their relationship: an aristocratic guest-friendship between equals.[27]

anything else occasional poetry integrally linked to a specific event and a specific victor, is commissioned by a specific patron, and is composed for a specific audience and setting: Pfeijffer (1999) 1–20. For an alternative interpretation of the myth of this ode: Burton (1962) 6–8; Bowra (1964) 288–9; Köhnken (1971) 154–87; Kurke (1991) 57; Brown (1992).

[19] On the importance of beauty and erotic elements in Archaic aristocratic lifestyles: Donlan (1999) 52–75, 106; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 235–6, 252–70. See also Pi. *P.* 10. 23–4: which, according to Pfeijffer (1999) 188, refers to the admirable physical qualities of the young victor.

[20] Heath and Lefkowitz (1991) 175 n. 4, 185–6; Kurke (1991) 54.

[21] On choral performance of the epinikian odes: Carey (1989*b*) 547–8; and (1991) 196; Stehle (1997) 16–18; Kurke (1991) 5 n. 16. On the setting of the odes: Kurke (1991) 3 and n. 8; Thomas (1992) 119; Morris (1999) 163, 182–4, 186–9.

[22] On Ephyraeans: schol. (see text); Strabo 9. 5. 21; also Tziafalias (1994*b*). On the choral performance as a strong visualization of the community as a whole repaying their debt to the victor: Pfeijffer (1999) 514.

[23] On the existence of gentilician groups in Thessaly: Helly (1995) 317–24; Tziafalias (2000*a*) 85 (for Atrax).

[24] On Thorax: Axenidis (1947*b*) 92–6; Helly (1995) 114–16.

[25] On the motive of *xenia* and gift-exchange in Pindar: Kurke (1991) 135–59, esp. 141–3; Pfeijffer (1999) 62–3, 111–12; 513–14 (on the *chreos* motif). Also Burton (1962) 12–13; Bowra (1964) 387; Donlan (1980) 103–4; Kirkwood (1982) 244; Herman (1987) 16–17.

[26] On chariot of song: Bowra (1964) 12, 39; Kurke (1991) 139–41.

[27] Kurke (1991) 141–3; Pfeijffer (1999) 8, 111–12, 396. The *philoxenia* of the poet's patron was also stressed in the 14th ode of Bacchylides, for Kleoptolemos of Thessaly, l. 23: Maehler (1982) 301. On the hospitality of the Thessalians: see below nn. 128, 191, and above, pp. 298 ff.

The ode concludes with a reference (lines 69–72) to the ἐσλοί brothers of Thorax, who deserve praise because they maintain and increase the νόμον, 'state', of the Thessalian cities by governing according to custom and tradition.[28] This praise of the type of governance of Thessaly surely has relevance to the opening statement μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία. Thus, in a circular composition,[29] Pindar's ode confers praise at various levels: it celebrates the Pythian victory of Hippokleas and the glory of his *oikos*, while at the same time it exalts the good fortune of Thessaly, privileged to be ruled in the traditional way by descendants of Herakles, the Aleuads, who have commissioned the ode and whose glory is assured via their genealogical connection to Herakles and their just rule.[30]

Therefore, this ode brings to the fore points I would like to discuss in this chapter, namely the 'good fortune' of Thessaly and its cities in the sixth and fifth centuries (i.e. in the period of creation and flourishing of the victory song), the conduct, modes of self-representation and self-promotion of the Thessalian elite during this period, and the interaction of Thessalian leading families at a regional and Panhellenic level. In order to examine the latter, I will try to trace the mobility of the Thessalian elites by discussing their patronage of the arts in Thessaly, their presence at the great Panhellenic sanctuaries through participation in the crown games and dedication, and their relationship with other states/elite groups via alliances/*xenia* relationships.

Thessaly is situated at the 'heart' of the Greek peninsula (Fig. 57). It was an extensive plainland, well watered by the Peneios and its tributaries, surrounded on the north, west, and south by mountainous areas. This plain is divided by a series of hills—modern Revenia—into two smaller ones. The western or upper plain, around the area of modern Trikala, is the larger. However, it seems that a substantial part of it was forested or often marshy, flooded during winter by the Peneios and its tributaries, and suffering from severe drought in the summer.[31] The eastern plain was drier, well placed on the main inland routes leading to northern Greece, and offered access to the sea via the Tempe pass to the north and especially via the Pilaf Tepe pass to the Gulf of Pagasai (modern Volos) to the south.[32] Thessaly was renowned in antiquity for its wealth. Unlike most southern

[28] On the brothers of Thorax: Helly (1995) 114–16; also Donlan (1999) 96–8. On the importance of traditional law and the *nomos* of the Thessalian cities: Helly (1995) 113; Morgan (2003) 77, 86–7.

[29] Carey (1989*b*) 548 and n. 7; Köhnken (1971) 155.

[30] There is no reference to the victor as benefactor of the city: the Aleuads appear to take on this role for the entire region. On this, see Kurke (1991) 163 n. 1, and ch. 8.

[31] On the geography of Thessaly: Georgiadis (1894); Westlake (1935) 2–7; Philippson (1950); Larsen (1968) 14; Morgan (2003) 18–20, 169–70 (on floods of Nessonis and the importance of roads). Also Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone (1994) esp. 31–3 on the lower plain. On changes in climate: Reinders *et al.* (1997) 125.

[32] On the road systems of Thessaly: Décourt and Mottas (1997); Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*a*) 346; Arachoviti (2002) 52 for remains of the ancient road connecting Pherai and Pagasai, found near Agios Georgios Pheron.

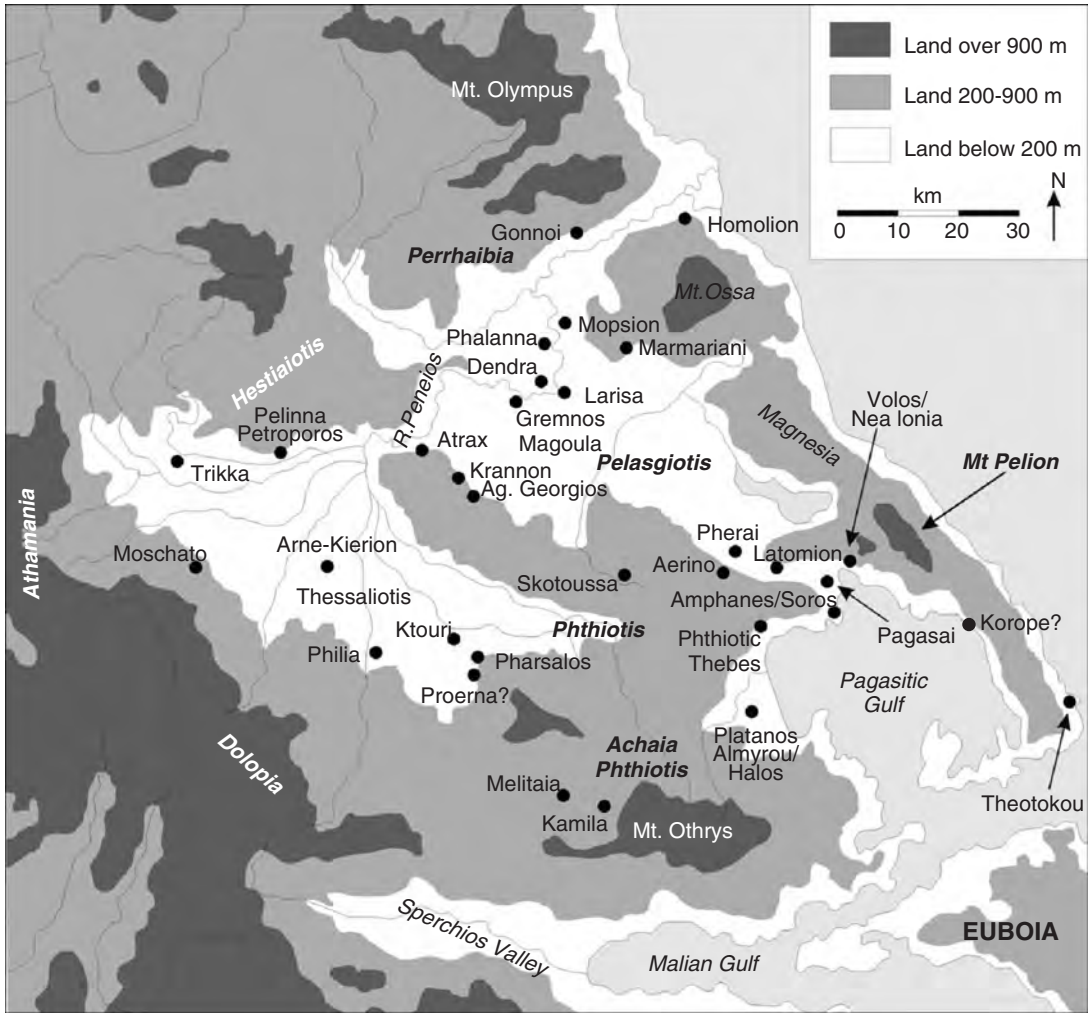


FIG. 57. Thessaly

Greek states it had plentiful resources: fertile land for agriculture and favourable conditions for breeding horses and livestock, both in the plains and in the mountain pastures.[33]

In antiquity, Thessaly 'proper' covered only the fertile plains, while the adjacent mountainous regions were inhabited by the *perioikoi*, that is the neighbouring peoples—the Perrhaiboi to the north, Magnetes to the east, Achaian

[33] On the resources of Thessaly: Westlake (1935) 1–7; Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone (1984), esp. 30–5; *CAH* VI. 558–9 (on the occasional role of Thessaly as an exporter of corn in the 4th cent. see 213); Sprawski (1999) 52–6; Archibald (2000). Also Hornblower (1991) 10–11 (on Thuc. 1. 2. 3).

Phthiotes to the south, and Dolopes to the west.[34] Also related to the Thessalians until the fifth century, although more loosely, were the peoples inhabiting the valley of Spercheios, an area of strategic importance with a good harbour and control of the Thermopylai pass.[35]

Thessaly is often considered one of the leading powers in the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. It is credited with a leading role in the early amphiktyonies at Anthela and Delphi and its wealth was renowned in antiquity.[36] However, at the same time it is portrayed as a backward area, surrounded by mountains that hindered outside contact, and in close proximity to semi-Hellenized peoples such as the Macedonians and the Epirotes. Because of this 'isolation' Thessaly is seen as a feudal state, un-urbanized until the fifth century, ruled by a few aristocratic families, essentially war-lords who owned vast estates and controlled a very large number of *penestai*, the indigenous population of the plains who were reduced to serfdom.[37] Although their 'Hellenic identity' was never in question, Thessalians were considered to be provincial and crude compared to the rest of the Greeks. The fact that the region was organized as an 'ethnos', rather than forming independent city-states, has been seen by some scholars as another sign of its backwardness.[38]

However, recent studies of the organization of early ethne, most notably by McInerney and Morgan, have shown that these assumptions are not necessarily true.[39] Despite the problems caused by inadequate archaeological exploration of the region, it seems that as early as the Early Iron Age, Thessalian communities, especially those in the eastern part of the region, were in close contact with the Aegean world.[40] Because of the bias of exploration, the evidence is predominantly funerary: however, excavation in settlement areas has shown that by the

[34] On the *perioikoi*: Westlake (1935) 15–18, 36; Larsen (1968) 13, 18–19; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 291–2 for the *perioikoi* in the 4th cent.; Hall (2002) 139; Shipley (1997) esp. 196, 217; Sprawski (1999) 17, 104–5. Neither the *perioikoi* nor the *penestai* (see n. 37 below) are identifiable in the archaeological record. It seems that their dependence was economic rather than strictly political since they retained their votes in the Amphiktyonic council: Helly (1995) 131–2, 167–9, 181–6, 283–7; Lefèvre (1998) 84–90; Sánchez (2001) 42–4, 466–9; Morgan (2003) 23.

[35] Westlake (1935) 7–14; Béquignon (1937*a*).

[36] On the early Amphiktyony: Helly (1995) 131–42, 167–9, 187; Jacquemin (1999) 51; Lefèvre (1998) 14, 84–6; Sánchez (2001) 32–57, 80; Hall (2002) 145–53.

[37] On *penestai*: Ducat (1994); (1997); Helly (1995) 98–9, 184–6, 303–9; Sprawski (1999) 17, 108–9 (for the 4th cent.); Morgan (2003) 190–2.

[38] See e.g. Westlake (1935) 29–32; Larsen (1968) 14–24; Jeffery (1976) 71–7; Lintott (1982) 269–71 (on *staseis*). Sprawski (1999) 18–20 for an overview of scholarship; Morgan (2003) 8–16 on the concept of tribe and ethnicity, 24 for the criticism of the assumption of a feudal aspect of Thessalian society.

[39] Morgan (2003) esp. 16–24, 79–105; 124–42; Archibald (2000) esp. 213–17. McInerney (1999) esp. 11–33.

[40] Excavations in Thessaly are nearly always rescue operations, therefore the available data are not always representative. In addition, surveys in the region are few and concentrate in the eastern plain: Gallis (1979); Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i. pp. 8–12; Morgan (2003) 21, 88–9. The best synthesis of the archaeological evidence for Early Iron Age Thessaly is Lemos (2002) 12–21, 146–50 (settlements), 173–8 (cemeteries), 205–7, 217–20 (on the prominence of Thessalian elements in epic), 236–7.

eighth century large settlements existed in the region, similar to those of southern Greece (e.g. Argos), most notably Pherai, Larisa, and Nea Ionia.[41] Large sanctuaries, such as those at Pherai, Philia, perhaps Gonnoi, and Phthiotic Thebes reveal considerable organization and investment by the communities.[42] Moreover, Thessalian cemeteries are remarkable for the variety of burial modes, rites, and tombs, which often reveal social differentiation among the members of the burying communities.[43] A notable and recurrent feature of Thessalian elites is their deliberate wish to associate with the past by choosing to build tholos tombs similar in appearance to those of Late Helladic IIIC, and often in close proximity to them.[44] Funerary offerings reveal close contacts with the outside world, especially Euboia, the islands, Attica, and Macedonia.[45]

Thessalian political organization is closely linked in ancient sources to the fate of its aristocratic families.[46] Aleuas the Red, the quasi-mythical founder of the leading family of Larisa, is credited with organizing the Thessalian *politeia* sometime in the sixth century, by dividing the land into tetrads/*μοῖραι*—*Pelasgiotis* (to the north and north-east), *Hestiaiotis* (to the north and north-west), *Thessaliotis* (to the south), and *Phthiotis* (to the south and south-east). He is also credited with a military reorganization of the region, dividing it into *κλῆροι*, each offering 40 cavalry and 80 hoplites (Aristotle, Rose frs. 497–8).[47] Each tetrad was led by a magistrate chosen from the ranks of the aristocratic families, the *basileis*.[48] The leader of the ethnos of the Thessalians was probably the *archōn* or

[41] Lemos (2002) 236–7; Morgan and Coulton (1997) 91–2, 121; Morgan (2000) 191; (2003) 45–6, 92–102. For the recent excavation of an apsidal building at Halos, contemporary with the graves found at Platanos Almyrou: Malakasioti and Mousioni (2004) 353–6. Houses of the Geometric period are also known from Larisa: Tziafalias (1994*a*) 155; *Delt*. 51 (1996) B1, 365–8 (7 Asklepiou St.).

[42] Pherai: Morgan (1997*b*) 170–5; Morgan (2003) 92–5, 135–42: I am no longer certain that there are actually funerary connotations in this sanctuary. The chronological gap between the cessation of burial and beginning of cult is not known and the later development of the sanctuary shows that the cult of Enodia was 'civic'; Chrysostomou (1998) 25–42 (with earlier bibliography). Philia: Kilian (1983); Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002); Morgan (2003) 140–1.

[43] Tziafalias and Zaouri (1999); Arachoviti (2000); Lemos (2002) 173–8.

[44] Lemos (2002) 178, 205–7, 217, and 220; Morgan (2003) 93–4, 101. Also Georganas (2000) esp. 52–4 who, however, wrongly infers that in cemeteries where tholos tombs are found, no other tomb types of graves were attested. The cist tomb excavated in the cemetery of Marmariani shows otherwise: *Delt*. 39 (1984) B, 151; Lemos (2002) 176. Recently P. Arachoviti reported the discovery of an extended cemetery at Aerino, in continuous use from LH III to the 9th cent., where there is continuous presence of tholos tombs: Arachoviti (2000) 367–8, and (2002) 49–50. On evidence for Archaic occupation at Aerino: Salvatore (1994) 96.

[45] Lemos (2002) 173–8, 217–20. Also Malakasioti (1997); Tziafalias and Zaouri (1999).

[46] Archibald (2000) 213 sees the social cohesion of Thessaly depending on 'a caste of leaders with bases in different cities'.

[47] On the organization of Thessaly and the importance of the tetrads/*moirai*: Meyer (1909) 227–49, esp. 227–9; Axenidis (1947*b*) 43–56; Helly (1995) esp. 150–91, 287–315; Davies (1997*a*) 31; Beck (1997) 119–34; Corsten (1999) 178–84; Sprawski (1999) 15–25, esp. 17; Morgan (2001) 30; (2003) 21–3; Hall (2002) 140. The date of such an organization and the level—regional or local—is still in dispute.

[48] Archibald (2000) 230. Helly (1995) esp. 10–101, 124–9; 344–5; Sprawski (1999) 18; Morgan (2003) 22–3.

tetrarchos (not the *tagos*, at least until Jason).[49] Possibly during the earlier part of the sixth century, another Thessalian aristocrat, Skopas, of the family of Krannon, is credited by Xenophon (*Hell*. 6. 1. 19) as levying the tribute paid by the *perioikoi*.[50]

It is true that elite families dominated political life in Thessaly and that their power was mostly based on the exploitation of large estates. However, contrary to the traditional view, I agree with Morgan that they acted and/or competed within a 'civic' context rather than against it, and that their conduct was not that dissimilar to that of the elites of southern Greek communities.[51] The major families of Thessaly are nearly always mentioned in ancient sources in relation to a polis, the Aleuads to Larisa, the Echekratids to Pharsalos, and the Skopads to Krannon.[52]

Morgan has identified patronage of the arts, participation in Panhellenic games, and the forming of *xenia* relationships, as among the prerogatives of Archaic elites.[53] Although our sources for Thessalian history prior to the end of the sixth century are very problematic,[54] they reveal considerable mobility on the part of the Thessalians. Ancient tradition considered the Thessalians and their *perioikoi* among the original/early members of the amphiktyonies at Anthela and later at Delphi. Although the archaeological record does not indicate a prominent early Thessalian presence at Delphi via dedications,[55] the number of authors associating Thessalians with the early history of the sanctuary at Delphi, and the traditions regarding the enmity with the Phokians, seem to suggest that there is an element of truth in the ancient testimonia.

Tradition has recorded a series of military events involving Thessalians in this period, especially in relation to the neighbouring Phokians—for example, the 'First Sacred War' (with Eurylochos),[56] the campaigns in Phokis which resulted in defeat due to stratagems of the Phokians,[57] and the Battle of Keressos in

[49] Helly (1995) 39–68; Sprawski (1999) 15–25. On the similarities of the supreme leader of the Thessalian state to a monarch: Davies (1997*a*) 34.

[50] Meyer (1909) 221, 240; Sprawski (1999) 17; Helly (1995) 108, 171–2.

[51] Morgan (2003) 24, 46, 86; Archibald (2000) 213.

[52] Echekratids: Molyneux (1992) 127–31 (who examines the possibility of intermarriages); Helly (1995) 104–6. On the Skopads: Pl. *Prt*. 339a–340e; Theoc. *Id*. 16. 26, 16. 36; Cic. *De Or*. 2. 351–3; Quint. *Inst*. 11. 2–11. 16. Also Meyer (1909) 240–1; Kurke (1991) 59–60 and n. 47; Molyneux (1992) 121–5; Helly (1995) 97, 107–12. On the Aleuads, above, n. 5.

[53] Morgan (2003) 23–4, 203. Also Herman (1990) 91–2 for *xenia* as a means of maintaining international aristocracy. See also above, p. 315.

[54] Davies (1994) 200 on the problems inherent in the study of Archaic sources. For Thessaly: Morgan (2003) 21, 120–31; Hall (2002) 141–51.

[55] For discussion of the role of Thessaly in the Delphic amphiktyony: Morgan (2003) 114–31, esp. 129–31, 207, and (1990) 149–90; McInerney (1999) 163–4 (for the Archaic period); Lefèvre (1998); Jacquemin (1999) 51; Sánchez (2001) 489–505.

[56] Davies (1994); McInerney (1999) 165–78; Sánchez (2001) 58–80; Morgan (2003) 124–7. Also Robertson (1978) esp. 64–5; Helly (1995) 40–1, 132, 141–2; Hall (2002) 145–6.

[57] Hdt. 8. 27–9; Paus. 10. 1. 4–9. On the confrontation of Thessaly and the Phokians: Hall (2002) 142–4; Morgan (2003) 26–7, 114; Helly (1995) 222–3.

Boiotia.[58] The date, and occasionally the historicity, of these events is under discussion,[59] however these traditions reflect a strong Thessalian interest in a southward expansion, into the region of Phokis and perhaps as far south as Boiotia during the sixth century which seems to have come to an end sometime late in the century.[60]

Moreover, ancient tradition has preserved the existence of extensive *xenia* bonds between some Thessalian aristocrats and their peers in other Greek communities. This is reflected in the undertaking of military campaigns to assist *xenoi* in other regions, the earliest attested case being that of Kleomachos of Pharsalos, who allegedly aided Chalkis in the Lelantine war (Plut. *Mor*. 760e–761b).[61] As Gabriel Herman has shown, such ritualized friendships were of paramount importance for external relations; they could last for more than one generation and they helped shape state politics.[62] Such a long-standing bond had existed between the Peisistratids and some Thessalian elite families. Peisistratos had named a son Thessalos, possibly in honour of a Thessalian *xenos*.[63] Later in the sixth century, the Thessalians showed themselves to be trustworthy friends to their Athenian *xenoi*: Herodotus informs of a military campaign in *c*.510 BC by the Thessalian cavalry led by Kineas in aid of the Peisistratids (5. 63. 3–64),[64] and of Hippias having been offered Iolkos by the Thessalians when he was expelled by the Athenians (5. 94. 1).[65] Other ritualized friendships with southern elite groups are probably traceable by way of patronymics:[66] during the sixth century we know of another Thessalos, the father of the famous athlete Xenophon from Corinth, praised by Pindar in *Olympian* 13 (line 35). Thessalos, son of Ptoiodoros, was an Olympic victor himself in the 69th Olympiad and also a victor at the Panathenaia, therefore he must have been active in the last decade of the sixth century.[67] Moreover, among the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon, Herodotus (6.127. 4) names a Thessalian: Diaktorides from Krannon, probably a Skopad.[68] All the above—the military campaigns, the expansionist policy, and the active interaction with other aristocratic families outside the region—reveal that Thessalian aristocrats, rather than inward looking, were

[58] Helly (1995) 41; Beck (1997) 87; Corsten (1999) 50–1; Hall (2002) 142 (he accepts a date before 570); Morgan (2003) 131 sees it as a precursor of the defeat of Thessaly by the Phocians.

[59] See the critical approach of Davies (1994); Sánchez (2001) 80; Morgan (2001) 31.

[60] McInerney (1999) 155–85, esp. 173–8; Hammond (1986) 137–8.

[61] On Kleomachos and the Lelantine war: Helly (1995) 16 (citing Carlier), 39–40, 136–40; Parker (1997) 110–11, 145–7, 159–60 (for aggressive expansion). Hall (2002) 141.

[62] Herman (1987) esp. 16–22, 45–7, 150–1, 156–60.

[63] Thuc. 1. 20; 6. 55. 1. *CAH* IV. 279, 361. Herman (1987) 21.

[64] On Kineas: Davies (1994) 204–5; Helly (1995) 103–4, 133, 220–2; Sprawski (1999) 18: as the first evidence for a structure, making joint decisions in Thessaly; Morgan (2003) 23.

[65] Hall (2002) 140; Morgan (2003) 23, 105.

[66] Herman (1987) 19–21; Morgan (2003) 209.

[67] Moretti (1957) no. 154.

[68] Meyer (1909) 240 n. 1; Hall (2002) 156–7.

actively seeking contact with their peers abroad and were affluent enough to undertake costly expeditions to help their allies.

But what about the archaeological evidence? Does it confirm this state of affairs? Due to the bias of excavation, very little is known about seventh- and early sixth-century Thessaly. Excavations have concentrated on sanctuaries, and only one burial ground—that of Agios Georgios—has been extensively published.[69] However, it seems that the sources claiming prosperity for the region in the seventh and sixth centuries are not wrong. During the seventh century, the wealth of the Thessalians can be discerned through the numerous and costly dedications at the large sanctuaries, both intra-regional, such as the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia and that of Enodia and Zeus Thaulios at Pherai,[70] or local, such as those of Athena Polias on the acropoleis at Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes.[71] The large number of votives, the preponderance of metal artefacts, and the presence of valuable objects such as decorated metal vessels and orientalia, reveal trade links with the outside world and show a pattern of dedication that is not dissimilar to that at the large sanctuaries of the south.[72]

Equally extraordinary are the burials at Agios Georgios, near Krannon (ancient Ephyra?). Here two tumuli have been partially investigated at Xirorema and Karaeria. They were used from the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth century, and the second half of the sixth century, respectively.[73] Although we lack comparative material for the period, it is clear that these are elite burials. Considerable attention had been devoted to the burial itself, which is highly visible and required considerable consumption of wealth. Cremation in bronze vessels which were often of symposium-type (like kraters)[74] was the predominant method of disposal of the body, while among the offerings metal objects predominate. The high preponderance of offensive weapons, often 'killed', reveals a wish to

[69] Morris (1998) 36–40 provides an interesting discussion of the evidence, but because of numerous mistakes, must be used with extreme caution. For example, tumuli do not cease to be used in the first quarter of the 5th cent. The Sarmanitsa tumulus which he uses as an example was used throughout the 5th cent. The assumption that sarcophagi are 'poor, simple' forms of grave (p. 36) is not true, at least for the Classical period; the assumption that in the 6th cent. 'new, simple and homogeneous cemeteries began in Thessaly' with Prodromos and Demetrias as examples is based on very limited evidence (Demetrias did not exist in the Archaic period!); the Paspalia tholos is Early Iron Age in date and not 6th cent.

[70] Philia: Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) esp. 201–29 for full publication and analysis of the finds. Pherai: Béquignon (1937*b*) 57–70, pls. VI, XIX–XXI; see also nn. 42, 88 of this chapter.

[71] On Archaic temples in Thessaly: Morgan (2003) 86, 141–2. Also Gonnoi: Helly (1973) 72–4 with earlier bibliography. Phthiotic Thebes (modern Mikrothives): Arvanitopoulos (1907) 166–9; (1908) 176–80; *Delt*. 49 (1994), B1, 323–4. Morris (1998) 39 inexplicably dates the sanctuary at Mikrothives no earlier than 550 BC.

[72] Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 214–29; Morgan (2003) 86, 123.

[73] *Delt*. 30 (1975) B1, 194–6, 198; *Delt*. 31 (1976) B1, 181–3; *Delt*. 38 (1983) B2, 208–11; *Delt*. 39 (1984) B, 150–1; *Delt*. 42 (1987) B1, 274–6; Tziafalias (1978); (1994*b*) with earlier bibliography.

[74] Tziafalias (1994*b*) 181–3, figs. 4–5. On the connotations of weaponry and symposium equipment in graves: Crielaard (2000) 500. On the symposium and aristocratic lifestyle: Morris (1999) 182–3.

stress military and/or warrior-like prowess.[75] The presence of imported objects, such as orientalia and Corinthian pottery, reveals contacts with outside communities.[76] Finally, the discovery of the remains of hearses in the Karaeria tumulus hints at lavish funerary rituals.[77] That these burials belong to members of an elite group is beyond doubt; similar patterns of burial were present in the earlier graves at Platanos Almyrou.[78] It is clear that this burial group valued military prowess, lavish display, and sympotic connotations. However, the dearth of comparative material for this period does not enable us to establish whether such display was typical of the period or whether this was a minority rite, practised by a certain elite family group.[79]

A good reminder of our ignorance of Thessalian material culture prior to the end of the sixth century is a recent find, the Doric temple at Moschato, in the area of ancient Thessaliotis. It deserves special mention as it is one of the best preserved examples of Thessalian temple architecture of the Archaic period, and reflects the interests of the Thessalian elite. The Doric temple is located in a region that until recently was virtually unexplored.[80] It is of monumental dimensions, with 5 × 11 columns in the peristasis, an interior row of posts to support the roof, and architectural decoration which may imply links with the Aegean and the west.[81] The echinoi of the Doric capitals bear relief decoration that recalls that of Rhodian phialai,[82] and the simas show south Italian, in particular Paestan, features. Although the role of the aristocratic families in temple building cannot be proved,[83] the sculptural decoration of the temple mirrors their interest: a horse (later a symbol on most Thessalian coins) was chosen as the acroterion for one of the pediments.[84] Moreover, the bronze hollow-cast statue of a hoplite, perhaps part of a cult-statue group, if indeed it represents Apollo, is also suggestive of the emphasis on warrior prowess of the Thessalian elites.[85] The sanctuary and the statue are both dated to *c.*540 BC. Their monumentality and

[75] Tziafalias (1994*b*) 184 figs. 8–10. [76] Tziafalias (1994*b*) 183–5.

[77] *Delt.* 31 (1976) B1, 182–3, grs. 1–2, pl. 129*γ*; Tziafalias (1994*b*) 184–5.

[78] Platanos Almyrou: Efstathiou, Malakasioti, and Reinders (1990) 34–5. Also Georganas (2002).

[79] Morgan (2001) 32–44; (2003) 90, 192–5. Also Morris (1998) 36–40, who, however, based his discussion of the Agios Georgios tumuli on the assumption that the Paspalia tholos is Archaic in date, which is wrong (see above n. 69). Morgan (2001) 32–4. For recently excavated Archaic graves, see below, n. 97.

[80] Intzesiloglou (2002*a*) with earlier bibliography. The sanctuary is located near the LH IIIB tomb at Georgikon, one of the most monumental samples of funerary architecture in Thessaly, where there is evidence for tomb/hero cult in relation to the Mycenaean tomb: Intzesiloglou (2000*b*); (2002*b*). Morgan (2003) 189–90 for discussion of tomb cult and the role of ancestors in Thessaly.

[81] On the architectural form/plan of the temple: Intzesiloglou (2002*a*) 112 and fig. 3. The central row of posts and the bench along the walls are also features met in the cult building at Soros. See below, n. 90.

[82] Intzesiloglou (2000*b*) 376 fig. 8.

[83] Morgan (1997*b*); (2003) ch. 3. [84] Intzesiloglou (2002*a*) pl. 32A.

[85] Intzesiloglou (2000*a*); (2000*b*) 376 (here Intzesiloglou is not as certain about the identity of the statue); (2002*a*) pl. 30A.

quality suggest that our perception of the western part of the Thessalian plain as insular and backward may be wrong.

Morgan has proposed that monumental architecture and the demarcation of public space in settlements were phenomena of the sixth century.[86] This seems to apply for Thessaly too. Besides the Moschato temple, there is evidence for cult buildings from a number of sites, although in most cases only parts of the superstructure of the buildings are preserved: cornices, antefixes, poros capitals, and parts of acroteria. Roughly contemporary with the Moschato temple were the buildings at Korope and Dendra (Figs. 58–60), whereas an early date has been proposed for the temples at Mopsion and Gonnoi.[87]

On present evidence it seems that architectural activity increased in Thessalian cities in the last decade of the sixth century and continued throughout the fifth. During the last decade of the sixth century and in the first quarter of the fifth, a number of sanctuaries took monumental architectural form, as for example the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios and Enodia at Pherai, where a poros Doric temple was erected;[88] the temple of Athena Polias at Gonnoi which was repaired;[89] and the cult-building at Soros, perhaps part of a sanctuary of Apollo.[90] Moreover, clay architectural members dating from the end of the sixth to the early fifth century are known from Gonnoi in Perrhaibia,[91] Latomion (between Pherai and Volos),[92] Gremnos Magoula (in Pelasgiotis),[93] and Theotokou (on the south-east coast of Magnesia),[94] while early-looking capitals are reported from Pharsalos and Krannon.[95]

As mentioned above, by the eighth century there seem to have been large settlements in Thessaly. The state of urbanization of the region before the last quarter of the sixth century cannot be estimated, because of the dearth of relevant evidence.[96] From the end of the century, however, evidence becomes

[86] Morgan (2003) 63, 74; Morgan and Coulton (1997) 104.

[87] Marzolff (1994) 261. On the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope: Arvanitopoulos (1906) 123–6; Stählin (1924) 53–4; van Buren (1926) 44; Papachatzis (1960); Winter (1993) 195; Marzolff (1994) 261. Dendra: Biesantz (1965) L43, pl. 46. On Mopsion: Tziafalias (2000*b*) 98. Gonnoi: Arvanitopoulos (1910) 252 fig. 23A. Also Morgan (2003) 87.

[88] Pherai: Béquignon (1937*b*) 29 ff., esp. 43–7; pls. VI–VII; van Buren (1926) 57–8; Østby (1994); Chrysostomou (1998) 25–43, esp. 38–41; Winter (1993) 198–9.

[89] Gonnoi: Helly (1973) 74 and n. 3; Lang (1996) 278 no. 94.

[90] Soros: Milojčić (1974); Triantaphylopoulou (2002); Efstathiou (2001) 10–11; Marzolff (1994) 256, 261, figs. 16–17; and (1996) 47–9. Marzolff identifies the city with ancient Pagasai whereas Intzesiloglou, followed by Lang, identifies it with Amphanai: Intzesiloglou (1994) 33, 46–7 and Lang (1996) 275–6, no. 87. On the cemeteries associated with the city: *Delt*. 40 (1985) B1, 186–1; *Delt*. 42 (1987), 246–51.

[91] On Gonnoi: above, n. 89, and van Buren (1926) 38–9; Winter (1993) 196.

[92] The existence of a sanctuary at Latomion was first noted by Arvanitopoulos (1911) 300–1; (1915) 157. It was recently confirmed by the works of the 13th *EPKA*, which revealed remains of an Archaic temple on the northern slopes of the hill: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*a*) 346. On the site also: Salvatore (1994) 105.

[93] Gremnos Magoula: Milojčić (1960) 169, fig. 20; Winter (1993) 196.

[94] Theotokou: Wace and Droop (1906–7) 314, fig. 5; Winter (1993) 199, 201.

[95] Doric capitals: Marzolff (1994) 262. Pharsalos: Arvanitopoulos (1910) 181, Stählin (1924) 141. On Krannon: Biesantz (1959) 76–8, fig. 17.

[96] On the concept of urbanization: Davies (1997*a*) 29–31; Morgan (2000) 196–8; Morgan (2003). On the use of archaeological remains as indicia of state status and urbanization: Morgan and Coulton (1997).



FIG. 58. Part of an acroterion from the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope



FIG. 59. Part of raking sima from the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope



FIG. 60. Part of a frieze from Dendra

increasingly plentiful, both in the settlements and the cemeteries.[97] A large number of settlements have been identified, albeit often by pottery evidence from the sites of later towns.[98] Fortifications dating to the end of the sixth or early fifth century are known from Pharsalos, Pherai, Soros, perhaps Atrax and Gonnoi,[99] while parts of houses have been discovered in Larisa,[100] Gremnos Magoula in Pelasgiotis,[101] Pherai, and a number of other sites.[102] During this period, evidence increases for sculptural dedication and for the setting up of inscriptions in sanctuaries—laws and public decrees which demonstrate the existence of civic magistracies filled by members of the elite.[103] All the above imply considerable involvement of, and investment by, the Thessalian cities, which we assume were being led by aristocratic families, towards 'modernizing the region'.[104]

During the same period, roughly 520–450, is there evidence for Thessalian interest in promoting monumental art? Morgan has rightly emphasized the unevenness of the evidence, and has further suggested that Archaic 'aristocratic

[97] Archaic graves have been reported but not published at: Sarantaporos, ancient Doliche: Lucas (1997) 178. Also Anatoli Agias: *Delt*. 48 (1993) B1, 253; Stomio Larisas: *Delt*. 30 (1975) B1, 196 (locality Vigla: late 6th cent.); Pharsalos: Tziafalias (2000*a*) 85; Stavros Pharsalon: *Ergon* ΥΠΠΟ 2 (1998) 112.

[98] See: Morgan and Coulton (1997) 91–2. Lang (1996) 275–80; Morgan (2003) 88–90. In recent years there has been a significant increase in rescue excavation throughout Thessaly, and 6th- and early 5th-cent. layers have been excavated in various sites. Examples include Larisa: Tziafalias (1994*a*) 157; Nees Pagases: *Delt*. 45 (1990) B1, 199 (G. Goudaras' plot); Kierion: Chatziaggelakis (2000) 384; also *Delt*. 50 (1995) B1, 376–7 (locality Kotronolakes for a cemetery with graves dating from the beginning of the 5th to the mid-4th cent.; Palamas: *Ergon* ΥΠΠΟ 1 (1997) 94. The settlement near Drimona, through the survey of the Dutch team under R. Reinders: Reinders *et al*. (2000) 89. Tziafalias (2000*b*) esp. 98: for the discovery of an early Archaic temple and 6th-cent. funerary inscription at Gyrtoni, ancient Mopsion. Evidence for 6th-century habitation has been proposed for Phalanna, at Kastri Tyrnavou, by Tziafalias (2000*b*) 100. Evidence of workshops dating to the Archaic period and the early 5th cent. is attested for Pherai: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 78 (also attested is local pottery imitating Attic and Corinthian examples); Nees Pagases: *Delt*. 45 (1990) B1, 199 and pl. 95*γ*–*δ*: a kiln with black-figure sherds at B. Goudaras' plot. On the settlement at Palia, see recently Malakasioti and Efstathiou (2002) 144–5.

[99] Ducrey (1995); Morgan (2003) 45, 87; Morgan and Coulton (1997) 91, 105–7. For Thessaly: Marzolff (1994) 259–60. Pharsalos: Katakouta and Toufexis (1994). Pherai: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 79 fig. 9; Soros: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) n. 88; Atrax: Tziafalias (1995) 74 fig. 2. Gonnoi: Kontogiannis (2000) 125.

[100] At 28 Oktovriou St.: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985) 84–6, figs. 14–15, plan 2. In the same building, fragments of a good-quality red-figure cup of the Euergides Painter, bearing the inscription Hipparchos kalos, were collected: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985) fig. 24; Gallis (1982) 56, fig. 10.

[101] Biesantz (1957) 47–9.

[102] In Pherai there is evidence of metalworking activity in the settlement; a 5th-cent. circular building, probably of public character, has been investigated: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 78.

[103] On the significance of public inscriptions: Archibald (2000) 216; Hornblower (2002) who, however, considers the 5th cent. as the beginning of 'political self-consciousness after prolonged backwardness'; Morgan (2003) 76, 79–80. On early inscriptions from Thessaly: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*b*). Also: Jeffery (1990) 96–99, 436; Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 358–9; (1995) 78–9 no. 19 (*IG* IX. 2. 1226 from Phalanna in Volos Museum *E* 1025), 300–1 no. 82 (law from Korope): *IG* IX. 2. 1202 (sacred law from Atrax: *SEG* 27. 183); Helly (1995) 30–8. Also Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 175–7 (decrees); Lorenz (1976) nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11 for funerary epigrams; Décourt (1995) 102, VE 82 for the lid of the osteotheke of Agapa from Pharsalos; 134, *VE* 120: dedication to Apollo (*IG* IX 2, 199); Tziafalias (2000*b*) 98, fig. 3 from the cemetery of ancient Mopsion, modern Gyrtoni.

[104] Hornblower (2002) 98 (for the 4th cent.). It is generally believed that during this period, sometime after 500 BC, coins began to be issued in Larisa, probably in the Aeginetan standard: Herrmann (1925); Martin (1985) 34–5. J. Kagan has recently proposed that coins in Thessaly began to be issued only after the Persian Wars and in a local reduced Aeginetan standard: Kagan (2004). On the importance of coinage for the polis and elite communities: Martin (1995) esp. 265–7, 277; Morgan (2003) 17, 81–2.

patronage of the arts in Thessaly did not extend in any great measure to sculpture, since neither free-standing nor relief is common until the fifth century'.[105] However, as she too stresses,[106] excavations in Thessaly have tended to concentrate on graves and not on sanctuaries or settlements, and are mostly rescue operations. Given that what we know about Archaic Thessaly is hardly representative of what was originally there, there is surprisingly abundant evidence for large-scale sculpture in the late sixth and first half of the fifth centuries.[107] We have discussed the bronze hoplite found in the temple at Moschato. Another monumental building of *c.*540 which had been decorated with the stone relief animal frieze was found near Dendra (close to Gremnos) (Fig. 60).[108] Evident on this frieze is the flat-shallow relief style that was to characterize the later sculptural production of nearby Krannon (Fig. 61).[109] Ridgway has rightly stressed the influence of Ionia on the frieze from Dendra.[110] Ionian influence is also evident in the sculpture of the late sixth or early fifth century, for example the palmettes of some late sixth-century stelai from Atrax,[111] the Severe Style head from Meliboia (Fig. 62),[112] or later, the Pharsalos stele.[113]

Material evidence increases towards the end of the sixth century. A relatively large number of kouroi, albeit in a very poor state of preservation, are known from various sites, for example from Latomion (between Pherai and Iolkos), Skotoussa, Larisa, Philia, Trikka, and Gonnoi;[114] while kore fragments are said to have been found at Latomion and possibly Kierion (Mataranga).[115] Most have no secure findspots, however the kouros heads from Latomion and Philia seem to have been found in sanctuaries and not cemeteries. In the same period, continuing to the middle of the fifth century, we have an increasing numbers of reliefs (Figs. 63, 64) and some very fragmentary life-sized statues (Figs. 65, 66),[116] at least one funerary statue of a sphinx,[117] and some very good-quality large-scale clay protomai, such as the one from Pharsala (Fig. 67),[118] and

[105] Morgan (2003) 87. [106] Morgan (2003) 87–9.
[107] Biesantz (1965); Morgan (2003) 88. [108] See above, n. 87.
[109] Biesantz (1965) 120–1. [110] Ridgway (1993) 403 n. 9.12.
[111] Tziafalias (1995) 78, no. 1, pl. 7. On Ionian influences on the grave stelai of Atrax: Helly (1995) 189.
[112] Volos, *Λ* 532: Biesantz (1965) L17, pl. 35; Bakalakis (1973) 14.
[113] For East Greek and Ionian influences on the art of Thessaly and Macedonia during the late 6th and 5th cents.: Biesantz (1965) 160–4; Hiller (1975) 89–90; Allamani-Souri (1983); Tölle-Kastenbein (1980) 110–22 (she follows Langlotz (1975) 121–5 in seeing the Pharsalos stele as a Cycladic import). Also Wolters (1979) 97 nn. 24, 26.
[114] Latomion: Volos *Λ* 531: Biesantz (1965) L5, pl. 29; Skotoussa: Volos *Λ* 485: Biesantz (1965) L3, pl. 29; Trikka: Biesantz (1965) L6; Philia: *Delt.* 18 (1963) B1, 138, pl. 173a–b; Gonnoi: Bakalakis (1973) 14, fig. 9.
[115] Latomion: Volos *Λ* 530: Biesantz (1965) L1, pl. 28; Pyrgos Mataranga: *Delt.* 43 (1988), B, 258.
[116] Biesantz (1965); Bosnakis (1990) esp. 20–39; for recent summary: Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, 160–2, 164, 168–73, pls. 39–42. For free-standing statues of the Severe Style from Thessaly, see Bakalakis (1973).
[117] On the inscribed base which originally bore a sphinx in the Volos Museum (*E* 650) *SEG* 15. 381; Biesantz (1965) L8; Lorenz (1976) 97–101; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 271–2; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*b*) 96–100, cat. *ΠΑ* 3.
[118] Pharsala: *Delt.* 21 (1966) B2, 254, pl. 246. See also Croissant (1983) 355–7, nos. 236–9.



FIG. 61. Grave stele from Krannon: Larisa Archaeological Museum 842



FIG. 62. Head of a youth from Meliboia: Volos Archaeological Museum *Α* 532



FIG. 63. Grave stele from Rhodia Tyrnavou: Larisa Archaeological Museum 78/74



Fig. 64. Grave stele from Sophades: Volos Archaeological Museum BE 2696



Fig. 65. Torso of an Athena statue from the acropolis of Pherai: Volos Archaeological Museum *A* 738



Fig. 66. Fragmentary torso of an athlete from Larisa: Larisa Archaeological Museum *A* 88



Fig. 67. Clay female protome from Pharsala: Volos Archaeological Museum M 4520

the near-life-size head from the sanctuary of Enodia at Pherai (Fig. 68).[119] Besides sculpture, good-quality bronzes—for example, the hydria from Pelinna (Fig. 69)[120]—and good quality Athenian pottery had reached the region, especially the cities of the eastern plain.[121]

As we have observed, Thessaly was renowned in antiquity for its wealth,[122] but as early as Alkman (fr. 16 *PMG*), it was also notorious for the extravagant lifestyle of its aristocracy, which enjoyed display, luxury, and licentious activities. Rather than being refined, Thessalian aristocrats are described by later authors as lazy, ignorant, immoral, and gluttons.[123] Whereas it is true that much of this is a stereotype,[124] similar to the presentation of Thessaly as a land of magic and warm hospitality, there must have been a layer of truth in the keenness of Thessalian aristocrats for an excessive lifestyle. Whatever the level of sophistication of the Thessalian aristocrats in earlier times, patronage of poets figured prominently among the pursuits of Thessalian aristocrats in the late sixth–early fifth century.

Even if we do not accept Anacreon's relations with Thessalian aristocrats,[125] Simonides,[126] Pindar, and Bacchylides[127] all composed for Thessalian nobles, most notably the Skopads of Krannon, and the Aleuads of Larisa. As not much is known of Thessalian history of the time, it is not possible to determine whether what attracted the poets to Thessaly was the proverbial *φιλοξενία*, hospitality, and congeniality of the rich families (later sources offer a conflicting picture for Skopas, son of Kreon) or their wealth, or both.[128] For the Thessalian 'notables' of the plains, the performance of the odes, be it in a civic context or the more private symposium, could be—besides pleasing—very accommodating, since their power was praised and presented in relation to a mythical hero or ancestor. As Stehle and Kurke have demonstrated, the choral performance of the ode

[119] Biesantz (1965) L10, pl. 65. [120] See above, n. 7.

[121] See also nn. 100, 136. For the Panathenaic amphora of the Kleophrades Painter from a tomb in Nea Ionia: Malakasioti and Efstathiou (2002) 145, fig. 9.

[122] Sprawski (1999) 52–6, on the most detailed discussion of the issue. Also Martin (1985) 60.

[123] Pl. *Meno* 70a–b; *Cri*. 53d–e; Ath. 14. 662f–663a (1 = Mor.); Theoc. *Id*. 16. 34–47; Plut. *Aud. Poet*. DK 88 Kritias B 31 15c; Theopomp. fr. 49 =Athen. 527a; fr. 162= Ath. 260b–c. On the wealth of Thessalian aristocratic families: Westlake (1935) 40–6 (on 'national characteristics'); Axenidis (1947*b*) 69; See above, n. 33. On Theocritus and *Id*. 16. 34–47: Gow (1965) ii. 305–7, 312–16.

[124] Theopompos' slander on the Pharsalians was surely also politically motivated. Flower (1994) 67–71 (with ancient testimonia).

[125] From the epigrams in the Palatine Anthology attributed to Anacreon, the epigrams *FGE* 516–17, 502–3 ('Anacreon' XIII and VII) are (according to most scholars) related to Thessalian patrons. See Podlecki (1980) 385; Donlan (1999) 57; Helly (1995) 42–4.

[126] On Simonides and Thessalian patrons: Kurke (1991) 59–60; Molyneux (1992) esp. 117–45 (who over-interprets the evidence); Podlecki (1980) 383; Helly (1995) 104–5, 108–11. Also Donlan (1999) 113–15; Mann (2001) appendix.

[127] On Bacchylides: see below, n. 152.

[128] Burton (1962) 1; Molyneux (1992) 133 sees the patronage of poets not as a token of ostentatious living but as a result of keen interest in choral poetry. On Thessalian hospitality: Sprawski (1999) 55–7.



FIG. 68. Clay female head from the Sanctuary of Enodia and Zeus Thaulios at Pherai



FIG. 69. Bronze hydria from Pelinna. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18232

conferred considerable 'symbolic capital' on the victor and helped increase his prestige. The odes could also serve to stress links among the elite families of the region (as in the case of the Aleuads and the family of Hippokleas of Pelinna), underline kinship ties or alliances among Thessalian aristocrats and outside communities (such as Sparta), and glorify their customary aristocratic rule.[129]

Moreover, forging a link with the past is evident in the choice of grave type used by some Thessalian elite groups. We have noted that in the Early Iron Age, some elite groups chose to bury their dead in built tholos tombs which closely resemble in architecture and setting those of the Mycenaean period. This trend continues until the late fourth century, most notably in the cemeteries of Pharsalos and Krannon.[130] In the late sixth–early fifth century a built tholos tomb surrounded by a stone enclosure and covered by a mound was erected over a Late Helladic IIB chamber tomb in the western cemetery of Pharsalos (Fig. 70). The location of the tomb, its type, and some of the finds from the tholos seem to

[129] On 'symbolic capital' see Bourdieu (1977) 171–83. On intermarriage between members of various Thessalian families: Hornblower (2002) 96; Molyneux (1992) (n. 126 above), n. 124 with earlier bibliography.

[130] Stamatopoulou (1999) 36–47 with earlier bibliography.



FIG. 70. View of the entrance of the Verdelis Tomb

indicate that this was an act of deliberate archaizing.[131] Another late sixth-century tholos is known from the same cemetery, located among graves of other types.[132] Similarly, in Krannon tholoi and later chamber tombs with corbelled roofs seem to have been favoured by some elite groups during the fifth century.[133] Choice of tomb type and burial rite is rarely accidental, especially when considerable expenditure is involved.[134] The discovery of built tholos tombs in areas such as Krannon and Pharsalos, homes of known elite families (the Skopads and Echekratids), seems to imply that some Thessalian aristocrats deliberately chose to forge a relationship with their past.[135] The lack of excavation at Larisa does not enable us to test this hypothesis further. Moreover, since all the excavated tholos or chamber tombs with corbelled roofs were found plundered, their context is of little use.[136] But it is surely significant that during this period there were alternative modes of burial available for elite groups, as is evident from the stone

[131] On the Verdelis Tomb: Verdelis (1951) 157–63; (1952) 185–203; (1953) 128–32; (1954) 153–6. Marzolff (1994) 267 (he identifies it as a heroon for Achilles); Antonaccio (1995) 137.

[132] Verdelis (1955) 142–4, no. 3. Stamatopoulou (1999) 38.

[133] Krannon, tholos tomb B: Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, 36–9. Although the tomb was found looted, fragments of a red-figure krater of the Syleus Painter with a Dionysiac scene were collected.

[134] Verdelis (1955) 142–4; Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, 38.

[135] Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, 45–7; Morgan (2003) 180 and 187–96.

[136] For example, fragments of a black-figure krater in the manner of Exekias, depicting the battle over the body of Patroklos (possibly a heirloom) was found in the dromos and tholos of the tomb. The tomb also contained vases whose dates seem to range from the early 5th to the late 4th cent. The final publication

sarcophagi at Soros, Nees Pagases, Sarmanitsa, and Pharsalos, and the elaborate cists from Pherai.[137]

So far we have seen that Thessalian elites chose to represent themselves in similar ways to their peers in other communities, by forging alliances and forming *xenia* relationships with other aristocrats, and by showing keen interest in epinikian poetry. Another attribute of the aristocratic life-style was participation in Panhellenic athletic contests. Until the late fifth century, participation in games was limited to aristocrats or to the very wealthy.[138] The contests mirrored their everyday pursuits, through the considerable consumption of wealth and/or effort, and through the range of musical, athletic, and equestrian competitions. The crowns, symbolic in value, raised the prestige of the winners not simply among their peers, but also within their own communities. Social historians agree that during the late sixth and especially the fifth century, the power of aristocracies in many parts of the Greek world was under threat from the rising civic communities of the poleis. Under these conditions, the focus on athletic competition and victory at a Panhellenic level, especially in equestrian events, was promoted by the elites as a mode of self-representation and differentiation from their civic communities.[139] As Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has aptly remarked: 'In the archaic period athletic *agōnes*, especially the Panhellenic ones, were also a privileged locus for the complex interaction of the international aristocracy, on the one hand competitive and agonistic (like war) and on the other co-operative and integrative (like intermarriages and the institution of *xenia*), and thus also of the definition of the international aristocracy as a group'.[140]

So did the Thessalians participate in the great games during the sixth and fifth centuries? A brief look at Moretti's list of Olympic victors reveals that although not outstanding, there was a constant Thessalian presence among the Olympic victors until at least the early fourth century (Table 1).[141] Moreover, the epinikian

of this tomb and of the other graves excavated by N. Verdelis for the Archaeological Society of Athens in Pharsalos (1948–55) will be published by this author. The choice of subject matter may be relevant if one considers how Achilles was appropriated by Pharsalos in the 4th cent. We should bear in mind that the famous dinos of Sophilos depicting the funeral games for Patroklos in the National Museum of Athens (NM 15499) was also found in nearby Ktouri: Bakir (1981) cat. no. 3; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) cat. no. 25. The latter was possibly a special commission by a Thessalian: Baurain-Rebillard (1999) 157. On Ktouri: Décourt (1990) 102, 196–8.

[137] Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, pp. 28–31 and n. 117. On the Thymarakia tumulus: Adrymi-Sismani (1983), grave 12 (late 5th cent.); Stamatopoulou (1999) vol. i, pp. 23–5.

[138] On the social background of the athletes participating in the Panhellenic games: Pleket (1992) 147–52; Golden (1998) 5–8, 27; Mann (2001) 26, 36–7.

[139] On the social significance and the prestige of the Panhellenic games: Donlan (1999) 99–101; Kurke (1991) 3–4, 98–106; Thomas (1992) 119, 147–52; Golden (1998) esp. 74–103; Mann (2001) 11–12, 26–37.

[140] Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 236.

[141] Moretti (1957). For reservations about the validity of the list of Olympic victors: Wacker (1998); *contra* Mann (2001) 59–62. Hall (2002) 160–1. We should also include in the list of Thessalian athletes Skopas, son of Kreon, from Krannon, the *bon viveur* who perished, according to the Simonidean anecdotes, while celebrating an athletic victory at a lavish symposium. See Kurke (1991) 59–60 n. 47.

TABLE 1. Thessalian Olympic Victors (after Moretti 1957)

Moretti No.	Name of victor	Origin	Event	Olympiad	Date
53	**Krauxidas (or Kraxilas)**	Krannon	horse race	33rd	648
107	**Phaidros**	Pharsalos	stadion	56th	556
128	**Menandros**	Thessaly	stadion	64th	524
150	**Phrikias**	Pelinna	hoplite race—1st victory	68th	508
156	**Phrikias**	Pelinna	hoplite race—2nd victory	69th	504
165	**Thersias/Thersios**	Thessaly	apene	70th	500
175	**Hippokleas**	Pelinna	track event—1st victory	72nd	492
184	**Hippokleas**	Pelinna	track event—2nd victory	73rd	488
190	**Telemachos**	Pharsalos	wrestling	74th	484
192	**Agias**	Pharsalos	pankration—1st victory	74th	484
258	**Echekratidas**	Thessaly (Larisa?)	horse race	79th	464
259	**Torymbas (or Toryllas.Torymnas)**	Thessaly	stadion	80th	460
281	**Lykos**	Larisa	stadion	82nd	452
291	**Lykos**	Thessaly	hoplite race	82nd	452
316	**Theopompos**	Thessaly	stadion	86th	436
348	**Poulydamas**	Skotoussa	pankration	93rd	408
351	**Krokinas**	Larisa	stadion	94th	404
367	**Krokinas**	Larisa	diaulos	96th	396
384	**Eupalos**	Thessaly	boxing	98th	388
523	**Pandion**	Thessaly	horse race	121st	296
534	**Philomelos**	Pharsalos	stadion	124th	284
546	**Karteros**	Thessaly	tethrippon	128th	268
547	**M[. . . .]**	Krannon	horse race	128th	268
548	**. . . . . .**	Thessaly	synoris	128th	268
558	**Hippokrates**	Thessaly	foals' race	131st	256
669	**Demostratos**	Larisa	stadion	174th	84

odes of Pindar and Bacchylides, and references in Pausanias, reveal that there was also some Thessalian participation in the Pythian games, especially during the fifth century.[142] Two of the most famous Thessalian athletes, Agias of Pharsalos and Poulydamas of Skotoussa, won their crowns in the course of the fifth century.[143]

We have seen that there was an active interest on the part of the Thessalian elites in the prestige conferred by the victory song during the late sixth and early

[142] Phrikias, Hippokleas, Aristoteles of Larisa are all mentioned as Pythian victors in Pi. *P.* 10 and Bacch. 14B respectively. It is possible that an ode by Simonides, fr. 6, *PMG* 511 = *P. Oxy.* 2431, was for a Thessalian who had won at the Pythia. And the base of the Daochos monument lists the victories of Agias, Telemachos, and Agelaos: Moretti (1957) nos. 190, 192. See also below, p. 340 and n. 200.

[143] See also, p. 340 n. 200.

fifth centuries. The near absence of epinikia in the fifth century may at first appear noteworthy, especially when compared with the twelve epinikian odes by Pindar for Aeginetan victors.[144] However, it may not be that significant in itself: although the corpus of Pindaric victory songs is comparatively large, we lack a considerable body of Simonides' and Bacchylides' poems. The two extant odes by Bacchylides celebrate a victory in an equestrian event at a local festival,[145] and perhaps the accession of Aristoteles of Larisa to a civic office.[146] It is possible that in the years immediately following the Persian Wars, the memory of Thessalian medism and, as we shall see, the internal situation in Thessaly may have contributed to a more subdued representation of Thessalian elites in Panhellenic events, or even to the absence of commissions of victory song.[147]

The possible absence of victory odes is perhaps not an isolated phenomenon. Thessalian dedications—statues or *athla*—to commemorate athletic victories in the fifth and early fourth centuries,[148] are nearly absent from the Panhellenic sanctuaries, especially Delphi, where Thessalians were supposedly playing a leading role in the administration of the Amphiktyony.[149] Although at first it might appear that this limited visibility in the Panhellenic sanctuaries could be indicative of limited 'mobility' of the Thessalian nobles, ancient sources reveal that this was not the case. *Xenia* bonds continue during this period, the most notable example being the expedition of Meno of Pharsalos in *c.*477 BC to help the Athenians in the Battle of Eion, and the subsequent naming of a son of Kimon, Thessalos (Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 19. 3; *Vit. Cim.* 14. 4).[150] It is worth exploring whether this absence of dedication by Thessalian aristocratic families at Panhellenic sanctuaries was a conscious decision, similar to Sparta where during this period the emphasis lay on local sanctuaries and *agōnes*, and commemoration of athletic victory through the dedication of statues at Panhellenic sanctuaries,

[144] For an analysis of Aeginitan athletic successes in the first half of the 5th cent. Mann (2001) 192–235.

[145] Ode 14. Maehler (1982) 6–7, 132–3, 294–301; Burnett (1985) 51; Campbell (1992) 202–5.

[146] Ode 14B: Maehler (1982) 136, 302–7; Campbell (1992) 207; Helly (1995) 318–19. Rutherford (2001*a*) 159 n. 5.

[147] Siewert (1992) 115 on the interpretation of an inscribed bronze plaque from Olympia, of the first half of the 5th cent., where two Eleans pass judgement on Boiotians and Thessalians in favour of Athenians and Thespiaeans, in the light of the medism of the former ethne, that is as fines imposed by hellanodikai on the pro-Persian states. See now *SEG* 51. 532.

[148] On the dedication of statues to commemorate athletic victory and its importance: Kurke (1993); Golden (1998) 84–5 and the criticism by Pleket in *Nikephoros* 13 (2000) esp. 286–8; Mann (2001) 45–9; on prizes-*athla* dedicated in sanctuaries: Kephalidou (1996) 97–117; Mann (2001) 28–36.

[149] On the Thessalian dedications at Delphi: nn. 55, 200; on the Pythia and their proximity to central northern Greece: Golden (1998) 35.

[150] On the events of the 460s: Hornblower (1991) 159–60 (on Thuc. 1. 102. 4). We should note here the base of the grave stele of Pyrrhiadas from Kierion, Lorenz (1976) 39–44. On Meno of Pharsalos: Helly (1995) 303–6, who refutes the existence of private armies; Hanson (2000) 210. See also the bonds of intermarriage between Philip and members of Thessalian elite families in the 4th cent.: *CAH* VI. 733–4 (Philinna); Sprawski (1999) 50 (Nikesipolis).

when attested in the fourth century, was posthumous and prompted by political motivation.[151]

What is the evidence for local Thessalian games? Although our sources for the pre-Roman period in Thessaly are very few and often problematic, the following athletic contests are known.

The *Petraia*, first attested in the early fifth century, was a festival celebrated in honour of Poseidon Petraios, and included equestrian events. This is inferred from the 14th epinikian ode of Bacchylides for the Thessalian Kleoptolemos, victor in the chariot race at these contests.[152] The festival must have been related to the myth about the creation of the Thessalian plain in which Poseidon opened the Tempe gorge.[153] The location of the festival is not known.[154] Given the close association of Poseidon with horsemanship, these games were an appropriate venue for equestrian contests, games quite fitting to the Thessalian horse-rearing aristocracy.[155]

A bronze hydria in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (inv. 13792) (Fig. 71), dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, bears the inscription: ..]*ΑΙΑΙΙΑΣ*: *ΤΑΣ ΦΘΙΑΣ*: *ΕΘΛΟΝ*: *ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΛ*[*ΑΟ*.[156] Although the provenance of the hydria is unknown and the reading of the inscription problematic, especially in relation to *ΑΙΑΙΙΑΣ*, it seems certain that it was a prize in the games of the mythical hero Protesilaos.[157] We hear of games in honour of Protesilaos in *Isthmian* 1 (line 58), where Pindar enumerates Herodotus' victories, among which was a chariot victory at Phylake, in the games in honour of the hero Protesilaos.[158] Another reference to Phylake as a venue for

[151] On Sparta: Hodkinson (1999); Mann (2001) 121–63, esp. 136–8. On a discussion of local versus Panhellenic games: Golden (1998) 33–45; Mann (2001) 121–63.

[152] On Bacchylides' 14th ode: Maehler (1982) 132–2, 294–301; Jebb (1905) 173–5, 217; Donlan (1999) 118. It is possible that Simonides also composed an ode for a victor in these games: fr. 14, *PMG* 519 *P. Oxy*. 2340, fr. 148.1.

[153] On Poseidon Petraios and his cult/games in Thessaly: Hdt 7. 129. 21; schol. Pi. *P*. 4, 246 and 246b (the latter for Hippios Poseidon). See Ringwood (1927) 19; Moustaka (1983) 21–3.

[154] Many scholars suppose that it might have been near the Tempe pass, in the region of Perrhaibia: Maehler (1982) 294. In the schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1244a: Petra is mentioned as the location of the games, while at Hdn I. 343. 20 (Lentz), a site Lytai is mentioned in connection with the games. Moustaka (1983) 23 suggested that the festival was celebrated in a city Orthre of Perrhaibia. The evidence is not sufficient to draw a secure conclusion. I would like to thank Maria Mili for discussing with me the evidence for this festival.

[155] Poseidon is credited with creating the first horse, Skyphios, and bore the epithet Hippios: *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Ippios; Hesych. 1. 791; Pindar, *I*. 1. 58). In *P*. 4. 138, Pindar calls Pelias son of Poseidon Petraios. On coins with representations of Skyphios: Moustaka (1983) 21–3; Martin (1985) 36 with earlier bibliography.

[156] Diehl (1964) 218, B115; Amandry (1971) 617–18, no. VII, fig. 15; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 132–4, no. 33; Kephalidou (1996) 115, no. 15; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*b*) 156–60, cat. AI1.

[157] Amandry (1971) rejected the reading of Diehl: [*EX*}*Σ ΑΙΑΙΑΣ*: *ΤΑΣ ΦΘΙΑΣ*; *ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΑΛ*[*Ο*. Helly (1995) 137–40, supposed the existence of a city Aia in Malis, mentioned in Callimachus' Delian Hymn (Callim. IV. 287).

[158] In a scholion to Pindar's 1st Isthmian: schol. Pi. *I*. 1. 58 (Drachmann III. 209 (83)), there is further information that there was a temenos of Protesilaos in Phylake where funerary games in honour of the hero took place. On Protesilaos' cult and Thessalian coins: Moustaka (1983) 64. On Phylake in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*: Morgan (2003) 102–5.



FIG. 71. (a) and (b) Bronze hydria from Pelinna. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13792

international athletic contests by the early fifth century, roughly contemporary with the bronze hydria in Athens, is found in Pausanias' narrative of the career of the legendary hero-athlete Theagenes of Thasos. At 6. 11. 5, Pausanias describes in detail how Theagenes won in the games of Phthia near Phylake not as a boxer but as a runner.[159] Unfortunately, the exact location of Phylake is not known, although it must have been in southern Thessaly, perhaps in Achaia Phthiotis.[160] Therefore, all available evidence suggests that as early as the beginning of the fifth century there were athletic contests in honour of Protesilaos somewhere in the southern Thessalian orbit.

Another festival with a probable Thessalian setting and athletic competitions is mentioned in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* (6. 74–7) where Eurysichthon, the king of the Dotian plain, received an invitation to participate in the games of Athena Itonia.[161] The Thessalian location of the games is highly probable given the context of the poem and the reference of Athena Itonia. However, on present evidence it is not possible to determine whether the festival took place at

[159] On Theagenes of Thasos and heroized victors: Bohringer (1979) esp. 6–9; Kurke (1991) 149–53; Golden (1998) 86; Mann (2001) 57–8; Hall (2002) 149–51.

[160] Ringwood (1927) 15. On Phthia: Décourt (1990) 204–6.

[161] Ringwood (1927) 15; Hopkinson (1984) 24–5, 100, 140–1; Helly (1995) 99–100 for Eurysichthon.

the site of the federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, or perhaps at another location.[162]

Coinage of the fifth and fourth centuries from a number of Thessalian cities, especially Larisa, depicts bull-wrestling games—*taurothēria* and/or the *aphippodromas*.[163] Both events were celebrated in the Eleutheria, the international contests inaugurated after the liberation of Thessaly by Flamininus in 198, and in the local games near Larisa during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.[164] Bearing in mind the popularity of equestrian and bull-fighting events in the later *agōnes* in Larisa, and the continuous representation of those themes on many Thessalian coin issues of the fifth and fourth centuries, it is reasonable to assume such athletic contests existed already in the fifth century. For the *taurothēria* in particular, the coins of the fifth and fourth centuries depict the various stages of the contests—from the jumping of the mounted rider next to the bull to the final submission of the animal—and suggest wide Thessalian participation in the games (Figs. 72, 73).[165] The popularity of bull and horse events in a horse-rearing region, where livestock were a main source of income and the military was famed for its horsemanship, needs no comment.

As we have seen, the evidence for athletic contests in Archaic and Classical Thessaly is very fragmentary, relying on a few references from ancient authors and on mainly numismatic evidence. A good reminder of our ignorance of games in the periods before the Eleutheria is a silver obol from Trikka in a private collection, published by Aliki Moustaka.[166] The coin, dated to the end of the fifth century, bears on the reverse Apollo as a musician and the word *ΑΘΛΑ*, an iconography which hints at musical contests at Trikka, the leading city of Hestiaiotis, in the late Classical period.[167]

Thessalian interest in musical contests might be implied by another recent find, a red-figure volute krater found in Larisa in 1986 and attributed to the Painter of

[162] Hopkinson (1984) 140 thinks that the festival was celebrated at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia in Boiotia. On Itonos in Thessaly: Décourt (1990) 154–5; Helly (1995) 88–9. On the Dotian plain: Helly (1987). I would like to thank Maria Mili for her helpful suggestions on the Itonia sanctuaries.

[163] Coins depicting the *taurothēria* were minted mainly in Larisa, but also in Krannon, Pharkadon, Pherai, Skotoussa, Trikka, Pernhaibia, and later Pelinna: Gardner (1883) XIII–XVI; Herrmann (1925) 24–6; Franke (1973) 9–10; Kraay (1976) 375–6; *SNGAshmolean* (1981) pl. LXXXI nos. 3849–54, 3856–8, 3871–2 (Larisa), 3908–9 (Pharkadon), 3927–8 (Pherai); 3931–3 (Trikka); Martin (1985) 36; Liampi (1996) esp. 116–23. *Aphippodromas* is depicted on 4th-cent. coins of Larisa and Pherai: Herrmann (1925) 36–9, pl. IV.4; *SNGAshmolean* (1981) pl. LXXXI no. 3872.

[164] On the Eleutheria and the local games near Larisa (*sta Stena*) during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: Ringwood (1927) 15–19; Axenidis (1947*a*); Gallis (1988) esp. 218–25; Helly (1983) esp. 364–75; Golden (1998) 37.

[165] Herrmann (1925) 24–5 thinks that these were games that were inaugurated after the Persian Wars. Moustaka (1983) 74–6, and recently Liampi (1996) 118 identified the man taming the bull as Thessalos and related the festival to the cult of Poseidon in Thessaly. Also *LIMC* s.v. 'Thessalos'.

[166] Moustaka (1997).

[167] On musical contests and tradition in Thessaly: Tiverios (1989) esp. 134; Moustaka (1997) 90–3.



FIG. 72. Silver Drachm of Larisa, Ashmolean Museum SNG Ashmolean 3849



FIG. 73. Silver Drachm of Larisa: Ashmolean Museum SNG Asholean 3872

Munich 2335 by Michalis Tiverios.[168] The krater depicts scenes related to Panathenaic contests, mainly the announcement of victory in musical contests and the hoplite race;[169] all the participants are named.[170] Tiverios has persuasively suggested that, on the basis of the iconography and inscriptions, the krater must have been a special commission from a Larisaean who wanted to commemorate his successful participation in the Panathenaia sometime in the 440s, a time of alliance with Athens.[171] The findspot of the vase is not secure: however, it seems that the sherds from which it is restored were collected from the vicinity of the presumed area of the Free Market of Larisa, an area which suggests a civic sanctuary and not a funerary context.[172] It is interesting to see, then, a Larisaean in the mid-fifth century ordering a symposium-type vessel from Athens, to display his participation/connection to a Panathenaic victory in his home town rather than abroad.[173]

A similar pattern of dedication has been suggested for an inscribed bronze jumping weight of the second half of the fifth century in the Ortiz Collection.[174] The weight, which bears an incised dedication to Apollo Hekabolos by Eumelos, was shown by Knoepfler to have Thessalian connections on the basis of the character of the lettering, the orthographic transcription of the name Eumelos, and the form of the patronymic. He interprets it as a dedication by a Thessalian pentathlete who won at the Pythia but chose to dedicate his *haltēres* at a local sanctuary.[175] Although evidence consisting of two artefacts is hardly adequate for

[168] Archaeological Museum of Larisa 86/101: Tiverios (1989); Kephalidou (1996) 211 cat. no. *Γ*97; Moustaka (1997) 91–2, pl. 13a–b.

[169] Tiverios (1989) 19–58; Kephalidou (1996) 49, 51, 60, 125.

[170] On the inscriptions and names painted on the vase: Tiverios (1989) 113–22; Kephalidou (1996) 121, 125.

[171] Tiverios (1989) 127–9; Kephalidou (1996) 125, 158.

[172] Tiverios (1989) 13–14 for the discovery of the vase.

[173] On the Panathenaic amphora of the Kleophrades Painter from the cemetery of Nea Ionia Volou, ancient Iolkos: Malakasioti and Efstathiou (2002) 145 fig. 9.

[174] Knoepfler (1994); Ortiz (1994) cat.128bis.

[175] Knoepfler (1994) esp. 370–7 on the inscription.

drawing safe conclusions on patterns of dedicatory behaviour, it may hint at a trend favouring dedication in Thessalian rather than Panhellenic sanctuaries. Therefore, rather than suggesting a limited mobility of the Thessalian elite in the fifth century, we may look at another solution: although future excavations may disprove this view, it is possible that during the fifth century, Thessalian notables although present at the international gatherings of their peers, especially at Olympia and Delphi, did not invest in the symbolic capital of display through commissioning athletic statues or other monumental dedications, but rather focused their dedications and interest in their own territories.

This apparent lack of interest on the part of the Thessalian elites in dedicating permanent symbols of their victories at Panhellenic sanctuaries, and their focus on their home crowds, could be linked to social circumstances and, perhaps to social and historical conditions in the region.

We have briefly discussed the sixth-century evidence. But what do we know about the fifth century? As we shall see, during the fifth century Thessaly attracted the interest and attention of the leading Greek states. It was fertile, had a remarkable cavalry force (Hdt. 7. 196), an excellent port for trade, and was well situated along the main inland roads connecting southern and central Greece with Epirus and the Adriatic to the west, and the far richer Macedonia to the north—another area of considerable interest for both the Athenians and the Spartans.[176] Although not strictly political, Thessalian pre-eminence and control of the votes of the Amphiktyonic council must have been of interest, if only for prestige and propaganda reasons, to both Spartans and Athenians.[177] It has been repeatedly stated that during this period the increasing antagonism between the principal cities/elite families of Thessaly facilitated foreign penetration.

Leaving aside the question of the existence of a federal leader at the time, let us briefly examine some of the events of the fifth century involving Thessaly.[178] The medism of Thessaly is well-known. From Herodotus' account it is clear that the Aleuad brothers so dearly praised by Pindar were instrumental in the submission of the region to the Persians, and that there might have been some opposition from other Thessalian power groups.[179] Immediately afterwards, we hear of a campaign by the Spartans led by Leotychidas (Hdt. 6. 72; Plut. *Vit. Them*. 20), who was bribed by the Thessalians. The date of this campaign and its objectives are under dispute: some see the whole event as evidence of Spartan

[176] Hornblower (2002) 97–8. On the resources and wealth of Thessaly: see above, p. 314. On the importance of Thessalian cavalry: Spence (1993) 23–5; Hanson (2000) 209–10.

[177] I agree on this point with Hornblower (2002) 98 and (1991) 168–9 (on Thuc. 1. 107. 2). *Contra*: Sánchez (2001) 110–18, esp. 114.

[178] For an overview: Hornblower (2002) 97–9; Sprawski (1999) 25–48 (for the period starting in *c.*431).

[179] On the Aleuads and their relationship with the Persian king: Herman (1987) 156–7; *CAH* IV. 542–86; Lazenby (1993) 108–10; Gehrke (1985) 185–6; Helly (1995) 114–16.

expansionist policy in the north, while others consider it purely punitive in character, aimed at overthrowing the Aleuads.[180]

A few years later, in 457, Thucydides and Diodoros inform us that at the battle of Tanagra the Thessalian cavalry changed sides and, contrary to the alliance with the Athenians, joined the Spartans (Thuc. I. 107; Diod. II. 80. 1–6). It is supposed that a few months later the Thessalians allied themselves with the Athenians again, and contributed to the Athenian victory at Oinophyta.[181] Two sculptural monuments are connected to those events: the dedication of a statue of a horse by the Thessalians at Delphi, and the grave stele of Theotimos son of Menyllos from Atrax.[182] Some see in these events the first signs of internal strife in the region, and explain the unsuccessful Athenian campaign against Pharsalos to restore Orestes, son of Echekratidas, in 454/3 as another sign of turbulence in Thessaly (Thuc. I. 111).[183]

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Thessalians were allied with the Athenians (Thuc. 2. 22. 3).[184] Thereafter things became more complicated, with shifts in alliances and with *xenia*/ritualized friendships playing the most active role in the stance taken by the Thessalians.[185] The most prominent case is the march of Brasidas through Thessaly. Thucydides (4. 78–9) tells us that the ἐπιτήδειοι, friends, of Brasidas in Pharsalos and Larisa were very important in securing a safe passage for him, even though pro-Athenian feelings existed among the majority.[186] The events of those years are interpreted variously by scholars. But it seems true that rivalry among elite families for pre-eminence in Thessaly increased during the course of the fifth century.[187] After the Peloponnesian war, the emergence of Pherai as a leading power in the region[188] led to the escalation of internal unrest and the open intervention of foreign

[180] On Leotychidas' campaign: *CAH* VI. 97–9 (Lewis); Gehrke (1985) 186 (as purely punitive). On Spartan ambitions in the north: Andrewes (1971) esp. 219–26; Lazenby (1993) 111, Hornblower (1991) 159–60. On the events of the 460s: Hornblower (1991) 168–9 (on Thuc. I. 102. 7).

[181] Sánchez (2001) 106–9; Herman (1990) 95; Hornblower (1992) 178–81; and (1991) 171; Sprawski (1999) 25.

[182] On the statue: Daux (1958); Jacquemin (1999) no. 466, n. 111c.; Pritchett (1996) 169. On the stele of Theotimos in the Archaeological Museum of Larisa, inv. no. 78/5: *SEG* 34. 560, 46. 646; Gallis (1982) 52, fig. 4; Tziafalias (1985) 57–60; Bosnakis (1990) 177–8, cat. N4; Helly (1995) 226–33; Pritchett (1996) 170; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000*b*) 75–9, cat. ΛΑ10. Also Helly (1995) 226–33.

[183] On Orestes: Herman (1990) 95, 97; Hornblower (1991) 178; (2002) 97. Also *CAH* V. 119; Gehrke (1985) 186–8; Helly (1995) 106.

[184] On the events of 431: Rechenauer (1973); Herman (1990) 95–7 Hornblower (2002) 87, 277–8; and (1991) 277–8. Helly (1995) 233–8: he interprets stasis as a military unit. Sprawski (1999) 25–6. Also Gehrke (1985) 188–9 sees this episode as indicative of deep stasis in Larisa.

[185] Herman (1987) 150–1; (1990) 95–7; Sprawski (1999) 26–30.

[186] Brasidas: Andrewes (1971) 219–21; Hornblower (1996) 103, 256–61, 408. Herman (1990) 95–7. Décourt (1990) 84–6; Sprawski (1999) 26–31 accepts that Thessaly was ruled by an extreme oligarchic dynasteia. On the Thessalian cavalry during this campaign: Hanson (2000) 213.

[187] Hornblower (2002) 98–9; Sprawski (1999) 26–48.

[188] Sprawski (1999) 46–7 believes that Lykophron belonged to the aristocracy and that it was not an opposition aiming at democracy but at widening the 'inner circle of power of the dynasteia'.

powers, ending in the successful annexation of the region to the Macedonian sphere of influence under Philip II.[189]

Therefore, contrary to the sixth century, when the Thessalians were proactive in pursuing their expansionist dreams against their southern neighbours, during the fifth century they were rather more inwardly orientated. As Sprawski has stated, during the late fifth and early fourth centuries, the particular bonds between aristocrats and various friends determined Thessalian politics: 'They [the country's leaders] were guided in politics not by interests but by expectations of warring parties' (1999: 29). The internal conflicts in the region did not necessarily involve the ordinary people. Wealth in the region and the ability to organize expeditions abroad continued, as is clear from the aid offered to Amyntas in 391 (Diod. 14. 92. 3).[190] Participation in the games continued (see Table 1), and as with poets in the early fifth century, philosophers were very popular among the wealthy aristocrats.[191] It is clear that Thessalians during this period were no longer the significant 'players' in the Greek world. It was more profitable for them to focus their attention on their local audiences—lavish commemorations abroad would have conferred less politically useful symbolic capital on them during these fractious times, and therefore would have offered them no real gain.

Although this picture is highly hypothetical, it may receive some support when we compare it to the situation in the fourth century, during Jason's *tageia* and especially in the last third of the century. One of the first things planned by Jason after he was elected tagos was to organize a lavish display at the Pythia of 370, with an impressive sacrificial procession and an army march. He was assassinated before he could live to see it through (Xen. *Hell*. 6. 4. 30; Isocr. *Philip*. 119–20; Valerius Maximus 9. 10 ext. 2).[192] In the second half of the fourth century there was a marked increase in monumental dedications abroad, both at Delphi and Olympia, especially by the Pharsalians.[193] Best known among them are the posthumous dedications of statues of successful athletes of the fifth century, namely Poulydamas of Skotoussa at Olympia (Paus. 6. 5) and Agias of Pharsalos at Pharsalos, both made by Lysippos and dated to the last third of the fourth

[189] On the events of the last years of the 5th cent. and the date of *Peri Politeias*: Hornblower (2002) 98; Gehrke (1985) 189–94, considers the period following the victory of Lykophron in Sept. 404 as a period of great changes in the region, postulating moderate oligarchy in Larisa. For an alternative view: Sprawski (1999) 31–4.

[190] Sprawski (1999) 45, 47.

[191] On the wealth and hospitality of Thessaly in the first half of the 4th cent.: Sprawski (1999) 47–8 and n. 114.

[192] On Jason's preparation for the Pythia of 370: Sánchez (2001) 164–6. Sprawski (1999) 115–23, thinks that this move by Jason aimed to consolidate his position among the Thessalians rather than the foreign crowds.

[193] Jacquemin (1999) 51–2. Also Bourguet (1929) nos. 164, 232, 401 for decrees conferring honours on Thessalians.

century.[194] As with other posthumous dedications of athletic statues, the motivation behind these dedications must have been political.[195] During this period, Pharsalos figures prominently in dedications abroad. We hear of a statue of Pelopidas, made by Lysippos and dedicated by the Pharsalians at Delphi,[196] and another statue of Achilles and Patroklos.[197] However, the best known Thessalian dedication of any period is the Daochos monument at Delphi.[198] According to recent studies by the French School, the group was probably set in a *leschē*-type building at the sanctuary—a sort of Thessalian treasury—erected during the second half of the fourth century.[199] The Daochos monument is a family monument, demonstrating the aristocratic pedigree and the credentials of the then hieromnemon at Delphi through the display of his distinguished ancestors who had also excelled in athletics (Agias, Telemachos, Agelaos), politics (Aknonios, Daochos I), and the art of war (Sisyphos I).[200] During this period, besides the statue of Agias, a statue of Homer was set up in Pharsalos.[201] The appropriation of Achilles and Patroklos by the Pharsalians, and the wish to stress their earlier successes, are better explained in the light of the political background. We know from Demosthenes (*De Cor*. 18. 295–6) that Daochos was one of Philip's agents. His dedication at Delphi, at the seat of his office, aimed to assert his power by reminding the visitors at Delphi, as he had done earlier at home, of his aristocratic lineage. His ancestors like him were benefactors not just of Pharsalos, but of Thessaly as a whole. The epigram under the statue of Daochos could surely be explained in this light.[202]

In conclusion, in this chapter I have tried to show that contrary to widespread assumption, Thessaly, at least from the mid-sixth century onwards, was not that different from other Greek states. Thessalian aristocratic families in the Archaic period shared the same values as their peers in southern Greek communities. Like them, they were interested in the glory conferred by athletic victory at

[194] Poulydamas' statue base (Olympia Archaeological Museum *Λ*45): Täuber (1997) esp. 240 for relation with 4th-cent. events; Kosmopoulou (2002) 200–1, cat. 26, figs. 55–7; *SEG* 48. 548. Agias' statue: *IG* IX. 2. 648: Ebert (1972) 137–45, esp. 140. On heroized athletes see above, n. 159.

[195] Täuber (1997) 240–2; Hall (2002) 151. Cf. above, p. 334, on Theagenes.

[196] Jacquemin (1999) cat. 465; Helly (1995) 257–60.

[197] Paus. 10. 13. 5. Jacquemin (1999) cat. 390.

[198] Jacquemin (1999) 51–2 and cat. 391; Lörn (2000) 118–23. On the sculptural decoration: Bommelaer (1991) 91–8; Palagia and Herz (2002). On the inscriptions: Ebert (1972) 137–45, nos. 43–5; Pouilloux (1976) 134–8, no. 460; Décourt (1995) 73–5, *VE* 57.

[199] Jacquemin (1999) 52; Jacquemin and Laroche (2001); also Bommelaer (1991) 200, no. 511.

[200] There has been considerable speculation surrounding both Aknonios and Daochos I. Especially for the latter, if indeed he was archon of all the Thessalians for 27 years starting sometime in the 440s, the absence of references in Thucydides is intriguing. On Daochos I: Sprawski (1999) 29–30.

[201] For the base of the statue of Homer (*IG* IX. 2. 246): Décourt (1995) 73, *VE* 56, who sees in the light of appropriation of the Homeric past relevant to Achilles the sanctuary at Thetideion: Décourt (1990) 205–8, 211–12.

[202] Täuber (1997) 240; Stella Miller (2000) 268; Morgan (2003) 131.

Panhellenic and local level, they broadcast their worth by commissioning victory songs, and formed *xenia* relationships with other aristocrats. Where they differed was in the pattern of dedication. Even if we take into account factors such as excavation bias or the disinterest of Pausanias in victors at the Pythia, the absence of Thessalian monumental dedications at Delphi and Olympia until the second half of the fourth century is significant.[203] In the fifth century, sculptural dedications at Delphi, where Thessalians supposedly held the presidency of the Amphiktyonic council, were mostly related to military events. It seems that during the fifth century, even if Thessalian aristocrats competed in the Panhellenic games with the same frequency as in the past, they do not seem to have been interested in gaining, or perhaps were not able to gain, the symbolic capital conferred by the dedication of a statue in a Panhellenic sanctuary. Contrary to the sixth-century picture, Thessalians in this period were not initiating military campaigns, but were rather trying (either as a group or as conflicting cities/factions) to ally themselves with the most likely victor on each occasion: Sparta or Athens. Increased international participation of the Thessalian elite in Greek affairs and at the great sanctuaries began only when they were again able to influence things, namely with Jason, and especially during the Macedonian period. In the latter respect, their attitude towards the Panhellenic sanctuaries recalls that of their Macedonian neighbours. The Temenid kings, despite their wealth, were quite coy until the fourth century.[204] Archelaos may have been responsible for modernizing his kingdom and extending its power, and may have been the patron of arts *par excellence*, but that patronage was confined to a local milieu.[205] It was only when Philip II acquired the power to confront and compete with other Greeks that we see the Macedonians/Thessalians actively displaying their wealth and power in southern Greek sanctuaries.[206]

[203] Paus. 5. 24. 5 for a statue of Zeus with Ganymedes in the Altis, a dedication of the Thessalian Gnathis, made by Aristokes; 10. 16. 8, for the votive of Echekratidas of Larisa, supposedly the first ever dedication at Delphi and 10. 15. 4 for a statue of horsemen by the Pheraeans. For the first dedications at Delphi: Jacquemin (1999) 51–2 and cats. 333 and 393; Morgan (2003) 130–1. On the reliability of Pausanias: Golden (1998) 58; Mann (2001) 55–7.

[204] On the Macedonian kingdom and its similarities to the Thessalian state: Hatzopoulos (1996) esp. 463–86; Archibald (2000).

[205] Hornblower (2002) 95; Hatzopoulos (1996) 469–74.

[206] For Macedonian dedications at Delphi: Jacquemin (1999) 65; Stella Miller (2000).

This page intentionally left blank

Part III

This page intentionally left blank

THIRTEEN

The Entire House is Full of Crowns: Hellenistic *Agōnes* and the Commemoration of Victory

Riet van Bremen

1. CROWNS AND HOUSES

> The descendants of Telephos crowned you in the [games] of Herakles,
> and Miletos gained the fame of your victory in wrestling.
> Nemea, too, crowned you, by the [opulent altar] of Zeus,
> Nikomachos; and neither was Babon, your father, without glory in athletics:
> he [won] the Delphic [leaves] of Phoibos the Saviour,
> The entire house is full of [crowns].
>
> (On a statue base found in the Delphinion in Miletos)[1]

The crown as symbol of victory had lost none of its meaning in the world after Alexander. As even this brief epigram of the late second century BC shows, there were in fact now substantially more 'crowned', Panhellenic, games (*agōnes stephanitai*), from which men like Nikomachos could return triumphant, than before.[2] This Milesian twice brought glory to his city: from the Pergamene *Herakleia Sōtēria* (renewed as crown games after 129 BC)[3] and from the Nemean games. His father's athletic victory had been gained in the Delphic *Sōtēria* ('Isopythian', 'Isonemean', and 'crowned' from 246/5 BC).[4] The epigram's final

I should like to thank D. Knoepfler for making available a photograph of the coin from Chalkis (Fig. 74) and for discussing with me, *per. ep*., his current views on the dating of Theokles (p. 355 n. 56).

[1] After 129 BC. For the date see *Milet* I. 3, 164, with *Milet* VI. 1, 194, at no. 164; Moretti (1953) 52; Merkelbach and Stauber (1998) 01/20/12; Ebert (1972) no. 74; cf. also Robert (1984*b*) 16 (=*OMS* VI. 466).

[2] On *agōnes stephanitai* see in particular Robert (1984*a*) (=*OMS* VI. 709–19); Robert and Robert (1989) 20–1; Vial (2003) is a good general overview. Chaniotis (1995: *Anhang*, 164–8) ends with a catalogue of new and newly instituted civic *agōnes* throughout the Greek world.

[3] Probably from earlier, local, *Herakleia*. Cf. Robert's comments (1984*b*) 16 (= *OMS* VI. 466), and Ebert (1972) 222. The Telephidai are the Pergamenes, whose founder-hero was Telephos, son of Herakles, who linked the Attalid dynasty to that of the Macedonian royal house. On Attalid propaganda see Kosmetatou (2002).

[4] i.e. 'equal to the Pythian/Nemean games' etc. in their categories of competition. The Delphic Sōtēria were among the first of the newly declared Panhellenic games. They were declared crowned, Isopythian in their musical competitions, Isonemean in athletics and equestrian events, in 246/5 BC, and as such recognized by kings and cities. Cf. *Syll*.^{3} 402 (recognition by Chios in 246/5 BC) and *IG* II^2 680 (recognition by Athens). They would soon be followed by many others, equally 'upgraded' from local

line: *πλήρης δ' οἶκος ἅπας [στεφάνων]*[5] refers of course, with some poetic exaggeration, to Nikomachos' paternal house but behind it and through it we see the collective houses of the Milesians to whose city he brought fame. The sense of multiple households making up a city is banal but also fundamental to the idea of the Greek polis; the crowning of his home city by the returning victor—*ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε τὴν πόλιν*—was an essential component in the complex of rituals that gave meaning and permanence to athletic victory.[6] We find the same notion used explicitly in the final lines of an ambitious victory epigram for the Pergamene Attalos (father of the future king Attalos I, and adoptive son of Philetairos, the dynasty's founder), who won the chariot race at Olympia with a quadriga of foals, possibly in 276 BC (II–I2): *Φήμα δ' εἰς Φιλέταιρον ἀοίδιμος ἦλθε καὶ οἴκους | Περγάμου, Ἀλείῳ τ[ε]ισαμένα στεφάνωι*: 'Much-lauded Fame came to Philetairos and to the houses of Pergamon, honouring them with the crown from Elis'.[7] Philetairos is cast in the role of the athlete's father while the houses of Pergamon represent his city in the familiar epinikian triad of victor, father, city.[8] Philetairos was, however, also Pergamon's first citizen, its ruler and protector, on whose door Fame appropriately knocked first, before she allowed a share to the city.[9]

The symbiosis of dynast and city, and the unequal juxtaposition of the ruler's 'house' and the houses of ordinary citizens is not in itself peculiar to the Hellenistic period: the underlying political reality is familiar from the late Archaic and early Classical period and the theme occurs in many of Pindar's odes. *Pythian* 4. 279–80, celebrating the victory, in 462 BC, of the Battiad king Arkesilas IV of Cyrene shows it well: *Κυράνα καὶ τὸ κλεεννότατον μέγαρον Βάττου*,

games. The *agōnes stephanitai* were always penteteric, timed to fit into a Panhellenic cycle. On age-classes, including designations such as *paides Pythikoi* or *Isthmikoi* which refer to the age-categories adopted at those particular games, see Klee (1918) 43–51 and Frisch (1988).

[5] Or *ἀέ[θλων]*, 'prizes', as Rehm thought he could read (but see Ebert 222). The implication is the same.

[6] 'Phrase si souvent répétée' wrote Robert (1978) 288 (= *OMS* VII. 692); cf. also (1967*b*) 18–25 (=*OMS* V. 358–65) for examples. Compare the following 5th-cent. epigram's final line: *ὅς πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστεφάνωσε πόλιν*: 'who crowned the city of good fathers' (*Anth. Pal*. 16. 2 = Ebert (1972) no. 12, from Aigina)—where there is an additional historical dimension, in the sense of multiple ancestors. On the crown's *kudos*-bestowing capacities see Kurke (1998).

[7] Ebert (1972) no. 59; Moretti (1953) no. 37. Possible dates are 280, 276, or 272 BC. Three blocks of this large base were found in the precinct of Athena's temple at Pergamon, a second epigram was inscribed on the block adjoining this one but is largely lost. For the news of victory coming to the victor's city see also Kallimachos' victory ode for Berenike (below, pp. 349–50) in which the 'golden word', *χρύσεον ἔπος*, came to Egypt (l. 6); an epigram for Hagesistratos of Lindos (below, p. 353 n. 43 and pp. 357–8) has *θεσπεσία φάμα*, divine Fame, announcing his victory to his city, Rhodes. Fuhrer (1993: 84 and 92) points out the difference with the Classical ode in which the poet himself is the announcer.

[8] As in the epigram attributed to Simonides, *AP* 16. 23; *FGE* XXXI: *εἰπόν, τίς, τίνος ἐσσι, τίνος πατρίδος, τί δ' ἐνίκης*, 'tell your name, your father's, your city, your victory', as quoted in Race (1997) 16, with Race's further comments at 16–17. But see Ebert (1972) at no. 62, on the possible Hellenistic origin of this epigram; cf. also Hornblower (2004) 142.

[9] In Pergamon the founding of a royal dynasty lay still in the future—only in 241 BC did its third ruler, Attalos, assume the royal diadem under the title of Attalos I Sōter.

'Cyrene and the most celebrated house of Battos'. The Sicilian tyrannies, too, are obvious cases in point of monarchically run poleis whose rulers' victories simultaneously underpinned the legitimacy of their power and secured the eternal glory of their cities. A late third-century epigram for Diotimos, chief magistrate (δικαστής, or *suffet*) of Phoenician Sidon, victorious with the four-horse chariot at the Nemean games, can still play on the same interdependence of the ruler's house and his city (5–6): ἀστῶγ γὰρ πράτιστος ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος ἱππικὸν [ϵ]ὖχος | ἄγαγϵς ϵἰς ἀγαθῶν οἶκον Ἀγηνοριδᾶν: 'As first of your fellow citizens you brought equestrian fame from Hellas to the noble house of the Agenoridai'. Diotimos could presumably not claim direct descent from the first king of Sidon, and it is clear that, by 'the house of the Agenoridai', Sidon is meant. But the traditional phrasing, with its Pindaric resonances, nevertheless feeds off the older symbiosis, and suggests the possibility that there existed a direct line between the old mythical ruling family and the present *suffet* and Nemean victor. The accompanying prose inscription shows that it was the city which honoured Diotimos and set up his statue.[10]

But these apparent continuities should be set against the wider changes that were taking place in the course of the third century BC. The equestrian victories of Attalos and Diotimos were gained in a world in which the new kingdoms carved out of Alexander's vast but short-lived empire were rapidly becoming the main centres of power and wealth, and the courts of the Ptolemaic, Antigonid, Attalid, and Seleukid kings developed as cultural and political alternatives to the polis on a scale not seen before.[11] The main innovation of the Hellenistic period in terms of elite- and patronage-culture was precisely the formation of networks based on these courts, in effect the creation of a Graeco-Macedonian elite of *philoi* who were first and foremost attached to the kings they served. Even here, of course, there are precursors as there always are in history: the powerful condottiere-like figure of Chromios of Aitna, *philos* and general of Hieron of Syracuse, for whom Pindar wrote *Nemean* 1 and 9, was already 'Hellenistic' in outline,[12] foreshadowing men like Sosibios, minister to Ptolemy IV, for whose Nemean and Isthmian victories Kallimachos wrote one of his few epinikian odes, or Kallikratos of Samos, admiral of the Ptolemaic fleet under Ptolemy II, whose

[10] Ebert (1972) no. 64, with commentary on 189–93. Moretti (1953) no. 41. Sidon was Ptolemaic at this time. The epigram's date is derived from the sculptor's signature. The Agenoridai were the descendants of Agenor, first king of Sidon.

[11] The Macedonian king Philip II had himself competed at Olympia with the κέλης, or single horse, in 356 BC, very much 'in the old tyrannical manner' (Hornblower (2004) 28): Plutarch *Alex.* 3. He proudly commemorated the Olympic victories of his horses on coins, both the single horse and the quadriga: *Alex.* 4, cf. Le Rider (1996) 37 and 50, with (1977) for a more detailed discussion of the iconography. Philip's ancestor Archelaos had won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in 408 BC (Moretti (1957) no. 349) and had been responsible for setting athletic and agonistic life in Macedonia on a new footing: Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 156.

[12] As Simon Hornblower reminds me.

Pythian victory was commemorated in an epigram of Poseidippos (on both see below). Like their tyrant predecessors, the newly established Hellenistic dynasties and their entourage bought into the aristocratic glamour and Panhellenic credibility that equestrian victory at one of the main games conferred, and the celebration of royal victories became one of the elements in the elaborate machinery of royal image-making that developed in particular—or at least most visibly to us—at the courts of the Ptolemaic and Attalid kings. In what Silvia Barbantani has aptly called this 'new society of victors' (victors both in agonistic competitions and in war), a court-based variant of commemoration through monumental dedications and praise poetry developed, which, though based on traditional forms and using traditional ingredients, manipulated both form and content to serve the new purpose of glorifying Hellenistic kingship.[13]

In celebrating athletic and equestrian victories, the two poles of the Hellenistic world, the court and the city, both used the traditional language of the victorious athlete bringing back his crown and with it fame to his father's house and to his city,[14] but the elements that constituted the familiar triad in the Classical epinikian odes now served more complex social and political realities. In the new world of kings and courts the idea of the 'house': *oikos*, or *dōma*, and related concepts like lineage (*genea, genos*) acquired a royal dimension which stood both outside the predominantly civic framework of the Classical ode, and self-consciously referred back to it. Several epigrams of the Ptolemaic court poet Poseidippos of Pella, celebrating equestrian victories of kings and queens, illustrate well this privileging of the dynastic element: 'Olympia saw these triumphs from a single house ([ἐξ ἑν]ὸς οἴκου) and the children's children winning prizes (καὶ παίδων παῖδας ἀεθλοφόρο[υ]ς)', says the voice of the young Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I, in one,[15] while in another the poet addresses her: 'You, the [much garlanded?] Macedonian child (τὴν δὲ [πολυστέφα]νον Μακέτην . . . παῖδα) pronounced your house so often victorious (ἀθλοφόρον δῶμα), a princess all by yourself.'[16] Ethnic origin, too, acquired new layers of meaning in the international world of the court,

[13] Barbantani (2001) 78, pointing out that the historic-political elegy, too, in the Hellenistic period no longer celebrated the merits of the polis and its ideals, but the fortunes of single individuals: monarchs, members of the court, and of the military hierarchy (*ibidem*: 11–12; the comparison is between the Plataian elegy of Simonides and *Suppl. Hell*. 958 and 969—the subjects of B's excellent book).

[14] Ebert (1972) 11, no. 2, with examples, and above, n. 6.

[15] Austin and Bastianini (2002) 78. ll. 11–12; she was the daughter of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, married, 252 BC, to the Seleukid king Antiochos II, therefore Berenike 'the Syrian'. That she, rather than Berenike II, daughter of Magas of Cyrene and wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, was the subject of Poseidippos' epigrams has been convincingly argued by Criscuolo (2003) and Thompson (2005); see also below, p. 364.

[16] Austin and Bastianini (2002) 82, 5–6: ἐκήρυξας γὰρ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι | τοσσάκις ἀθλ[οφ]όρον δῶμα μόνη βασιλίς. I have transposed part of ll. 3–4, about the Macedonian child, into the next sentences. On the translation of this sentence see n. 121 below. There are, of course, prize-bearing houses in Pindar, too, such as that of the Alkmaionid Megakles in *Pythian* 7: five Isthmian victories and two each at Delphi and Olympia. But Megakles had to pay for his glorious descent and his horse-rearing habits. See below, n. 70.

and the answer to the once unambiguous question of τίνος πατρίδος, 'which is your father-city?' could be under- or over-played depending on context.[17] And even the question without which no victory ode could exist: 'and what is your victory?' at times appears lost behind a more general emphasis on what Marco Fantuzzi has called a royal 'aptitude to victory'.[18]

2. COMMEMORATING VICTORY

Kings and their courtiers will be central to this chapter, as by right and by might they were in their own world. Although they were not the only patrons for whom victory poetry was composed or victory monuments set up, they were the most conspicuous. They could also afford to buy artistic quality. The only two 'true' epinikian odes known from this period, not surprisingly come from the context of the court (that of the Ptolemies), composed by Kallimachos of Cyrene (*c.*305–240s BC). One celebrates the victories of Sosibios, minister of Ptolemy IV,[19] the other that of Berenike II, wife of Ptolemy III and mother of Ptolemy IV (though for a different identification of this Berenike see below, p. 364).[20] Only one line is preserved of a third, among Kallimachos' *Iambi*, but it is said to have celebrated the victory of a certain Polykles in the Aiginetan *Hydrophoria*, a contest for which the poem also provided an *aition*.[21]

An important feature of Kallimachos' two surviving *epinikia* is that they are composed not in the lyric metre of the Classical odes (presupposing singing and musical accompaniment) but in the elegiac distichs suited to reciting. They *were* therefore very probably publicly recited, possibly by the poet himself, at the court during some appropriate celebration.[22] What the celebration was is perhaps most easily answered in the case of the so-called *Victoria Berenices*, whose introductory section (*Suppl. Hell.* 254. 1–10) contains the traditional triadic announcement of Berenike's chariot victory at Nemea, her name (or rather identity: *nympha*, 'bride'?) and (double) filiation (1–3) and a learned indication of her *patris* (5–6):

to Zeus and Nemea I owe a gift of gratitude, bride, sacred blood of the brother and sister gods, my *epinikion* for the victory of your horses. For but now there came from the land of

[17] So Ebert (1972) 21: 'die Tradition bleibt hier doch so stark, dass bis in späte Zeit die enge Bindung an die Heimat im Epigramm anklingt'. On the concept of πατρίς referring almost exclusively to one's polis, at least in the Classical period, see the discussion in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 49–52.

[18] Fantuzzi (2005) 265, 266.

[19] Fr. 384 Pf. Sosibios: *Pros. Ptol.* 17239; on the disagreements about identity (the well-known minister of Ptolemy IV, or an ancestor of the same name under Ptolemy I) see most recently Barbantani (2001) 82 n. 60, with all refs.

[20] *Suppl. Hell.* 255–268C.

[21] Fr. 198 Pf. For this iambus (VIII), and especially for its relation to traditional epinikian poetry, see Kerkhecker (1999): 197–204.

[22] Barbantani (2001) 8–37; Fuhrer (1992) 89–97; Cameron (1995) ch. 2.

Danaus born of a cow to the island of Helen and to Pallene's seer, shepherd of seals, the golden word.[23]

Even if the rest of the 150 surviving lines (and very likely also most of the 50 or so that are lost) is taken up with the narration of a myth, a meeting of Herakles and the peasant Molorchos, which contains the *aition* for the awarding of the parsley crown at Nemea,[24] we may expect the occasion for this strangely unbalanced ode—'epinikion embraces aition' is Parsons's pithy characterization, but 'epinikion sitting on the shoulders of aition' is perhaps closer to the truth—to have been the celebration of this one particular victory.[25] The same cannot be said of the victory ode for Sosibios, which, in the fragmentary form in which it is preserved, contains five distinct sections. Its style is elusive, its structure complex, and the poem gives little clue as to the specific occasion for which it was composed. Two chariot victories, an Isthmian and Nemean, are commemorated in the first two sections (1–15 and 16–34) but in the next, Sosibios himself is heard talking of youthful victories at the Panathenaia and Ptolemaia (35–43), after which dedicatory offerings in sanctuaries are mentioned (at Argos, and Pelusium: 44–52); in the final section, Sosibios' qualities are praised: 'friendly to the people, and forgetting not the poor, a thing so rarely seen in a rich man, whose mind is not superior to his good fortune' (53–5). It has been suggested that this hybrid of epinikion and enkomion may have been performed at a commemoration towards the end of the minister's career rather than on the occasion of one of his victories. If so, this is another illustration of the tendency to celebrate 'aptitude to victory' as part of a wider enkomiastic scheme, rather than victory itself.[26]

The discovery and recent publication (in 2001) of a late third-century BC collection of epigrams, preserved on papyrus, by another Ptolemaic court poet, Poseidippos of Pella (*c.*315–250 BC), has not only greatly expanded our knowledge of the Ptolemies' pursuit of equestrian fame at the Panhellenic games but has also renewed discussion about the context, the performance, and the purpose of Hellenistic enkomiastic poetry.[27] Among the 112 poems that make up this poetry book, eighteen, grouped together in a distinct section called the *Hippika*, are dedicated to equestrian victories; of these, seven commemorate victories of Ptolemaic kings and queens.[28] They have been called 'mini-elegies' and

[23] 'Pallene's seer and shepherd of seals': Proteus; on the connection see Parsons (1977) 9.

[24] Not for the games themselves: so, rightly, Fuhrer (1992) 80.

[25] On the original length of the poem and its likely structure, see Parsons's original edition (1977). The ode opens the third section of Kallimachos' *Aitia*. Barbantani (2001: 79–80) and Fuhrer (1992: 96).

[26] See the discussion in Fuhrer (1992) 151, 154, 174–8, 218, and in Barbantani (2001) 82–4. Does a 'retirement ode' not presuppose a very elderly Kallimachos?

[27] Acosta-Hughes (2003).

[28] Editions: Bastianini, Gallazzi, and Austin (2001): *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII. 309, followed by Austin and Bastianini (2002), which contains all of Poseidippos' surviving poems, including those on the new Milan papyrus. Most scholars accept that Poseidippos is the poet, although there is some dissent. Since its

'épinicie en réduction'[29] perhaps to draw attention to their ambiguous nature. Celebrations of equestrian (or any athletic) victories are rare among the many epigrams in literary collections (although they survive on stone—see below),[30] and we must therefore ask about their purpose, both in terms of the context of their performance (if any) and their intended readership. Were they recited? Where? At symposia? But they are enkomiastic, and quite a few celebrate female victories. Was their context that of the poetry contest, or of great agonistic festivals such as the Ptolemaia? Were they intended primarily as literature? The *Hippika* have been described as 'a section that attempts to mould the reader's perception of the Ptolemies', within a more general programme of 'constructing legitimacy'[31] or as 'advertisements of a royal dynasty',[32] assessments that echo recent work in its emphasis on Alexandrian court poetry's importance as a 'political medium and creative socio-cultural force instrumental in the creation and propagation of a cultural program'.[33] The poets, Poseidippos, along with Kallimachos and Theokritos, are seen as 'image makers of the Ptolemaic kings'. The persuasiveness of these interpretations—and it is only for the Ptolemaic court that we can even begin to formulate them at all—depends to a large extent on how we reconstruct the performance (and the reading-) culture at the court itself and assess its impact on a wider audience.

These are big issues whose discussion far exceeds the scope of this chapter,[34] but they need to be kept in mind when trying to understand the continuing importance of agonistic victory, and victory commemoration, in the Hellenistic world at different levels. It has been said that, while the survival of the Classical epinikian ode lay in its being sung, and remembered, and repeatedly performed in the victor's home city, the Hellenistic ode's future fame, and with it that of its subject, was to be guaranteed instead by its survival *en bublois*: in written-down form.[35] The contrast is too stark: there is no need to postulate an 'either-or'

publication, an industry has already sprung up around *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII. 309 and several conferences have been dedicated to it whose participants have extensively discussed all its aspects, both literary and historical. I cannot discuss here any issues of composition and organization of the *Hippika*, but see: Bing (2003), Fantuzzi (2004*b*, 2005), Kosmetatou (2004), Thompson (2005). Collections of papers: Acosta-Hughes, Kosmetatou, and Baumbach (2004), with the important review and essential corrections by Bremer (2004), Gutzwiller (2005). For all aspects of Hellenistic poetry books see also Gutzwiller (1998).

[29] Bingen (2002*a*) 185.

[30] Gutzwiller (1998) 27.

[31] Kosmetatou (2004) 227, and the title of the chapter.

[32] Fantuzzi (2005) 266.

[33] Acosta-Hughes (2003).

[34] See the cautious remarks on poetry as 'propaganda' in Barbantani (2001: 34–40).

[35] Barbantani (2001) 12: 'Mentre il futuro dell'ode arcaica, nell'ottica di Pindaro, è la sua riproposizione canora e musicale durante il simposio, quello di un encomio ellenistico è la soppravivenza ἐν βύβλοις; cf. also 81. Similarly, Fantuzzi (2005) 266. For a discussion of the term *en bublois*, Barbantani (2001) 103–6; see also Cameron (1995) 29–46, who is dismissive of the exclusively 'bookish culture' postulated by many scholars (whom he cites).

situation, as both Alan Cameron and Silvia Barbantani have extensively argued.[36] Even so, the awareness of transmission in written form is emphatically part of how Alexandrian poets conceptualized a text's survival and imagined its fame being spread, as in the following military victory odes written for the Ptolemaic court (*Suppl. Hell*. 969. 1–4):[37]

πολλάκι μὲν περὶ σεῖο φάτις ν[ικηφόρος ἦλθε]
[γαῖ]αν ὅτ' ἐ[ς N]είλου[. . .]αμβ[
ἔστ[ησας πάν]των σὺ βροτῶν π[ροφέρεσθαι ἄγαλμα?]
ἄξιον ἐν βύβλοις δόξαν ἀει[τελέα

Announcement of victory came to you many times, when to the land (?) of the Nile . . . amongst all people you set up (a precious monument?) worthy (of) eternal glory in books . . .

But such an awareness of what it is that guarantees future fame does not preclude the poem's (repeated) performance at court: the two modes were simply not mutually exclusive—the same can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Classical epinikian poetry: an awareness of the primacy of (choral) performance as a way of guaranteeing immortal fame does not preclude survival in written form.[38] There was in the Hellenistic period a continuing culture of public performance of poetry (including epic-historic and enkomiastic poetry, as well as hymns) which was recited during *agōnes* of all kinds, at religious festivals and civic celebrations, and during celebrations at the court, including symposia. A large—and relatively well-attested—class of itinerant poets of varying talent coexisted with the more rarefied, intellectual milieu of court poets for whom the reciting of their work must almost always have been a prelude to its publication in written form.

The court was by no means the only area in which commemoration of agonistic victory flourished. Nor was it exclusively here that innovation and experimenting with form, genre, and content took place. In fact, what is distinctive about this period is the extent to which literary and non-literary forms and genres cross-fertilized and mutated, even more than they had done before, not only in the major cultural centres and in the creative hands of poets like Kallimachos and Poseidippos, but outside these, in the 'real' world of the cities.[39]

[36] Above, n. 22.

[37] As restored by Terzaghi: Barbantani (2001) 225–6, with other suggested restorations on p. 226; cf. 81: 'il poeta encomiastico ellenistico non resta ancorata alle manifestazioni figurative o epigrafiche della lode, ma diffonde ovunque giunga il commercio librario la gloria del suo committente: le scoperte ad Ai Khanoum e nella *χώρα* egiziana assicurano che i testi greci potevano raggiungere i confini dell'ecumene ellenofona.'

[38] See Cameron (1995) 47–70, Barbantani (2001) introduction.

[39] To characterize these developments, scholars use the terms 'playing with forms'—Kallimachos' use of new metre for old genre is an example—and also 'crossing of genres': the adaptation of (elements of) one genre such as the choral epinikian ode to the different genre of the victory epigram. See Fuhrer (1993) esp. 95, with further refs. For crossing of genres in Pindar's time, see Hornblower (2004) 30.

We can observe Kallimachos playing with genre as he inserts into his victory ode an epigram inscribed on the base of a (victory?) dedication set up by Sosibios in the sanctuary of Zeus in Pelusium (l. 50), or breaking all the rules of the Classical epinikion by having the laudandus himself announce his earlier victories—a practice, however, well known from victory epigrams (ll. 35–43).[40] But we can also see the victory epigram itself, the bread and butter of agonistic commemoration, beginning to lead a life of its own, acquiring what Ebert has called a 'gewissen monumentalen Eigenwert',[41] after having for so long been subordinate to the monument on which it was inscribed, allowed only to indicate the essentials of name, father, city, and victory.

Most of the surviving epigrams inscribed on stone come from monuments or statue-bases set up in the victors' home cities or in the major Panhellenic sanctuaries. These victory epigrams are longer and structurally more complex than those of earlier periods, showing elements and motifs borrowed from Classical epinician lyric such as narrative, or mythical allusions; and using words and verbal forms that hark back to the language of Pindar and Bacchylides. Some of those surviving are of high quality and have been described as 'kurze Epinikien', which is perhaps a little fanciful given that most are not longer than 12 lines, and all, despite their borrowings, retain what Ebert has called the 'syntactic and intellectual transparency of the old epigram'.[42] But is is here, perhaps more than in Kallimachos' creative reworkings, that we come closest to the spirit and the purpose of the Classical epinikion.[43]

It is useful, all the same, to realize that the verse-epigram was never the only, or even the main, commemorative form: Moretti's collection of Greek agonistic inscriptions (published in 1953), along with many similar texts preserved in the epigraphical corpora of Greek cities, show that prose inscriptions of great factual succinctness—simple formulaic dedications or catalogues of victories—continued unabated.[44] And we must not forget that a new monumental commemorative genre developed in cities, in the form of the honorific career inscription, whose text could run to hundreds of lines. These records of civic

[40] Fuhrer (1993) 95.

[41] Ebert (1972) 18; general discussion of these developments: 10–25.

[42] Ebert (1972) 21: 'Auch in sprachlicher Hinsicht sind hier jene schon oben hervorgehobenen hellenistischen Epigramme besonders zu erwähnen; nirgends sonst findet man so zahlreiche Anklänge an das alte Epinikion, nirgends sonst so viele seltene Wörter (darunter mehrere hapax legomena) und Verbformе wie gerade hier.' It has been suggested, by Peek, that some may have been the products of a 'school of poets': Ebert (1972) 19 and in the comments at no. 64, for Diotimos of Sidon, esp. 191, and no. 69, 205–8 with ref. to Peek (1942).

[43] In the case of a particularly fine Rhodian epigram for Hagesistratos, Ebert even wonders whether the final three lines might not imply that a real victory song was sung in the victor's home city (Ebert (1972) at no. 72, p. 217): *θεσπεσί[α δὲ] 'Ρόδομ ποτὶ πατρίδα φάμα ἵκετ' ἀείμναστον χάρμα φέρουσα πόνων, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ καλλίνικον ἀείσθη κλέος*. See also above, n. 7 and below, n. 64.

[44] Moretti (1953) ch. III: good examples of the catalogue form are 35, 40, 44, 45.

excellence, typical of the third and second centuries BC, are uniquely revealing documents, veritable mini biographies, recounting in great detail the education and civic career of elite politicians and praising their moral qualities. What they show most of all is the way in which, at least at elite level, athletics and competing at the games were built into the careers of local benefactor-politicians. Bringing back crowns from Panhellenic games as a *hieronikēs* was an ingredient of the ideal elite career, just as frequenting the gymnasium had become a prerequisite of elite education.[45] One such inscription of the late second century, from Kolophon,[46] mentions how Polemaios, son of Pantagnōtos applied himself to exercising in the gymnasium, 'training his mind with the best intellectual studies and his body with regular athletic activity' (col.I, 1–7). He then competed, and was crowned, in sacred games, 'and *he brought those (crowns) back to his father city, sacrificing the customary sacrifices to the gods*' (col. I, 7–11). Before embarking on a political career, in other words, Polemaios became a *hieronikēs*, participating in the solemn home-coming procession of *hieronikai* to which the text refers, and receiving the privileges that were extended to such men, such as an honorary place in future processions, at sacrificial ceremonies, and civic *agōnes*.[47] His further career contains elements that still link him to the world of agonistic festivals: he became a *theōros*, or sacred ambassador,[48] and was elected agonothete of his city's own sacred crown games.[49]

Honorific inscriptions such as this were themselves part of a complex of rituals which culminated in the crowning of the honorand by the agonothete and the proclamation of his name and title by the herald during the city's main agonistic festivals.[50] These were rituals and honours directly derived from, and closely associated with, the conferring of the victor's crown and the proclamation of his name by the herald during the Panhellenic games.[51] It is this interweaving of the agonistic and the political that I hope to bring out in the next section, which is concerned with cities, in order to show—selectively, of necessity—at what different levels, and how, the idea of agonistic victory and its commemoration mattered.

[45] On gymnasial education at this time, and on gymnasial games see now in particular Kah and Scholz (2004), especially the chapters by Weiler and Kah, with Hatzopoulos' response.

[46] Robert and Robert (1989) 11–17; *SEG* 39. 1243.

[47] Robert and Robert (1989) 21. *Εἰσάγειν τὸν στέφανον* refers to the solemn procession in which the *hieronikai* enter into the city and bring back their wreaths. Cf. Robert (1981) 347 n. 43 (= *OMS* VI. 441) and (1967*b*) 17–18 and 21–7 (= *OMS* V. 357–8 and 361–7), with many examples, both poetic and from prose inscriptions. 'Le retour a lieu naturellement sur un char, *εἰσελαύνειν*, ce qui entraîne à l'époque impériale l'épithet *εἰσελαστικός* pour un concours sacré (oecuménique) "qui donne le droit d'entrer dans la ville 'sollennellement' sur un char"' (21).

[48] I. 29–38, with comment on pp. 26–7.

[49] IV. 35–53, discussion pp. 51–6.

[50] An example among many: *I. Lampsakos* no. 33, ll. 18–23, quoted in Robert and Robert (1989) 52 with n. 26, with further discussion. See also Robert and Robert (1989) 58.

[51] On the similarites see Gauthier (1985) 12.

3. CROWNS AND CIVIC CAREERS

In an agonistic catalogue from the gymnasium at Chalkis, on Euboia, the names of the young victors in the local gymnasial *Herakleia* are displayed in three tightly packed rows of sculpted crowns: one of laurel, one of oak, and the third of olive;[52] each of the thirty-three crowns surrounds a victor's name. Among the names is that of Theokles, son of Pausanias, of Chalkis, victor in the pankration in the category of *paides*. The same Theokles was recognized by Denis Knoepfler in a fragment of an unpublished agonistic catalogue of very similar type. Here we find him, somewhat older, among the *neōteroi*, or young men, as victor in *eutaxia*: 'discipline', during the *Hermaia*, another gymnasium-based competition.[53] Theokles' name next occurs on two bronze coins of Chalkis (Fig. 74),[54] which, on the obverse, have the legend *Χαλκιδέων*, and an image of a quadriga and charioteer spurring on his horses with his *kentron*, much in the manner of the charioteer on the well-known gold staters of Philip II,[55] while the reverse shows an olive or laurel crown with inside it the name of 'Theokles Pausaniou'. In a brilliant argument too detailed to repeat here, Knoepfler convincingly showed that the magistrate on the coins and the young athlete were one and the same person. The coins had originally been dated to the time of Augustus, or Nero, but Knoepfler placed them in the early years of the first century BC, the gymnasial catalogues a few decades earlier.[56] While others had seen in the minuscule figure on the chariot Hera, holding her sceptre,[57] and had identified the coinage as stephanephoric, Knoepfler makes the point that the mentioning of the magistrate's father's name on a coin is unusual (and in Chalkis or Eretria is never attested at all), as is the placing of the magistrate's own name *within* the crown. Both can, however, be explained more easily if the context is an agonistic one and the coin was meant to celebrate this monetary magistrate's

[52] *IG* XII 9. 952; Knoepfler (1979), photo on p. 168. The choice of leaves is aesthetic: there is no relation to Panhellenic crowns.

[53] Published in Knoepfler (1979) 169–71 with drawing and photo (fig. 3); cf. *SEG* 29. 806.

[54] *BMC Central Greece* 115 (cf. LXIV) and pl. XXI.

[55] Above, n. 11.

[56] The argument is on pp. 184–6. Since the appearance of Knoepfler's article, the date of this emission has been much discussed, with O. Picard in particular now advocating a date in the late 1st cent., around the time of Mark Antony, thereby revoking his earlier view that the issue belonged in the early years of the Empire (Picard (1990) 257–8, referring to Amandry (1981) 55–6; Picard in Ducrey *et al.* (1993) 151–2). Knoepfler himself somewhat lowered his original dating in light of a new agonistic catalogue from Thebes which is prosopographically linked to that of Chalkis (Knoepfler (1992) 477; *SEG* 37. 388), but only to the early decades of the 1st cent., pointing out (*per. ep.*) in support, that specimens of the Theokles coins found in the Swiss excavations of Chalkis belong almost certainly to a destruction layer linked to the Mithradatic war.

[57] According to Picard it is she who also occurs on the city's tetradrachms, on a chariot, holding her sceptre, but majestically upright rather than wielding it like a charioteer's goad: Knoepfler (1979) 187 with nn. 111 and 112. Even on this earlier coin there are, in fact, no attributes to identify the figure unambiguously as Hera.

equestrian victory: the father's name was a crucial element in commemorating the victorious athlete, and the crown was the symbol of his victory. The Chalkidians, in other words, respected the agonistic tradition even if it went against their usual monetary customs.



FIG. 74. Bronze coin from Chalkis. Obverse: a chariot and driver to r. with the legend *ΧΑΚΛΙΔΕΩΝ* (split into two: *ΧΑΛΚΙ* above the chariot and *ΔΕΩΝ* below). Reverse: wreath with inside it the inscription *ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ*

Not even the numismatist's trained eye can be absolutely sure if the crown surrounding Theokles' name consists of laurel or olive leaves, but between them, they may point to either a Pythian or Olympic victory, or just possibly a Panathenaic one. Knoepfler, championing his man all the way to the hippodrome, saw no reason why the tiny figure on the obverse might not be Theokles himself rather than a generic charioteer, an interpretation that has been rightly questioned. But, having in all other respects so cleverly linked the boy-athlete and the elite-politician, he must be allowed his final, confident, character sketch of the Boiotian high-flyer in full: 'The indisputable agonistic character of the coins is in perfect accord with the brilliant athletic future promised to young Theokles by the crowns he won as a boy in the *Herakleia* and as a young man in the *Hermaia*: it is not surprising that this boy, so solid and resistant (the pankration, in which he excelled when still small, is an extremely violent sport), as well as disciplined (he gained a prize for *eutaxia* when a young man), hardly paused for breath on the way to success.'[58]

The use of an athletic metaphor to sum up young Theokles' career is entirely in keeping with the language of Hellenistic honorific decrees in which benefactor/politicians are routinely praised for competitive qualities such as *philotimia*, 'love of honour', and *ekteneia*, 'effort', qualities they needed when participating in what was to all intents and purposes a 'course aux bienfaits', a 'race to be generous', in which they were *περὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἀγωνισταί*, 'competitors for the

[58] Coins with generic charioteers (as against recognizable individual ones) on the obverse are well known already in the 5th cent., e.g. from Syracuse, Gela, Kamarina, Leontinoi, with the driver often crowned by a flying Nike. See e.g. Klose and Stumpf (1996) 65–75. O. Picard was doubtless right to question Knoepfler's identification of the charioteer with Theokles, but I do not understand why it should also be impossible for the figure to be a mortal: 'Qu'il tienne un sceptre ou, comme le pense Knoepfler, un aiguillon, le cocher qui figure au droit ne peut être un simple mortel, même vainqueur olympique; ce ne peut être qu'un dieu, et pour les Chalcidiens, Héra'. In fact, Picard denies the coin's agonistic symbolism altogether, both of the crown and the quadriga (Picard in Ducrey *et. al.* (1993) 152 n. 4).

greatest glory',[59] with as their reward a victor's crown.[60] It is at this time that the word *philoponia*, 'love of effort, hard work, sweat', taken directly from the world of the gymnasium, entered the mainstream of honorific political vocabulary and became one of the civic politician's much-praised qualities.[61] Implying physical rather than mental effort, the word is derived from the *ponoi* endured while training or engaging in heavy athletic competition during which one drives oneself to the limit. L. Robert has collected many examples, among which the most striking has to be this little epigram for young Dorokleidas of Thera, boxer and pankratiast (ll. 3–6):

> Ἁ νίκα πύκταισι δι' αἵματος· ἀλλ' ἔτι θερμὸν
> πνεῦμα φέρων σκληρᾶς παῖς ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας
> ἔστα παγκρατίου βαρὺν ἐς πόνο[ν.] ἁ δὲ μία ἀὼς
> δὶς Δωροκλείδαν εἶδεν ἀεθλοφόρον.

Victory comes to boxers with (much) blood; and yet the boy, his breath still hot after the tough boxing contest, applied himself (straightaway) to the heavy *ponos* of the pankration, and one single day saw Dorokleidas twice victorious.[62]

More exalted, and with clear references to the language of the Classical epinikion,[63] is an early second-century epigram from Rhodes for the boy Hagesistratos, son of Polykreon, much praised for its language and form by both Ebert and Peek.[64] Here, too, the emphasis is on *ponoi* and the 'heavy-handedness' of the wrestling-match (*βαρύχειρα πάλαν*: a *hapax* word reminiscent of Homeric formulations).[65]

> The heavy-handed wrestling match, Olympian Zeus, was won at your *agōn*
> —so I announce—by a boy from Rhodes, without falling,
> Hagesistratos son of Polykreon,
> first to grant the happy gift to sacred Lindos
> O ruler, when he obtained the Pisaian prize,

[59] From a decree for the Milesian benefactor-politician Eirenias (*c.* 165 BC): P. Herrmann, *MDAI* 15 (1965) 73, II and II, l. 11.

[60] Gauthier (1985) 12.

[61] Wörrle (1995) 244.

[62] Robert, (1967*b*) 12 n. 2 (=*OMS* V. 352 n. 2): '*Φιλοπονία* est un des termes typiques du gymnase'; also *Hellenica* 11–12: 342–9: *Πόνος* et *πόνοι* s'emploient pour les fatigues de la guerre, pour celles aussi de la chasse. Ils s'appliquent aux exercises physiques du gymnase' (344). Cf. Ziebahrt (1914) 121, 142–4. The epigram for Dorokleidas is Moretti, (1953) 55 (1st cent. BC).

[63] In l. 2: *ἀπτῶτα*, cf. Pindar, *Olympian* 9. 92; *καλλίνικον κλέος* in l. 9: cf. *N.* 3. 18; *I.* 1. 12; 5. 54; cf. the comments of Ebert (1972) ad loc.

[64] Ebert (1972) no. 72 with extensive comments; Peek (1942); cf. above, nn. 7 and 43. The epigram has a slightly earlier (late 3rd-cent.) pendant in Ebert (1972) no. 69, also from Rhodes, for Kleonymos' victory in the two-horse chariot race at the Nemean games, of whose unusual hymnic opening lines Peek writes that it finds a parallel 'nur im pindarischen Epinikion': Peek (1942) 209, drawing further parallels.

[65] Ebert (1972) at no. 72. *χεῖρα βαρεῖαν* in Homer *Iliad* 1. 219, quoted in Ebert (1972) 215, with further parallels. Cf. Peek (1942).

> by wrestling three boys of his own age down onto the broad earth.
> To his father-city Rhodes came glorious Fame
> bringing everlasting joy for the efforts (*ponoi*)
> for which the glory of beautiful victory is sung.

Philoponia, transferred onto the educational plane, became one of the categories in which *paides* like Theokles, Dorokleidas, and Hagesistratos competed: in gymnasia all over the Greek world, crowns were awarded to young victors in *philoponia, euexia*, and *eutaxia* ('physical endurance', 'manly appearance', 'discipline').[66] The *paides* of Pergamon were even divided into groups called *eutaktoi*, *philoponoi, euektai*.[67] The politician, willing to lay himself on the line for his city and to give it his all, the 'Polisfanatiker', as M. Wörrle has memorably called him, was *philoponos*: no effort was too great for him, he would literally bite the dust for his city.[68] That he was, even so, no longer an athlete in the real sense of the word is, however, also true: the sweaty reality of hard physical training belonged to the formative stages of the elite-politician's youth, before the serious political life took over, and equestrian glory became an honourable alternative. This is, of course, a generalization, because boundaries were always fluid, as Mark Golden has shown: some men went on competing longer than others, some took to horse-racing already in youth, but the broad pattern of athletic competition in youth, followed by equestrian competition later in life, seems to hold pretty well, for this period as much as before; for an elite male it certainly constituted the ideal. It may be mentioned here that Sosibios, too, had been a runner and a wrestler before he owned chariots: winning a prize amphora at Athens, 'a token of prowess in wrestling' (35–7), and 'Ptolemy, son of Lagos, at your games [the Ptolemaia, at Alexandria] I won the victory prize in the double course'.[69] If, like Theokles, one had the wealth to keep a racing stable, and to compete in the great equestrian events, then age was no hindrance to victory (nor, as we shall see, was being female) and the glory of an equestrian crown reflected as brilliantly on one's home city as did a hard-won victory in the pankration: there is no sign, in this period, of the suspicion and envy aroused by being a horse-breeding aristocrat.[70] Even so, equestrian victors are relatively rare among the elites of the eastern Greek cities, reflecting the fact that few of the new Panhellenic *agōnes* that were created here in the course of the third and second centuries BC had equestrian competitions on their programme: they were too expensive, and the chances of

[66] The terms are approximations. The categories occur in the well-known gymnasiarchic law from Beroia. For a discussion see Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 102–5.

[67] The *paides* of Pergamon: Ziebahrt (1914) 143; *philoponia* in general in gymnasial victor lists: 142–4 with examples; *philoponia* of the *neoi*, 144.

[68] Wörrle (1995) 244.

[69] Golden (1997) 331–3.

[70] Cf. Hornblower (2004) 250–61, on Alkibiades and Megakles, both of whom 'fell foul of the democracy'.

attracting enough competitors for what were often regional events (even if Panhellenic in name) must have been slim for many.[71] The exception were the games instituted by kings, such as the Ptolemaia of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy II, or the Nikephoria of Pergamon.[72]

No glorious epinikion survives for Antenor son of Xenares, of Miletos, although it might have done. I single him out to end this section not so much because he was yet another *philoponos* pankratiast, and an athlete of some renown (a *periodonikēs* no less), nor even because of his amorously athletic activities with the Athenian *hetaira* Mania (Machon, in Athen. 578 f.),[73] but because his was the kind of family from which the new court aristocracy of the Hellenistic period emerged (compare Polykrates of Argos in the next section). Antenor, of the generation of Polykrates' father, belonged to one of Miletos' leading political families, whose importance continued into the Roman period. His athletic fame came from having won the pankration at Olympia in 308 as well as the other three Panhellenic festivals of the same cycle. He received the rare honour of Athenian citizenship in 306 and was praised in a decree for his *philotimia* and *eunoia* towards the Athenian people. Even though the details of his further career escape us, it was important enough for the Milesians to grant him the great honour of a burial in the gymnasium of the *neoi* (an honour also extended to his two sons, his grandson, and great-grandson).[74] Men like Antenor moved easily in international circles: from families such as his, ambassadors and *theōroi* were recruited, whose diplomatic contacts with kings and their entourage served as a lifeline for their home cities. For that very reason they were, or became, themselves 'court material' and it was through these men in particular that the world of the cities and that of the court intersected, politically and agonistically.

[71] Even for non-equestrian events there could be competitions for which no one entered: the *Rōmaia* catalogue from the Letōon at Xanthos shows the agonothete several times laying the victor's wreath 'on the altar of Roma because nobody had entered', διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἀπογεγράφθαι. Robert (1978) 277–8 (text); 282–6 for discussion and further examples (= *OMS* VII. 681–2 and 686–90).

[72] Vial (2003) 313, 319. On the Ptolemaia see Huss (2001) 320 ff. Instituted in 279/78 as funeral games and sacrifices for his parents, the Saviour Gods (*Syll.*[3] 390. 21; cf. *SEG* 28. 60) they were conceived as isolympic even though they had a musical element which the Olympics never had. Among the civic games, the Rhodian *Halieia*, the *Leukophryena* at Magnesia on the Maeander, and the Rōmaia celebrated at Xanthos by the Lykian *koinon* had equestrian events. The anonymous competition on Chios, in which Mithradates VI of Pontos famously competed, also had equestrian events: Robert (1935) (= *OMS* I. 520–1).

[73] 'The pankratiast Leontiskos was once the lover of Mania, and kept her for himself like a wife. When, later, he discovered that she had been two-timing him with Antenor he was furious. But she said: "Do not be upset, my darling, I just wanted to learn and experience what two athletes, Olympic victors, could do, blow by blow, in a single night."'

[74] The family is known in particular from a long early imperial inscription from Didyma (*I Didyma* 259) in which a prophet of Apollo lists his many illustrious forefathers. On the family see Habicht (1991); on Antenor, Osborne (1983) 83–5, with all further refs. including to his activities in Miletos in the 280s and 270s (though omitting *I Didyma* 259, which only Habicht mentions); Moretti (1957) 488. Doubtless because of Antenor's reputation and connections with Athens, his great-grandson Euandrides was sent by the Milesians at the head of a delegation of sacred ambassadors to the Eleusinian Mysteries in the early 2nd cent.

4. KINGS AND COURTIERS

At the end of the third century BC, in the Panathenaic games of 202 BC, Zeuxo, Eukrateia and Hermione, daughters of Polykrates of Argos, the governor of Ptolemaic Cyprus, were victorious in three separate equestrian events.[75] The girls' mother, Zeuxo, daughter of Ariston of Cyrene, gained a victory in the Panathenaia of 198 BC in the four-horse chariot drawn by colts, while, in that same year, the victor in the four-horse chariot was Polykrates son of Mnasiades of Argos, her husband and the girls' father.[76] That Zeuxo Aristonos Kyrenaia, the name and ethnic by which she was listed on the victor list, was the wife of Polykrates, is known only from an inscription on two statue bases from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, inscribed: 'to Aphrodite of Paphos, Stratonike Nikiou, of Alexandria (set up the statue of) Zeuxo Aristonos, of Cyrene, the wife of Polykrates the *stratēgos* and high priest'. The second statue was set up by the city of Paphos.[77] Both belong to a large Polykratean family group of which other bases survive for Polykrates himself, for Hermione and Zeuxo, and for Polemaios, their brother.[78] Zeuxo's home city, Cyrene, was a city famous for its fine horses and chariots: εὔιππος (Pindar, *P.* 4. 2) and εὐάρματος (*P.* 4. 8) where, in the words of Louis Robert 'le goût des chars était spécialement développé et où les grandes familles tenaient à honneur d'entretenir des chevaux de course'.[79] It is even possible, Robert speculated, that the female name Zeuxo (derived from the root ζευγ- or yoke), like the male name Zeuxippos, was traditional in these families because of their taste for race horses. In fact, *LGPN* (vol. i) does not bear out Robert's suggestion: apart from this mother and daughter, there are only two other attestations of the name, both later.[80] But that does not invalidate the more general point about the Cyrenean elite's taste for racing, even if on this occasion the horses with which the members of this family were victorious at Athens may well have come from the Argive stables of

[75] *IG* II^2 2313, l. 9: Zeuxo, with the the colt-drawn chariot; l. 13: Eukrateia, with the two-horse chariot; l. 15: [Hermio]ne, with the full four-horse chariot. On these catalogues see now Tracy and Habicht (1991). Zeuxo: *Pros. Ptol.* 17212; Eukrateia: *Pros. Ptol.* 17210; Hermione: *Pros. Ptol.* 17209—she served still in 170/69 as *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis in Alexandria (Clarysse and van der Veken (1983) 26). Polykrates: *Pros. Ptol.* 2172 and 15065; Walbank, *Pol.* i. 589 and iii. 203–5; Tracy and Habicht (1991) 230, point out that he was probably related to Polykrateia of Argos, the mother of the Macedonian king Perseus. Polybios 5. 64. 6 for his father; statues on Cyprus: Mitford (1961) 15–18 nos. 40–6; statue on Delos: *IG* XI. 4. 1177.

[76] The mother's victory: *IG* II^2, 2313. 59–60; *Pros. Ptol.* 17211. Polykrates: *IG* II^2 2313. 62. Tracy and Habicht (1991) 230; *BE* (1949) 202: 152; *Pros. Ptol.* 2172 and 15065. On the impossibility of Polykrates' name and that of his daughter, Hermione, being restored in *IG* II^2 2314 in ll. 95–6 and 103–5 respectively, see Tracy and Habicht (1991) 223.

[77] Mitford (1961) nos. 41 and 44.

[78] Polykrates: nos. 42 and 43; his father Menekrates (also 43) Zeuxo and Hermione: no. 45; Polemaios: nos. 44 and 46. For a possible reconstruction of the monument see Mitford's commentary at no. 45, p. 18.

[79] *BE* (1949) 202.

[80] *LGPN* s.v. Ζεύξιππος is not attested at all for Cyrene, one Ζεύξιππα belongs to the first cent. BC/AD and there is one Ζεῦξις in the 3rd cent. BC.

Polykrates himself: transporting horses and chariots over long distances was something to be avoided if possible, and Argos, too, had a reputation for horse-rearing.[81]

This family embodies many of the aspects that characterize the new Hellenistic elites: its roots were in the Greek world of the cities but in all other ways it was firmly focused on the court. The marriage of Zeuxo and Polykrates was across city-state boundaries. Though once an aristocratic prerogative, this kind of connection had all but disappeared in the world of the Classical city-states where civic endogamy had become the norm; it was still unusual in Hellenistic cities. Among the families that became part of the new court aristocracy, however, such marriages must once again have become functional—and perhaps even fashionable.[82] It is all the more interesting then to see how carefully the recording conventions of the Panathenaia adhere to the traditional 'name, father, city' triad in designating the victor: Argos for Polykrates, Cyrene for Zeuxo (from the lists alone we would not have known of the marriage), Argos for their three daughters. For all of them the court at Alexandria must have been a second home. One of the daughters, Hermione, is on record, in 170/69 BC, as *athlophoros* ('prize-bearer'—on the title see below), or priestess, of Berenike II Euergetis in Alexandria.[83]

Both in the conspicuous family monument in Paphos and in the grand victories of mother and daughters, the new, dynastic, family-orientated ideology of the Ptolemaic court is in evidence. The family's equestrian passions echoed the Ptolemies' own enthusiasms, and the women's prominence reflects that of the Ptolemaic queens and princesses.[84] Whether the Athenian Greater Panathenaia was a particular focus for members of the Ptolemaic court, or whether it is simply the accident of survival that allows us a snapshot of several Panathenaic years is not easy to say. Political relations between Athens and the Ptolemaic kings were certainly good in the period for which we have evidence.[85] The Panathenaic victor lists that survive (202, 198, 182, 178, 170, 166, 162, 158, 150, and 146 BC (or 146 and 142 BC) read, in their equestrian sections, much like a royal roll-call, with several members of the Attalid dynasty also in evidence.[86] It is worth running through these names in some detail.

[81] Argos and horses: cf. already Homer's *Ἄργος ἱππόβοτον*; Pindar's *Ἄργος ἵππιον* (*I.* 7. 11), also Eur. *Or.* 1621 and *Iph. T.* 700.

[82] Van Bremen (2003) 317–22.

[83] Clarysse and van der Veken (1983) 26.

[84] See below, Section 5.

[85] Cf. Huss (2001) 520–1; Habicht (1994) 148–56.

[86] New lists, covering the years 170, 166, and 162 BC and preserving almost complete the record of the victors in the equestrian events, were published by S. Tracy and Chr. Habicht in 1991 (*SEG* 41. 115); the 'old' lists are *IG* II^2, 2313–17, covering the games of 202 and 198 BC (2313), 182 and 178 BC (2314), 158 BC (2316), and 150 and 146 BC or 146 and 142 BC (2317—but here most of the names are lost); 2315 may be part of the 'new' lists: see Tracy's discussion 217–21. As Tracy points out, none of the lists in fact specifically names the

In the games of 202 BC, besides Polykrates' daughters, we meet Alkemachos of Epeiros (*IG* II^2 2313, 24), whose father, Charops, is well known as a statesman and ambassador to the Seleukid and Ptolemaic courts; Demetrios, Charops' brother, was Ptolemy V's commander of Kourion on Cyprus: another Cyprus connection.[87] The catalogue of 198 BC, as we saw, has Polykrates himself and Zeuxo; that of 182 BC lists Ptolemy V Epiphanes and his elder son Ptolemy VI Philometor (*IG* II^2 2314, 41 and 56); in 178 BC all four sons of King Attalos I of Pergamon gained equestrian victories (2314, 83–90). In 170 BC two women of the Ptolemaic court did the same: Eirene of Alexandria, daughter of Ptolemaios, Polykrates' successor as governor of Cyprus (Tracy and Habicht, 'New' lists, col. I, 33; cf. *SEG* 41. 115, *ibidem*), won the colt chariot race,[88] while Olympio, 'from Lakedaimon', daughter of Agetor and sister of Pedestratos, who was in the service of Ptolemy VI Philometor, won in the four-horse chariot race (I. 34).[89] In that same year, Eumenes II of Pergamon won the chariot race competing ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν, that is, in the competitions open only to citizens (I. 38; his Athenian tribe is listed, here for the first time, as Attalis) and his brother Attalos (II) the straight course with a two-horse chariot: συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον (also competing among the citizens: same tribe, I. 48). In 162 BC, Kleopatra II, sister and wife of Philometor, won in the long-distance horse race: ἵππωι πολυδρόμ[ωι] competing among the citizens (III. 22), while Philometor himself won an unknown event (III. 32) competing among the citizens; his tribe is listed as Ptolemais. In the same year Agathokleia, daughter of Noumenios, governor of the Thebais and priest of Ptolemy I Soter, won the single horse race in the open competition (III. 18),[90] and Eumenes II of Pergamon won the war-chariot race: ἅρματι πολεμιστηρίω[ι] (III. 24). Ptolemy VI Philometor was victorious again in 158 BC (2316, 45), and we also meet Mastanabas, son of Masinissa, king of Nubia, who won with the chariot drawn by two colts (2316, 41). In either 150 or 146 BC the Seleukid Alexander Balas, son of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, makes an appearance as the only royal Seleukid competitor and victor in these lists.[91]

festival (190–2) but he convincingly argues for their status as Panathenaic lists. I am much indebted to these authors' exemplary discussion of the individuals in these lists and refer to their pp. for a more detailed discussion than I can give here. Ptolemaic and Attalid kings 'very probably had hereditary citizenship and were members of the tribe named for their ancestors, they sponsor events in the hippodrome, often among those restricted to citizens' (Tracy and Habicht (1991) 202 with n. 48).

[87] Habicht (1973–4) 316–18.

[88] *Pros. Ptol.* 5104; Tracy and Habicht (1991) 213–14; Clarysse and van der Veken (1983). She too received a statue, set up by her son, on Cyprus, in the temple of Artemis Paralia at Kition. She was first priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, continuously from 199 to 170 BC. Her father's ancestral city was Megalopolis.

[89] Tracy and Habicht (1991) 214.

[90] Agathokleia: *Pros. Ptol.* 14617; Mooren (1975) 70, no. 024; 88, no. 049; Tracy and Habicht (1991) 213.

[91] Tracy and Habicht (1991) 233. There are, however, several victors from Antioch on the Kydnos (Tarsos renamed): II. 27, 29, 31, and 33, including a woman, Eugeneia, daughter of Zenon (I. 29) and 2316, 47. Citizens of Antioch on the Pyramos gained victories at the Nemeian games and at Olympia as well as at

As C. Habicht remarked, 'since only the victors are registered on the surviving Panathenaic victory lists it can . . . be assumed that more members of the (Ptolemaic) king's family and entourage participated than those listed as victorious; it can also be assumed that if we had complete records, more of them would appear as victors.'[92] Even without the benefit of perfect knowledge the main point about these victory catalogues is clear: participation in the equestrian events of the Panathenaia was very much a matter for the new Graeco-Macedonian elite of the Ptolemaic court, plus a sprinkling of other royalty. The Athenian Greater Panathenaia ranked in status alongside the four traditional games of the *periodos*: Olympia, Nemea/Argos, Corinth, and Delphi, and were thus grand enough for kings and their courtiers to compete in. The equestrian programme was elaborate and extensive (it was divided between events open only to citizens and others open to all),[93] and attracted, in the 'open' events, in the hippodrome, a wide range of non-royal competitors, from places as far apart as Seleukeia on Tigris, Kition on Cyprus, Liguria, Cilicia, and Thrace.[94]

No Panathenaic lists survive for the third century BC, but from a number of sources, including, now, Poseidippos' *Hippika*, we know that earlier generations of Ptolemaic kings and their courtiers are on record as competitors at the (other) four Panhellenic sanctuaries, always in equestrian events (although see below, Section 6 for a boxer sponsored by Ptolemy Philadelphos, and the list below for two other athletes possibly also competing for Ptolemy I). The list below owes much to Lucia Criscuolo's recent discussion and redating of the victories referred to in Poseidippos' epigrams.[95]

KINGS

PTOLEMY I SOTER: a victory with the *συνωρίς* (pair of horses) at Delphi in 310 BC (Paus. 10. 7. 8).[96] A chariot victory at Olympia (Pos. 78 and 88). At Nemea a statue of Ptolemy (I?) was set up by two athletes, victorious in the Nemean and Isthmian games (*SEG* 30. 264; cf. below, p. 374 n. 131). LAGOS, a son of Ptolemy I, was victorious at the Arkadian Lykaia in 308/7 BC (*Syll*^{3}. no. 314V); PTOLEMY PHILADELPHOS, chariot race at Olympia (Pos. AB 88). An equestrian statue of him at Olympia (Paus. 6. 16. 9). ARSINOE I gained a triple Olympic

the Herakleia in Thebes. Refs. in Savalli-Lestrade (2005) 31–2, who comments on the wealthy horse-breeding elites of the Cilician plains and suggests that they would have been able to 'faire briller leurs écuries aussi plus près de chez elles, notamment lors des fêtes organisés par les Séleucides en Syrie' (32).

[92] Habicht (1994) 150–1.

[93] See the discussion in Tracy and Habicht (1991) 198–201: equestrian events took place either in the hippodrome, where they were divided into citizens only and open events, and in the dromos in the city, where events had a military character and were open only to citizens.

[94] Tracy and Habicht (1991) 214–16, 229–32.

[95] Criscuolo (2003).

[96] Pausanias does not mention a victory at Olympia. Paus. 6. 3. 1. is not a statue of Ptolemy, as Criscuolo (318) thinks, but one set up by him; nor is there a statue of Ptolemy mentioned in 6. 16. 2.

victory 'for harnessed races' in a single competition, celebrated by Poseidippos (AB 78.7–8). BERENIKE I: a chariot victory at Olympia, eclipsing Kyniska's Spartan glory (Pos. AB 87), same (?) victory reported by her son Ptolemy II, who refers to her *kleos* and that of her husband, Ptolemy I (AB 88), also by the young Berenike (AB 78. 5); BERENIKE II (daughter of Magas and Apama, adopted by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe, then wife of Ptolemy III) is usually thought to be the subject of Kallimachos' *Victory of Berenike* (*Suppl. Hell.* 254–68), though it has now been suggested, by Criscuolo, that in this ode, too, the subject was Berenike 'the Syrian'.[97] The title of *athlophoros*, prize-bearer, for the priestess of her cult (instituted by her son Ptolemy IV) is probably derived from the task the priestess had of carrying the many prizes gained by Berenike in equestrian competitions.[98] Her equestrian enthusiasms are also referred to in a later Latin source: Hyginus, *Astronomica* II. 24: 'Hanc Berenicen nonnulli cum Callimacho dixerunt equos alere et ad Olympia mittere consuetam fuisse'.[99] BERENIKE THE SYRIAN: daughter of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I, given in marriage to Antiochos II in 252, as a (young) princess gained many victories, which are commemorated in Poseidippos (AB 78, 79, 80? 81, 82). No. 79 has her winning 'all the crowns for harnessed racing en bloc' at Nemea; 78 records a victory at Olympia with a full four-horse team; in 81 though not named, she gains the 'Doric celery crown' with the four-horse chariot twice (so Nemea or Isthmus); in 80, which is a fragment, there is perhaps a Nemean victory; there is another Isthmian in 82 with the four-horse chariot, as a girl, with her father, Ptolemy II. Criscuolo (2003: 317) argues that it is highly unlikely that a Ptolemaic princess would have been competing at Argos in or after the late 250s since from that date the tyrant Aristomachos I caused the city to go over to the Antigonid side: this is a strong argument both for an earlier dating of the victories mentioned in these epigrams (260s and early 250s) and, implicitly, for attributing them to Berenike the Syrian, before her marriage to Antiochos, rather than Berenike II.

COURTIERS

TLEPOLEMOS SON OF ARTAPATES, of Xanthos, governor of Lykia, eponymous priest of Alexander and the Theoi Soteres and Adelphoi in 247–245 (Clarysse and van der Veken 1983: 44a and 45), was victorious in an equestrian event at Olympia in 256 BC.[100] GLAUKON SON OF ETEOKLES of Athens and brother of

[97] Criscuolo (2003) 331–3 suggests a different, and very plausible, restoration of the scholion to *Suppl. Hell.* 254–5 which explains the *νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]τον ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν* (above, pp. 349–50).

[98] Parsons (1977) 45 discussing Kallimachos' *Victoria Berenices*; cf. Bingen (2002*b*: 51): 'quand Ptolémée IV a voulu honorer sa mère par une prêtrise alexandrine éponyme, il s'inspira de ses exploits aux courses attelées et créa la dignité d'athlophore de Bérénice Euergétis'; n. 9: 'je ne crois pas qu'on peut hésiter surtout après le témoignage de Posidippe, sur le sens d'*ἀθλοφόρος*'. Ironically, neither author may be right about the identity of 'his' Berenike.

[99] But on the dubious nature of this source see Criscuolo (2003) 313 n. 10.

[100] He is the author of a recently much discussed letter to Kildara in Karia: *SEG* 42. 994.

the famous Chremonides, eponymous priest in Alexandria in 255/54, gained a victory at Olympia with the quadriga (*IvO* 178; Pausanias 6. 16. 9) in 272 BC (so Moretti (1957) 542) but 268 or 276 are possible too, cf. Criscuolo (2003) 320–2). *SEG* 32. 415 (*IvO* 296) is a statue base from Olympia in honour of Glaukon convincingly redated by Criscuolo to Ptolemy II, rather than III. KALLIKRATES OF SAMOS: a victory at Delphi, probably in 274,[101] commemorated by Poseidippos (AB 74). ETEARCHOS (AB 76) whose horse won the single race at the Ptolemaia, the Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian games, was most probably Etearchos of Cyrene who set up a statue of Sostratos of Knidos on Delos in 279 (Criscuolo (2003) 324–5 for his identity). SOSIBIOS, minister of Ptolemy IV, in Kallimachos' *Victory of Sosibios* (fr. 384 Pfeiffer); ?BELISTICHE/BILISTICHE, mistress of Ptolemy II: perhaps to be identified with the woman who won victories at Olympia in 268 and 264 BC, but this is not certain. Paus. 5. 8. 10–11: 'At the ninety-ninth festival they resolved to hold contests for chariots drawn by foals, and Sybariades of Lakedaimon won the garland with his chariot and foals. Afterwards they added races for chariots and pairs of foals, and for single foals with rider. It is said that the victors proclaimed were: "for the chariot and pair, Belistiche, a woman from the seaboard of Macedonia . . . ", etc.' The restoration of *P. Oxy.* 2082 = *FGrH* 257a: [*Βιλιστίχης Μ*]*ακετίδος πωλικ*[*ὸ*]*ν* [*τέθριππον*]· *αὕτη Πτολεμα*[*ίου Φιλαδέλφου ἑτ*]*αί*[*ρ*]*α ἐστίν*, the only source, perhaps to identify this woman with the mistress, is on the imaginative side and should be treated with some scepticism.[102]

One of Poseidippos' shorter epigrams (AB 76), for Etearchos (of Cyrene), catches some of the enthusiasm with which these courtiers must have followed the achievements of their horses:[103]

It is stretched flat out, galloping on the tip of its hooves, as for Etearchos this [famous] Arab horse bears away the prize. Having won the Ptolemaic and Isthmian contests, and at Nemea twice, it refuses to overlook the Delphic crowns.

[101] Bing (2003) 251, on the date, arguing that the victory would have been gained before Kallikrates became first priest of the Theoi Adelphoi in 272/1.

[102] Moretti (1957) 549. Most scholars accept the identification, based mainly on *P. Oxy.* 2082. Recently however, Criscuolo (2003: 319–20) has questioned the reliability of the restored text and has argued that the Macedonian woman and the Ptolemaic 'mistress' may not have anything in common but their name. On the 'mistress' (= *Pros. Ptol.* VI. 14717) Bingen (2002*b*: 51) writes: (elle) 'semble avoir été un personnalité de la cour beaucoup plus influente que ne l'eût été la favorite d'un moment pour Ptolémée II' (as she is more or less described in Cameron, below); 'Bilistiche fut canéphore d'Arsinoé Philadelphe en 251/50 (IJsewijn (1961) n. 35; Clarysse and van der Veken (1983) n. 40) et fut honorée après sa mort d'un culte en tant qu'Aphrodite Bilistichè . . . Il n'y a pas lieu, à mon avis, d'ajouter au dossier de Bilistiche, ni à celui de Posidippe, l'épigramme *APV* 202, comme le propose A. Cameron.' Cameron's attribution (1990: 295–304; 1995: 17, 243–6) does not work in any case if Criscuolo is right about the over-confident identification of the 'mistress' as the Olympic victor.

[103] 'In the choice of horses these men were connoisseurs' writes D. Thompson (2005: 280) with refs. to several passages in the Zenon papyri which show the buying and selling of horses, concern about feed, etc. Fantuzzi (2005) 250 suggests a link with pharaonic passion for horse-racing, referring to Decker (1987) 54–62.

Or another, for Molykos (AB 72):

> Behold the colt's tenacity, how it draws its breath with all its body and its flanks are all stretched as when it ran at Nemea. It brought Molykos the celery crown as it triumphed by a mere dip of its head.

Of course, the poet wants us to admire the (imaginary?) sculptor's craft in creating a horse so lifelike that it appears to be galloping as we admire the bronze image, and stoop simultaneously to read the epigram on its imaginary base. That clever imitation of life, and the vivid immediacy of the impression—typical of Hellenistic epigrams though they are—do not diminish the immediacy with which the original events themselves are evoked: the excitement of the race is tangible in the poems as we read them, and as we know they were (also) read in antiquity, *without* the benefit of the bronze images, among the other *Hippika* in this particular epigram collection. The virtue of these epigrams is precisely to bring home to us the context of Panhellenic competition, and the reality of the excitement and the glory of victory: for kings and their courtiers as much as for others.[104]

It is perhaps tempting fate to quote in support the Pergamene epigram commemorating Attalos' victory in the chariot race at Olympia (above, p. 346), not least because it so obviously takes as its example the description, in Sophokles' *Elektra* (698 ff.), of Orestes' fatal chariot race: 'Many chariots had come from Libya, and many from Argos, many from fertile Thessaly, among them was also Attalos', and so on, in an extraordinarily vivid, tense, reporting style, from the snapping of the starting ribbon all the way to the final release of victory and acclaim by the 'myriads of Hellenes'.[105] Conscious, and clever, imitation of a literary model it may be, but this is the text that was chosen to be inscribed on the large base which once carried a glorious equestrian monument, prominently placed in the precinct of Athena's sanctuary. It, together with the—now largely lost—epigram alongside it commemorating another victory,[106] was meant to be read by all who stopped to admire the monument, so that they might recreate in their minds the clouds of dust and the galloping of Attalos' victorious horses.

One of the longer epigrams in the *Hippika*, too, celebrates a tumultuous victory, this time in the four-horse chariot race at Delphi of Kallikrates of Samos, admiral of the Ptolemaic fleet under Ptolemy II (the two events were

[104] In one of the epigrams we read of young Berenike (the 'much-garlanded Macedonian child'), 'whom, near the citadel of Corinth, Peirene's majestic water admired, together with her father Ptolemy' (Pos. 82. 3–6). Was the young princess there? Did she cheer on her horses? D. Thompson (2005: 272) assumes her presence: 'Successful racing stables are the stuff of queens and kings, today as in the Hellenistic world and, as now, a Ptolemaic princess was prepared to travel to watch her horses win.'

[105] Ebert (1972) 59, with extensive commentary.

[106] Ebert (1972) 178.

very close in time: 276 BC for Attalos' victory; 274 for that of Kallikrates, and there are sufficient echoes in the latter to suspect that Poseidippos may have been familiar with the former). I give the text in full, even though it has already been much discussed,[107] because it too so vividly depicts what it must have been like to 'be there'.

> At Delphi this filly, competing in the four-horse chariot race,
> nimbly made it neck-and-neck with a Thessalian carriage,
> and won by a nose. There was then great uproar of the drivers,
> Phoebus, before the Amphiktyonic judges.
> The umpires cast their rods to the ground, to make
> the drivers draw lots for the victory crown.
> But she, the right-hand tracer, nodding down her head
> in pure innocence picked up a rod herself,
> a daring female among the males. The myriads all together
> then roared with unanimous voice
> to proclaim the great crown hers. Amidst the applause
> the Samian Kallikrates obtained the laurel.
> And to the Sibling Gods as a visible sign of that [contest]
> he thus[108] dedicated a bronze chariot with its team and driver.

Would Kallikrates—first eponymous priest of the Theoi Adelphoi, tireless diplomat, major image-maker of the Ptolemaic royal couple and promoter of the cult of Arsinoe in the Aegean region—not himself have been present to receive the laurel crown amidst the tumultuous roar of the crowd (*ἐν θορ[ύβωι]*) and to hear his name pronounced by the herald?[109]

Given this kind of appetite for the reportage style, which is new,[110] it seems to be missing the point to place too much emphasis on the fact that equestrian

[107] Austin and Bastianini (2002) no. 74. Bing (2003); Kosmetatou (2004); Janko (2005: 128–9). I follow Janko's brilliant emendation of *βραβέες* (umpires) for *βραχέες* in 1. 5, but do not think his translation of the poem's first two lines can be right: 'At Delphi once the filly raced her Thessalian car, among quadrigas . . .'.

[108] Criscuolo has rightly questioned the translation in Austin and Bastianini (followed by most others) of *ὧδ' ἔθετο* in the final line as 'set up here' and has suggested 'thus set up' which has some repercussions for the argument of Bing (2003), that the equestrian statue was set up to the Theoi Adelphoi in a place other than Delphi, in which the poem's first line locates the scene of the race: *ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ πῶλος* . . . Bing suggested it was most likely Alexandria.

[109] On his career and influence at the court see Hauben (1970), Mooren (1975) 58–60, no. 010, and now Bing (2003), taking into account the new epigrams (Austin and Bastianini (2002) 39, 74, 116, 119: three are concerned with the shrine to Arsinoe-Aphrodite which Kallikrates dedicated at Cape Zephyrion; Barbantani (2001) 44–5. Kallikrates' eponymous priesthood: *P. Hibeh* II. 199 line 12; Clarysse and van der Veken (1983) 4–5; Hauben (1970) 64–5. Dedication of a bronze chariot to the Theoi Adelphoi: Austin and Bastianini (2002) 74. Dedication by the Samian people to the nauarch Kallikrates: Hauben (1970) 48–9 and appendix 83–4. His name is mentioned in another dedication found on Samos: *SEG* I. 370. His statue erected by the League of the Islanders on Delos: *IG* XI. 4. 1127. A statue of Kallikrates stood in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos on Cyprus, perhaps a royal dedication: Mitford (1961) 9 no. 18.

[110] And very different from the conventions of the Classical epinikian odes which almost never contain an actual report of the contest: so Fuhrer (1992) 93 n. 81. (For the very few Pindaric exceptions see Hornblower (2004) 342 n. 43.)

victories were recompense for wealth alone, not for personal valour or strength, and that royal and aristocratic owners could, technically, gain their victories *in absentia*, without leaving their country, sending only their teams and their drivers.[111] It is almost impossible to imagine these royal chariots and horses devoid of the pomp and splendour that we know was lavished on other forms of conspicuous royal display.[112] The display, together with the vivid commemoration, were part of the royal way of 'doing the Games'.

5. DARING FEMALES AMONG THE MALES

The recording and celebrating of female victories (always in equestrian events) is a new theme in this period, both in the epigraphic records and in praise poetry. Competing at the games was not confined to royal women and their entourage as the following list shows (it is not exhaustive, nor does it include women already mentioned in the previous section):

EURYLEONIS of Sparta (Paus. 3. 17. 6): 'By what is called the *skenoma* (tent) there is a statue of a woman whom the Lakedaimonians say is Euryleonis. She won a victory at Olympia with a two-horse chariot';[113] [. . . . .] ADOU from Alexandria: victory in the Panathenaia in 180 BC with the two-horse chariot (*IG* II^2 2314, ll. 52–3), possibly a woman of the court; EUGENEIA D. OF ZENON of Tarsos/Antioch on the Kydnos, in the single-horse race at the Panathenaia in 170/69 BC (Tracy and Habicht (1991) II. 29 and p. 215 = *SEG* 41. 115); ARCHAGATE, D. OF POLYKLEITOS from Antioch on the Pyramos, formerly Magarsos, with the four-horse chariot ἅρματι τελείωι at the Panathenaia (Tracy and Habicht (1991) I. 32); LYSIS HERMONAKTOS from Magnesia on the Maeander: a victory in the race for single foal at the *Amphiaraia* in Oropos; MNASIMACHA PHOXINOU from Krannon in Thessaly, with the chariot drawn by a pair of foals at the same Amphiaraia in Oropos (both *Arch. Eph.* (1925/6) pp. 26, 30): 'Hellenistic'; ARISTOKLEIA MEGAKLEOUS, with the chariot drawn by a pair of foals in the *Eleutheria* of Larisa, early 2nd cent. BC (*IG* IX. 2. 526); EUKLEIA, with the [?ἅρματι] πωλικῷ (?chariot drawn by a pair of foals) in an unnamed competition on Chios which also has multiple victories of Mithridates VI Eupator (*Arch.*

[111] 'It is well known that winners of such equestrian contests as those recorded for members of royal families did not have to be present at the event in question: they sent their horses, chariots and jockeys' write Tracy and Habicht (1991: 216–17), quoting Robert (1935) 460–2 (= *OMS* I. 519–21), who in turn quotes A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers athéniens* (1887) 168–9: 'la couronne d'olivier n'est donc plus la récompense de la force, de la valeur personelle, il suffit maintenant d'être riche; on verra désormais décerner la victoire à des étrangers qui n'auront pas quitté leur pays, et, ce qui est plus grave, à des femmes, elles qui ne sont pas même admises à regarder les jeux'.

[112] On the procession: Rice (1983); Thompson (2000).

[113] Moretti (1957) 418, listed under 368 BC, but all we know is that her victory came after Kyniska's.

Delt. 9 (1927–28), par. 27, no. 8; cf. L. Robert (1935) 459–65 (= *OMS* I. 518–24). Robert remarks that the *ed. pr*. had restored [ἅρμα]τι (chariot) instead of [κέλη]τι (single horse) because the victor was a woman: 'la raison que donne M. Segre n'est pas bonne: "notendo che la vincitrice è una donna, ho preferito credere che essa abbia corso sul carro piuttosto che sul puledro κέλης"'; PEITHO DAUGHTER OF MAKEDON of Ephesos and Apollonia (in Lykia): in the *Rōmaia* catalogue from Xanthos, above, p. 359 n. 71 (ll. 42–4), with the chariot and pair of foals: *Πειθὼ Μακεδόνος Ἐφεσία ἥ καὶ ἀνηγόρευσεν ἑαυτὴν Ἀπολλωνιᾶτιν*, 'Peitho daughter of Makedon, of Ephesos, who had also declared herself citizen of Apollonia' (where she doubtless owned racing stables). DAMODIKA OF KYME: a victory in the chariot race (*BCH* 51 (1927) 387 = *I Kyme* 46), 1st cent. BC; HABRIS D. OF KAIKOS, of Kyme, with the chariot and pair of foals in the Amphiaraia at Oropos: *IG* VII. 417. 60–1.

Most of these are simple records of name and event, but among them one funerary epigram for Damodika from Kyme stands out in its simple but telling pairing of the traditional motif of child-bearing with the unusual and glamorous one of equestrian fame: (4) *οὔνομα Δαμοδίκα, πόσις ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμογένης μοι*,—(6) *θνάσκω δ' οὐκ ἀβόατος, ἐπεὶ καὶ παῖδα λέλοιπα | καὶ κλέος ἐγ νίκας ἅρματι κυδαλίμαι*, 'My name is Damodika; Hermogenes was my noble husband. . . . I die not without reputation, for I have left a child as well as fame in achieving a glorious victory with the chariot'.[114]

From Kallimachos' *Victory of Berenike* we already knew that Ptolemaic queens competed in the Panhellenic games, but, until Poseidippos' new epigrams were published, we did not know quite how intensely they were involved in the pursuit of equestrian victory, or how important a contribution such female victories made to Ptolemaic self-representation. Just as the Cyrenean Berenike (II)'s fame was sung (if indeed it is she) by her compatriot Kallimachos, so the Macedonian Berenike (I), Arsinoe (Philadelphos), and Berenike (the Syrian) were glorified by the poet from Pella. The emphasis in the *Hippika* section of the Milan papyrus is on the victories of queens and princesses of the Ptolemaic dynasty much more than on kings, whose victories, though referred to, are secondary. Why this should be so is an intriguing question. The answer (if it is not simply an accident of survival) cannot be that the women competed more, or more often: the men of the first two generations of Ptolemies were equally active at the four Panhellenic games—just as the later Panathenaic victor lists show male and female members of the Ptolemaic court in roughly equal number.

[114] Cf. Robert (1935) 461–2 n. 5 (= *OMS* I. 520–1): 'Les Kyméens ne sont pas rares parmi les vainqueurs aux concours hippiques; le cheval bridé est figuré sur les monnaies de la ville; l'aristocracie des chevaliers de Kymè est bien connue par *FHG* II. 216, p. 11.'

Is it possible that military victory odes such as *Suppl. Hell.* 958 ('Ode pour un roi partant en guerre')[115] were deemed more glorious and therefore the preferred form of commemoration in the case of kings? The victories of the Ptolemaic women certainly served to reinforce the message of the Ptolemies' overall 'aptitude' to victory, of which military victory could be said to be the ultimate expression. At the end of the fifth century, the Spartan princess Kyniska had served as a useful frivolous foil to her brother Agesilaos' moral superiority: 'Seeing that, just because they bred horses, some of the citizens arrogantly thought themselves to be quite something, he (Agesilaos) persuaded his sister Kyniska to compete at the Olympic games by entering a chariot, since he wanted to show the Greeks that this kind of activity was unconnected with excellence, but simply a matter of having wealth and spending it' (Plutarch, *Sayings* 49; a very similar interpretation already in Xenophon).[116] The purpose is of course diametrically opposite but the principle is the same. To see the glorification (or the belittling in Kyniska's case) of the women's victories purely as strategies of male rhetoric would, however, be reductionist, and would also ignore the very Greek and very real, awareness of what I have elsewhere called the 'city of women', to which Kyniska herself appeals, as well as the reality of the competing.[117] Kyniska herself says this about her two Olympic victories:

> My fathers and brothers were Spartan kings;
> I won the chariot race with swift-footed horses
> and put up this image, I, Kyniska. I say that I am alone of all
> Greek women to have taken this crown.[118]

Hers was an achievement to be proud of for its own sake, but spectacular even more in its breaking with male traditions, and this Kyniska knew. Pausanias (3. 8. 1), whose concern is not with Agesilaos' moral superiority, provides more useful background information: 'Archidamos also had a daughter, whose name

[115] In the words of Cahen, as quoted in Barbantani (2001) 12.

[116] Mor. 212ab, cf. Xen. *Ages.* 9. 6: 'he kept many hounds and war horses, but he persuaded his sister Kyniska to breed chariot horses (ἁρματοτροφεῖν) and showed by her victory . . . that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his own renown' etc. See on the ideological aspects of the Agesilaos/Kyniska opposition the interesting discussion by Hodkinson (2000) 327–8. See also Fantuzzi (2005) 257.

[117] Van Bremen (1996) 145–56. See also below, n. 119, on the symbolic significance of the location of Kyniska's hero-shrine.

[118] *IvO* 160; *IG* v. 1. 1564a; Moretti (1953) no. 17; (1957) 373, 381; Ebert (1972) no. 33; the epigram is also in the *Anth. Pal.* 13. 16. The dates of her victories are uncertain. Traditionally, 396 or 392 BC are given for her two Olympic victories. Simon Hornblower has recently argued that a date in the late 5th cent. is equally possible and perhaps preferable: Hornblower (2004) 100 n. 54, referring to Hornblower (2000) on the exclusion of Spartans from Olympia, but the demographic argument he uses seems not compelling. Xenophon's catalogue of Agesilaos' virtues (which include his reluctance to breed horses for racing) appears throughout to refer to the time that he was king, i.e. 398–358 BC (cf. e.g. *Ages.* 1. 6). Cf. also Alain Bresson (2002) 43 n. 60: 'Kyniska précise qu'elle était sœur de *rois* (au pluriel): ces rois sont Agis (roi de 427 à 398) et Agésilas (roi de 398 à 358). Il faut donc que la première dédicace soit de 396 au plus tôt'.

was Kyniska; she was exceedingly ambitious to succeed at the Olympic games, *φιλοτιμότατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν*, and was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. After Kyniska other women, especially women of Lakedaimon, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more distinguished for her victories than she.'[119] The following epigram, the penultimate one in the *Hippika* section, in honour of Berenike I, wife of Ptolemy Sōter, self-consciously picks up the theme (AB 87):

> When we were still fillies, we won the Olympic crown of Macedonian Berenike, you men of Pisa, which has well-known fame; and with it we took away the long-standing glory of Kyniska in Sparta.

Equally aware of the importance of Berenike's record-breaking, her son Ptolemy (II) can be heard saying in the next, and final epigram (AB 88): 'To my father's great glory I add my own, but that my mother won a chariot victory as a woman, *that* is truly great' (*ἀλλ' ὅτι μάτηρ εἶλε γυνὰ νίκαν ἅρματι, τοῦτο μέγα*).[120] There are clear echoes also of Kyniska's language (*μον[αν] δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό[ν]δε λαβεῖν στέφανον*) in several of the epigrams for young Berenike ('the Syrian').[121]

This awareness both of a new departure and of a separate genealogy of victorious females starting with Kyniska is a striking feature of the *Hippika* and

[119] Also 6. 1. 6. and 5. 12. 5. In 3. 15. 1 Pausanias writes: 'At Plane-tree grove there is also a hero shrine (*ἡρῷον*) of Kyniska, daughter of Archidamos king of the Spartans. She was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win a chariot race at Olympia.' Was it Kyniska's victory that made her worthy of heroic honours? Hodkinson (2000) 328 points out the significance of the central location of the hero shrine: 'close to the Dromos, where the young girls ran; close to the sanctuary of Helen, model for the young female Spartiate; close to the tomb of Alkman, the educator of young girls'. M. Fantuzzi (2005: 261–2) builds rather a lot on this assumption, arguing that her heroization may have served as a model for the deification of Berenike I, who 'lacked the divine lineage from Zeus that was ascribed to Soter . . . . via Alexander (cf. Theocr. 17. 16–25) or later . . . both Ptolemy II and Arsinoe as children of divinized parents . . . So Berenike was divinized for her own virtues.' (As was Kyniska, is the implication.) But we do not know, because Pausanias does not tell us, when the hero-shrine was built, or precisely what Pausanias saw when he saw a herōon.

[120] I follow R. Janko's (2005: 129–31) restoration of the first l. of AB 87: *π[ῶλοι] ἔθ' ἁμὲς ἐοῦσαι Ὀλυμ[πια]κὸν Βερενίκας* (*π[ῶλοι]* A.-B.: *ἵ̣π̣[ποι]*), which seems to make better sense of the *ἔθ'*; I also follow his translation. On AB 88 see Fantuzzi (2005) 266 with n. 60 for the different emphasis required if *⟨κ⟩ού* is restored at the beginning of 1. 5 instead of *πρός(πρου* pap): 'I do not claim for myself the great glory of my father'.

[121] In Austin and Bastianini (2002) 82, the poet directly addresses the princess, who has triumphed at the Isthmian games (5–6): *ἐκήρυξας γὰρ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι | τοσσάκις ἀθλ[οφ]όρον δῶμα μόνη βασιλίς*: 'you proclaimed at the Isthmus your house so often victorious, as a princess all by yourself'. Fantuzzi's translation 'you were the only queen to proclaim . . .' does not, I think, quite catch the meaning, and neither does 'Only you queen brought it about that your house was so many times heralded as victorious at the Isthmus' of Gutzwiller (2004: 91). Austin and Bastianini (2002) come closest with 'a Queen on your own'. The contrast has to be with the 'house so often victorious': she has repeated the multiple achievement of her *dōma*, all by herself. The reference to Kyniska is implicit even if the context is different. On *βασιλίς/βασίλισσα* meaning 'princess' as well as 'queen' see Thompson (2005) 276. Cf. also 80 and 81 and the eulogistic 78 ('speak all ye poets, of my glory . . .') which ends with the poet asking the chorus of Macedonian women to 'sing of her crown'.

is their most important theme alongside that of fame transmitted down the generations of one dynasty. For Poseidippos, the Ptolemaic women's third defining quality, besides their gender and their royal blood, is their (female) Macedonian-ness: they are *Μακέται*, women of Macedon'.[122] In 78, a chorus of *Μακέται* is urged to sing in praise of the crown brought back by young Berenike. In 82, the same princess is called the 'Macedonian child' as she gains an Isthmian victory. In 87 (discussed above) Berenike I, the mother of Philadelphos was 'Macedonian'. In the next and final section I argue that this emphasis on Macedonian-ness is best explained within the conventions of Panhellenic participation and commemoration.

6. AND YOUR CITY?

In the second section of Kallimachos' ode for Sosibios, the latter brings back his double Isthmian and Nemean victory to his *patris* Alexandria, personified in the poem by the Nile, who can be heard speaking (ll. 28–34):

> A beautiful prize has my nursling (*θρεπτός*) paid back to me for no one has yet brought a trophy back to this city (*[οὐ] γάρ πώ τις ἐπ[ὶ] πτόλιν ἤγαγ' ἄεθλον*) from the sepulchral festivals, and, great though I am, I, whose sources no mortal man knows, in this one thing alone was more insignificant than those streams which the white ankles of women cross without difficulty, and children pass over on foot without wetting their knees.[123]

Sosibios is presented as a citizen of Alexandria in a conscious allusion to the conventions of the Classical epinikion. The mighty river's claim in the poem would not make quite as much sense if it were personifying Egypt, for Egypt, as we know, had seen earlier—Ptolemaic—victory crowns. Even so, in the background there is also an allusion to what the Nile had still represented to Pindar and his generation, namely the end of the world (cf. *Isthmian* 6. 22–3).[124] Now, at last, the Nile, too, had become a Panhellenic river.

In the Poseidippan epigram for Kallikrates of Samos, discussed earlier, the emphasis is different even if the traditional ingredients are (almost) all there: towards the end of the poem Kallikrates, the victor, is called *ἀνὴρ Σάμιος*, and although it is he who obtained the laurel: *δάφνην ἤρατ'* (both in l. 12), and his name must have been proclaimed by the herald in precisely that way at Delphi, the final lines of the poem make it clear that the triumph and the token of his

[122] So, rightly, Thompson (2005) 270 with n. 5; the translation in Austin and Bastianini (2002) 78, l. 14 of *Μακέται* as 'O ye Macedonians' overlooks this point.

[123] Fr. 384 Pf. Translation as in Bing (2003) 252, with modifications.

[124] So, perceptively, Barbantani (2001) 97 n. 112, quoting also Bacchylides 9. 40–1, and 98.

victory (a bronze chariot and driver) belong squarely at the feet of the Ptolemaic couple to whom the monumental offering was dedicated, in a deliberate obfuscating of the usual victor's dedication to the gods and the bringing home of the victory crown, to father, home, and city (his father, Boiskos, is quietly omitted from the poem).

The world had become larger, and to be a Samian did not sum up one's identity, or one's allegiance, quite in the way it had once done. But inside the world of the Panhellenic games, in which kings and citizens alike were Hellenes, the convention of naming one's *patris* still served as a kind of Greenwich mean time, by which everybody set his watch; and this was reflected in commemoration as much as in records and rituals. And so, as Kallikrates was 'Samian', Attalos 'Pergamene', and Zeuxo 'Cyrenean', the Ptolemies were 'Macedonian'. Dorothy Thompson has rightly pointed out the great emphasis on the Ptolemaic kings' 'Macedonian-ness' in all the Poseidippan victory epigrams.[125] She, and others, have suggested that Poseidippos' own origin—he was from Pella—may have played a part in his favouring of the ethnic because of his obvious pride in his homeland *ὄφρα με τιμήσωσι Μακήδονες οἵ τ' ἐπὶ ν[ήσων] | οἵ τ' Ἀσίης πάσης γείτονες ἠιόνος, | Πελλαῖον γένος ἀμόν*, 'so that the Macedonians may honour me, both the islanders(?) and the neighbours of all the Asiatic shores, Pellaian is my family'.[126] That the choice was, however, not Poseidippos', is shown by the fact that Pausanias noticed the same habit on Ptolemaic commemorative inscriptions at Panhellenic sanctuaries, and found it interesting enough to merit a comment (6. 3. 1—discussing a dedication of Ptolemy I at Olympia): 'Ptolemy calls himself "Makedon" in the epigram, even though he was king of Egypt'. And also (10. 7. 8): 'for the kings of Egypt liked to be called Makedones, as in fact they were'.[127] Marco Fantuzzi has argued that it was perhaps the Ptolemies' 'interest in and support for the impulses of Greek poleis to revolt against the predominance of Antigonid power in continental Greece' which made them emphasize their Macedonian-ness.[128] One could further invoke the strong ideological links with their Macedonian roots, and the Ptolemies' specific claims to Alexander's heritage. There is truth in all of this, but the simplest explanation is that, in an agonistic context, Panhellenic conventions determined the choice. Macedonia simply *was* the *patris* of Antigonid, Seleukid, and Ptolemaic kings. At the Panathenaia, both Ptolemaic and Attalid royalty also competed as Athenians, if they so chose, giving their tribe as Ptolemais or Attalis. This rather supports the general idea: for all these kings

[125] Thompson (2005) 269–70. *Ἐορδαία γέννα* in 88. 4 can be seen as a poetic variation.

[126] Austin and Bastianini (2002) 118, 15–17.

[127] Ptolemy I's victory at Delphi in 310 BC is mentioned in Pausanias 10. 7. 8. and 6. 3. 1, where he called himself 'Makedon'.

[128] Fantuzzi (2005) 251.

Athens was a second *patris*, whose citizenship they had obtained. Presenting oneself as Athenian was to choose an alternative identity (and to give the victory's credit to that city): relevant or useful depending on circumstances.[129]

The Ptolemaic kings may well have claimed for themselves proud Macedonian (and ultimately Argive) descent, as a guarantee of their Greekness, but others did not always share that view. When Ptolemy IV sent a pankratiast to Olympia specially to defeat the star-pankratiast, boxer, and wrestler Kleitomachos of Thebes, whose many victories were beginning to annoy the crowds (*πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*),[130] the latter reminded his audience that it was he who represented the Greeks while Aristonikos, his opponent, represented only the Ptolemies: 'What do you want?' he called out, 'that an *Egyptian* carries away the Olympic crown after having defeated the Greeks or that a Theban and Boiotian is proclaimed victor in boxing category men?' The crowd, at first on Aristonikos' side and cheering him on to defeat the favourite, then changed its mind and by its encouragement helped the Theban to victory.[131]

Kleitomachos was a Theban, a Boiotian, and a Greek, which we know not only from Polybios but also from a victory epigram, perhaps by Alkaios of Messene, in which the 'seven-gated Thebes' is proudly crowned with the triple crown of Kleitomachos' Isthmian victory.[132] A Theban too, though once removed, was his contemporary, the Phoenician ruler Diotimos of Sidon: the first of his city, and very likely the first Phoenician, to have competed at one of the main Panhellenic games, something not really conceivable before the Hellenistic period, as Ebert rightly points out.[133] The fine epigram telling of his chariot victory at Nemea, explains the connection (ll. 3–8):

As first of your fellow citizens you brought equestrian fame from Hellas to the noble house of the Agenoridai. Pride also fills the sacred city of Kadmeian Thebes, as she sees her own mother-city glorious through the fame of the victory.[134]

[129] In *IG* II^2 2314. 41–2, Ptolemy V Epiphanes is listed as being from the *Πτολεμαιίδος φυλῆς*; Ptolemy Philometer competes in open contest as an Athenian in 158 BC (*IG* II^2 2316. 45) while in 162 he had competed among the Athenians (III, l. 32 in Tracy and Habicht (1991) 232–3). For members of the Attalid royal family competing among the citizens, see above, pp. 361–2. On Ptolemaic and Attalid citizenship in Athens see also Osborne (1983) s.v.

[130] On whom see in particular Ebert (1972) at no. 67 (an epigram for Kleitomachos).

[131] Polybios 27. 9. 7–13 gives the story; cf. Robert (1967*b*) 25–6 (= *OMS* V. 365–6) and in *Hellenica* II–12: 348–9: 'la gloire des Grecs et Aristonikos pour celle du roi Ptolémée? il y a là un argument intéressant pour l'attitude envers les rois'. Cf. *BE* (1981) 262, on a dedication to a king Ptolemy (I?) by two athletes (*SEG* 30, 364; cf. above p. 363), suggesting that this king may have trained these victors and that they had crowns announced in his name, cf. Robert (1967*b*) 18–22; 25–6 (= *OMS* V. 347–424).

[132] In boxing, pankration, and wrestling, all in a single day. Ebert (1972) 67.

[133] See the discussion in Ebert (1972) at no. 64, esp. 190: 'Doch ist das Auftreten von Phöniziern an hellenischen Spielen insgesamt wohl kaum vor hellenistischer Zeit denkbar'. For the interesting suggestion that a young Persian noble, son of the satrap Pharnabazos and guest-friend of King Agesilaos of Sparta, may have competed at Olympia through Agesilaos' mediation, see Bresson (2002).

[134] See also above, p. 347.

Thebes was the home of Kadmos, who was himself son of the Sidonian Agēnōr; a mythical blood tie that must have been used by Diotimos to remind the judges at Nemea that Sidon was mother city to Thebes. By thus making his claim to Greek kinship, he proved his right to compete at one of the great, traditional, Panhellenic events. And so the chauvinist boxer, pankratiast and wrestler from Thebes and the horse-breeding barbarian aristocrat from Sidon, could both claim, in a language heavy with allusions to that of the Classical epinikion, and with absolute respect for Panhellenic conventions, that their victories had brought pride to the city of Pindar. This perhaps sums up best what was new, and what traditional, about the agonistic culture of the Hellenistic world.

This page intentionally left blank

FOURTEEN

'Kapetōleia Olympia': Roman Emperors and Greek Agōnes

Tony Spawforth

This chapter[1] begins by discussing two inscriptions from a classic collection of agonistic texts which shed light on what back in 1953 Luigi Moretti could—in more innocent days—call the 'Romanization' of Greek *agōnes*.[2] Second, it comments briefly on recent research on Greek *agōnes* in the Roman Empire. Thirdly, it returns to the question of Roman influence on Greek *agōnes*, with particular reference to Augustus and Olympia.

1. ROMAN POWER AND GREEK AGŌNES

The following two inscriptions from Moretti's corpus illustrate some key aspects of Greek agonistics under Rome. The first is an inscribed portrait-herm from Athens (*IG* II^2 3769).[3] On prosopographical grounds the text dates to the later 240s AD—to what Moretti termed the 'advanced' imperial age. But time—and this is the real point here—seems to have stood still: we could almost be back in the world of Pindar. Two Athenian brothers proudly celebrate their father's victories in chariot-races, the Homeric sport of the rich in Classical Greece. The victories specified are in the four traditional Panhellenic festivals of the Greek mainland, and of these Olympia is still given pre-eminence as the Panhellenic gathering *par excellence*, with victory there said to have been conferred by 'all Hellas'

[1] This is an adapted version of the paper given by the writer in December 2002 at the kind invitation of Simon Hornblower and Cathy Morgan. He thanks them, and others present, for helpful discussion afterwards. He is grateful to Susan Walker and Chris Pfaff for discussing Olympia with him, and Jason König for showing him a draft chapter, 'Pausanias and Olympic Panhellenism', of König (2005). The general approach which this chapter espouses was first developed during the writer's British Academy/Leverhulme Senior Research Fellowship in 1995/1996, spent as a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

[2] Moretti (1953) entitled the fourth chapter of his collection 'La romanizzazione degli agoni'. 'Romanization' is now a problematic concept: with specific reference to the Greeks, see Sue Alcock's remarks in Rotroff and Hoff (1997) 1–7.

[3] Moretti (1953) no. 89.

(Ἑλλὰς ἅ[πασα]).[4] The very form of the text is artfully traditional, opening with an honorific statement in prose, followed by four crowns detailing the victories, and closing with an epinician poem.

On the agonistic plane, this text illustrates what Timothy Whitmarsh calls the 'secondariness' of Greek cultural production in this period.[5] Roman-period *agōnes* articulated the extreme self-consciousness of educated Roman Greeks that they were living in a post-classical age, one in which classical models of Greek culture were to be zealously preserved, imitated, or reinvented. What contemporaries called the second sophistic, a revival of Greek oratory, is the best-known example of this phenomenon. But Greek *agōnes* too were now a field for the projection of this pervasive sense of cultural belatedness.

A second text (*IGR* III. 1012), dated to AD 221, illustrates some different realities about Greek *agōnes* under the Roman Empire.[6] It suggests how the world of agonistics was now an inextricable mélange of Greek and Roman. The victor, a Syrian Greek champion-boxer, was proud to identify himself as a Roman *colonus* (κόλων, with reference to the Roman promotion of his home-city Laodicea-Mare to the rank of a *colonia*). In contrast to his younger Athenian contemporary, he detailed a tranche of victories won mostly in agonistic festivals first founded in Roman imperial times. These victories bear witness to the huge expansion of cyclical Greek-style *agōnes* under the empire, both in absolute numbers and in geographical reach—from Macedonian Beroea to Zeugma on the Euphrates.

The agonistic titulature, moreover, shows that the Roman imperial state was deeply implicated in this expansion. It was implicated *reactively*, in the sense of permitting to subject Greeks the use of *agōnes* as vehicles for emperor-worship—so we have here games named for, and no doubt celebrating ruler-cults of, the emperors Commodus (the Heraclea Commodea in Tyre), Septimius Severus (the Severan World-Wide Pythian Contest in Caesarea), and Caracalla (the World-Wide Antoninian Contest in Laodicea-Mare).

But the imperial system was also implicated *proactively* in this agonistic expansion. One of this boxer's victories was in the Actian games at Nicopolis in north-west Greece. These were fourth-yearly Greek games founded well over two centuries earlier by a Roman emperor, none other than Augustus himself, as the text is at pains to emphasize by describing the festival as 'the Actia of Augustus' (line 10: Ἄκτια Αὐγούστου). As an agonistic foundation by a Roman emperor in the provinces, the Actia for a long time remained an isolated

[4] The Panhellenism of the crowds at the Roman Olympia was a literary topos, e.g. Arr. *Epict. Diss*. 3. 22. 52; Philostr. *VS* 617. It was echoed by the *origines* of the contestants, on which see now Farrington (1997) and Scanlon (2002) ch. 2.

[5] Whitmarsh (2002) esp. 41–89.

[6] Moretti (1953) no. 85.

phenomenon. But in the second and third centuries, when the number of provincial Greek games mushroomed, Roman emperors alone exercised the right to approve new games of the highest rank, the so-called sacred and iselastic games. Games of this type entitled victors to claim lucrative privileges from their home-cities, including daily maintenance at public expense, and victory in them conferred more prestige than victories in games of lesser rank: here the 'sacred' victories accordingly are listed first, with the so-called 'talent-games', where the prize was in cash, given last.[7]

In exercising their patronage in this area, Roman emperors could of course be passive respondents to initiatives from subject communities, as in the well-known 'Fergus Millar' model of imperial governance.[8] At least for the third century AD, studies by Ruprecht Ziegler and Christian Wallner have argued for a more dynamic linkage between these so-called 'gifts of sacred games' and imperial military campaigns in the east. For instance, in about AD 243 Gordian III endowed the Pamphylian seaport of Side on the south coast of Asia Minor with an iselastic contest. Peter Weiss was the first to suggest the connection with Gordian's Persian expedition, arguing that the gift of games was a form of compensation to a city involved in the logistics of the campaign—in Side's case as a port of departure for the Roman army's *annona* or food supply.[9] According to Wallner, the largest number of these imperial gifts of games belonged to the reign of the emperor Valerian in the 250s, and in broad terms they reflect the use of these regions and their cities as staging posts, ports, and supply bases during Valerian's Persian campaign.[10] One could argue of course that all this is rather late, which is true. But the fact remains that it was in the third century, in a quite specific Roman-imperial context, that we witness the last great blossoming of civic *agōnes*, in northern Greece, in Asia Minor, and in Syria and Phoenicia.

This third-century evidence stresses the stimulus to Greek agonistics of the emperor's personal presence in the provinces. Of course Roman emperors had turned up in the Greek east before, albeit less frequently. The emperor Hadrian is a special case in the sense that he erected provincial journeys into a tool of governance on a scale unmatched before or since; also because he was so keen on Greek culture. The foundation of new *agōnes* was certainly part of the package of support which Hadrian offered for Greek city-culture in the Roman east. According to Mary Boatwright's recent book, 'games in twenty-one cities carried some form of Hadrian's name in their titles'.[11] Of course the inclusion of the emperor's name does not necessarily prove an imperial gift. But Hadrian is known for sure personally to have founded some new *agōnes* in the provinces—such as those for Antinous in Mantinea (Paus. 8. 10. 1; 8. 9. 7–8).

[7] See e.g. Spawforth (1989) 193–4 with refs.
[8] Millar 1992.
[9] Weiss (1981) 332, citing *AE* (1972) no. 628, lines 19 ff., an inscription honouring the first agonothete.
[10] Wallner (1997) 230–1, with the table on p. 165.
[11] Boatwright (2000) 99.

The case of Hadrian raises another question, namely, the extent of direct Roman influence on the content, as well as the absolute number, of Greek *agōnes* in this period. The largest single item of new evidence for *agōnes* in recent years is the long Greek inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia, published by Michael Wörrle.[12] This inscription details the creation of a new periodic *agōn* at Oenoanda, called the Demostheneia after the local worthy who founded them in AD 124, C. Iulius Demosthenes. Christopher Jones has since pointed out the rarity of an *agōn* with an entirely artistic programme, as in the case of the Demostheneia, which was an *agōn mousikos* only, that is, devoted exclusively to contests of musicians, poets, tragic actors, and so on, with no athletics. He goes on to suggest that 'when Demosthenes [of Oenoanda] designed his contest, he was influenced by [the] tastes . . . of the emperor'.[13] This is a rather interesting suggestion, although it may need qualification in the light of one of the finds from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli—a marble maquette of a Greek athletic stadium.[14] This model stadium, whether ever actually built or not, tends to point in the other direction, to a personal interest on Hadrian's part in Greek athletics.

Staying with the possibility of Roman imperial influence on festival content, there is arguaby more mileage to be had from the inclusion in the Demostheneia of a contest for writers and performers of encomia, show-speeches in praise of a given subject.[15] Alex Hardie and Thomas Schmitz have both discussed some of the evidence for a marked increase in contests in encomium, both prose and poetry, in the imperial period.[16] For instance, an encomium contest was added to the programme of the Pythian games at Roman Delphi, perhaps in the second century AD.[17] There were also contests for encomiastic poets, especially epic poets. Time and again the subject-matter, unsurprisingly, turns out to be the Roman emperor and members of his family. The advent of monarchy at Rome, then, was the chief stimulus to this particular development.

2. CURRENT RESEARCH TRENDS

This brief excursus emphasizes recent work which relates to the question of Roman influence on Greek *agōnes*. There has been, of course, a constant drip-drip of new discoveries, if none as sensational as the Oenoanda text discussed earlier. One is a Greek inscription which Peter Siewert has just published, found at Elis,

[12] Wörrle (1988). The text is usefully translated in Mitchell (1990) 183–7.
[13] Jones (1990) 488.
[14] Charles-Gaffiot and Lavagne (1999) 187, no. 34.
[15] Wörrle (1988) 8, lines 39–40.
[16] Hardie (1983) esp. 17–27; Schmitz (1997) 110–12.
[17] *I. Iasos* no. 111, for the *pais* Q. Samiarius Chilo, 'the first of the Romans and Hellenes to have won in the encomium contest at the Pythia . . . '.

host-city of the Olympian festival.[18] The letter-forms are early third-century AD. Enough survives to show that the text is an official Roman edict regulating problems of transport and accommodation during the festival. There is mention of visitors (lines 1–2: *τοὺς ἀφικνουμέ̣[νους]*), of the Roman senate (line 4: *συγκλήτου*), of rest-houses (lines 4–5: *[κα]ταλύσεις*), and of wagons twice, once (line 6: *μήτε ὀχήματι̣*) in the context of a ban. On one level, this text reflects the banal end of the Roman imperial state's involvement in Greek agonistics—as a function of its increasingly close supervision of municipal governance as the imperial period advanced. On another, it provides one of the latest pieces of evidence for that state's particular involvement with Olympia and its festival, a topic returned to below.

As for the secondary literature, work on imperial gifts of games was mentioned earlier; research on Greek games in Roman Italy itself will come up below. For the rest, the most interesting trend in current research is in the other direction: that is, to emphasize the *Greekness* of *agōnes* under the empire, as part of the recent problematization of elite-Greek identity in Roman imperial times.[19] By 'elites' here, what are meant are the pro-Roman governing classes of the provincial Greek cities, the educated benefactor-politicians who formed the city councils, collected Rome's taxes, kept the local peace, fed and entertained the hoi polloi, as well as constituting the bulk of the so-called *pepaideumenoi*, the educated stratum. On the view in question, these elite Greeks saw agonistic culture as a vital element of *to Hellēnikon*, 'Greekness'. When they wrote about Greek agonistic traditions, as, for instance, Pausanias in his *Description of Greece*, and when they themselves sought agonistic success, mainly as athletes, these were strategies for the construction or projection of their sense of what it meant to be Greek in the face of their subjection to Rome.[20]

The good evidence for elite- Greeks in this period continuing to seek athletic success was stressed by earlier researchers such as Harry Pleket.[21] It is less clear, at least to the writer, that Greek athletics in this period were demonstrably *dominated* by this social stratum. But a strong presence is not in doubt, as exemplified by an honorific inscription from about AD 165 for a champion pankratiast from Aphrodisias, said to be from 'a renowned leading family' (lines 7–8: *γ[ένους πρώ]|του καὶ ἐνδόξου*).[22] Identity comes into athletics, it is argued, because Greek *agōnes* in Roman times were a site for the projection and reinvention of Greek cultural traditions. Athletics in particular stuck to the

[18] Siewert (2001) 249–52.

[19] Swain (1996) is now the standard work in this area, to which research on Greek authors of the time increasingly situates itself: on Pausanias see now Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner (2001).

[20] Van Nijf (1999) and (2001); Elsner (2001). König (2005) also engages with these concerns.

[21] Pleket (1975) 73–4.

[22] Moretti (1953) no. 72.

traditional core-specialities of Archaic and Classical days—foot-races, boxing, pankration, pentathlon, and so on. Athletic success therefore offered elite-Greek males an opportunity to affirm and project their Greek (male) identity through a highly traditional Greek cultural practice. This aspect, by now beginning to look well explored, leads into Section 3 of this chapter.

3. THE ROMANS AS CONSUMERS OF GREEK AGŌNES

The focus of this section is on another group of consumers of the classical legacy of Greek athletics and *agōnes* broadly: namely the Romans themselves. The writer shares the view, well put by Greg Woolf, that:

> Greeks remained Greeks, at least in part, because Romans allowed them to. By valuing the Greek past and permitting the Greek language to operate as an official one throughout the early empire, Romans made no assault on the central defining characteristics of Hellenism.[23]

In some ways, as the writer believes, so-called Greek identity in this period is arguably better called 'Graeco-Roman' identity, in the sense that the flourishing of the Greek cities and their traditional cultural life under Roman rule was unthinkable without the active support and endorsement of the ruling power. More than that, the various classicizing foci of Greek-elite identity in this period, such as memories of fifth-century Greece and Alexander the Great, linguistic atticism, and Greek agonistics, were all aspects of the Greek cultural heritage to which the ruling power, at the latest under Augustus, had given the Roman seal of approval and which in varying ways the Romans expropriated and promoted for themselves.

When it comes to Greek agonistics specifically, we need to look behind the official Roman dislike of Greek sport going back at least to Ennius, cited by Cicero (*Tusc*. 4, 33, 70) for the view that 'Shame's beginning is the stripping of men's bodies openly', and still to be found under Trajan, as the righteous abolition of an *agōn* at Vienne, related by the younger Pliny, reminds us.[24] In fact, Greek *agōnes* were exploited and taken over by the Romans just like other areas of Greek culture such as literature, art, and philosophy.[25] That is, *agōnes* came to be incorporated into the Roman cultural scene alongside the traditional Roman *ludi*, games celebrated at Roman religious festivals, broadly speaking

[23] Woolf (1994) 131.

[24] Plin. *Epp*. 4, 22. The Vienne episode is illuminatingly discussed in a paper by Greg Woolf to be published in a collection on Roman Hellenism by the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, DC, based on a 2001 colloquium there.

[25] Fortuin (1996), harshly reviewed by Slater (1999), explores some of this terrain, with a useful collection of ancient texts.

comprising chariot-racing; stage-spectacles, including Roman drama (itself, of course, heavily influenced by the Greek theatre); and shows of gladiators and wild beasts.[26]

Alongside these Roman entertainments, by the late first century AD imperial Rome had come to constitute the real capital of Greek agonistics. This emerges clearly from the informative recent study by Maria Caldelli of Domitian's Capitoline *agōn*. This was the first major cyclical *agōn* on the Greek model in Rome itself to survive beyond the reign of its imperial founder (a point to be returned to). It was provided with amenities on a grand scale, including the first permanent Greek-style athletic stadium in Rome, now the Piazza Navona. Subsequent Roman emperors upheld the imperial connection. According to Herodian (1. 9. 2–3), the emperors habitually presided over these games in person as judges.[27] In doing so they followed in the footsteps of Domitian. According to Suetonius (*Dom*. 4. 10), on these occasions Domitian used to wear a version of the dress of a Greek agonothete or president of the games, complete with Greek half-boots.

One way of understanding the Capitoline games is as another demonstration of Rome's conquest yet again by captive Greece. Not everyone nowadays would subscribe to this characterization of the relationship between the two cultures. For instance, to quote Thomas Habinek:[28]

> the continuing focus on Greek models or Roman-Greek rivalry perpetuates a Romantic view of the superiority of Greek culture over Roman, one which has little to do with the historical attitude of the Romans towards the Greeks . . . to the extent that Greek culture was admired, it was as much for its potential to augment Roman power as for any immanent qualities or characteristics.

On this view, we are looking at less a reverential borrowing, more smash and grab.

4. THE ROMANS AND THE OLYMPIA OF ELIS

The rest of this chapter is devoted to further observations about the Romans and the Olympics of Elis, or 'Pisa' as contemporaries would have it. These were the conceptual model for Domitian's Capitoline *agōn*, which likewise was fourth-yearly, was dedicated to Olympian Zeus' Roman counterpart, and could be specifically styled 'Olympian', as the text from Aphrodisias cited earlier tells us.[29]

[26] See *OCD*[3] entry for 'ludi' by A. B. van Buren, W. Beare, and S. R. F. Price. More recently: Bernstein (1998).

[27] See the other texts cited by Caldelli (1993) 108–12.

[28] Habinek (1998) 34.

[29] Caldelli (1993) 59 and 138–9, no. 31, citing Moretti (1953) no. 72, line 29: '*Ρώμην Καπετώλεια 'Ολύμπια*.

Foundation of the Capitolia definitively entrenched in the capital a long-standing Roman engagement with the Olympian model of Greek athletics which first surfaces under Sulla. Sulla's homage to Olympia by contrast was crudely expropriatory. According to Appian (*Rom*. I. 99), he transposed a whole Olympiad, the 175th, falling in 80 BC, with nearly all the Greek athletes taking part, to Rome. The Olympia on this occasion became a form of exotic imported entertainment like the animals from Africa increasingly available for use in Roman wild-beast shows. Sulla's expropriated Olympiad was one of several occasions in the late Republic when Roman magistrates put on Greek-style games in Rome. Their relative infrequency might suggest that Greek athletics were less popular than traditional Roman *ludi*, although Sulla's pretext for transposing the Olympics was, according to Appian, to oblige the Roman people. Roman elite hostility to Greek athletics, as much as or more than plebeian tastes, may have been an inhibiting factor in the first century BC.

We turn next to Augustus, an absolutely crucial figure in understanding the evolution of Roman attitudes to Greek culture in imperial times. For two reasons. First, within the imperial system which he founded, Augustus became the paradeigmatic emperor. As is well known, his rule repeatedly furnished an authoritative example to imperial successors, for whom *imitatio Augusti* offered a powerful legitimating trope. Second, what Karl Galinsky has called 'Augustan culture' was shot through and through with Greek borrowings and adaptations. Much of this citation was official in context, such as the replica caryatids built into Augustus' new Roman forum. Its effect, and perhaps purpose, was 'to usher in the new by appealing to the past'.[30] In a sense, Augustan Rome 'politicized' Greek culture, by making aspects of it—as the writer has emphasized elsewhere—a matter of 'state interest'.[31] Hellenists tend to minimize the impact of Rome on Greek culture under the Principate. But to the writer's mind the huge political asymmetry between Roman domination and Greek subjection makes it hard to believe that subject-Greek elites were uninfluenced by Roman endorsement of certain forms of Greek cultural expression (see further below). If correct, this observation is potentially important for the development of Greek agonistics, if these turn out to have been a target of Augustan interventions.

And they certainly were. Hans Langenfeld has drawn attention to Octavian's striking choice of vehicle for the perpetual commemoration of Actium.[32] Beyond the confines of Italy, in north-west Greece, he founded a new Greek city on the site of his land-camp, Nicopolis, 'City of Victory', which he endowed with a major new fourth-yearly agonistic festival of Greek type, the Actian games, encountered earlier in this chapter. The ideological value which Octavian's regime attached to these games is suggested by their mythical prefiguration in

[30] Galinsky (1996). [31] Spawforth (2001) 375. [32] Langenfeld (1975) 230, 238–40.

the *Aeneid*, where (3. 278–83) Vergil has Aeneas and his men land on the Actian shore, strip naked and oil themselves in the manner of Greek athletes, and engage in wrestling bouts.

On the other hand, there is nothing about Nicopolis and the Actia in the *Res Gestae*. It is as if Octavian as early as 29 BC was addressing at least two quite different audiences. Nicopolis and the Actia were gestures aimed at the Greeks. They signalled that Antony's victor, no less than Antony himself, was a philhellene, well disposed to the institution of the Greek city and to Greek culture. It may not have looked quite like that to the local Aetolians who were turned out of their homes to populate Nicopolis (Paus. 7. 18. 5; 10. 38. 2). But the Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria, two generations later, had surely got the intended message. In a remarkable passage the first princeps attracts praise as a Greek-style culture-bringer, 'who brought gentle manners and harmony to all unsociable and brutish nations, who enlarged Hellas by many a new Hellas, and hellenized the outside world in its most important regions, the guardian of the peace' (*Embassy to Gaius* 147, Colson's Loeb translation).

For what must have been somewhat different reasons, Augustus also promoted Greek agonistics in Italy itself. In the first book of the *Epistles* Horace refers to a famous Greek pankratiast of the day called Glycon (*Epist*. 1. 1. 130). This Glycon has been recognized in the Pergamene champion of the same name whose verse-epitaph is preserved in the Palatine Anthology (*Anth. Pal*. 7. 692), and in the honorand of a Pergamene inscription, likewise said to have won victories in Italy.[33] Glycon presumably took part in the athletic contests which Augustus is known to have staged in Rome. Suetonius (*Aug*. 45. 1) and Cassius Dio (53. 1. 4–5) both mention Augustus' wooden stadium for athletic contests in the Campus Martius,[34] a disposable precursor of Domitian's. According to Suetonius (*Aug*. 45. 3), Augustus increased the privileges of athletes and was an avid follower of so-called Greek contests. It is perhaps less clear whether this was from personal taste or from a wish to be seen to enjoy demotic pleasures, in the manner of British Prime Minister Tony Blair's ostentatious attachment to football. Either way, the actions of so shrewd a political operator underline that there really was a Roman popular audience for Greek athletics in his day (some of it, of course, made up of Rome's many residents of Greek extraction).

I turn now to Augustus and Olympia. His Actian games paid the Olympics a compliment in the sense that they were, according to the contemporary Greek geographer Strabo (7. 7. 6, C 325), an *agōn Olympios*. That is, victors enjoyed the same privileges as they would in the Olympics of Elis, which may also have provided an organizational model for the Actian athletic programme. On the

[33] Moretti (1953) no. 58 and commentary.

[34] As Fortuin (1996) 89 suggests, its temporary nature perhaps a sop to Roman critics of Greek athletics.

other hand, Langenfeld, once more, has argued that Augustus and his regime were indifferent to Olympia itself. But here proper account must be taken of the activity of Marcus Agrippa, whom the Greeks rightly saw, on his two tours of the east, as the official representative of the princeps. From the Greek point of view, the Augustan regime was a benefactor of Olympia, and advertised itself as such.

The evidence on this point was curiously overlooked by Jean-Michel Roddaz in his major and otherwise comprehensive 1984 book on Agrippa. It comes in the form of a fragmentary building inscription in Latin, first published by Wilhelm Dittenberger and Karl Purgold in 1896 as *IvO* no. 913. The stone is a yellow and violet marble, said to be Phrygian *pavonazetto*, 5 or 6 centimetres thick. This type of marble, from Asia Minor, came into use in Roman architecture precisely under Augustus, who employed it in his new forum in the capital. There are cuttings for the attachment of large letters of bronze, now lost, some 16 centimetres high.

As published the seven fragments make up a rectangular slab, of which the right-hand edge is partly preserved, as well as parts of the top and bottom edges; but the left-hand edge is lost. The first fragment, as has since been pointed out, does not belong—it is a different type of stone apparently, and the lettering is smaller.[35] The editors' facsimile also indicates an interpunct after the last preserved letter, followed, it seems, by the right-hand edge of the stone. The text should therefore have continued onto a neighbouring stone. The original edition reads:

[M(arcus) Ag]rippa.

It now should read:

[---- Ag]rippa [----]

The fragments were found in the vicinity of the temple of Zeus, where exactly the same coloured stone was used in a Roman-period repaving of the front porch. These are the persuasive grounds for the editors' assumption in their commentary, which no one has challenged, that the inscription was once attached to the temple, that this Agrippa must be *the* Agrippa, and that the text advertised Agrippan renovations to the building, evidently on a substantial scale. It has been suggested to the writer that the inscription may have been set into the pavement itself, rather than high up on the building as its original editors envisaged. Roman building inscriptions were not uncommonly displayed in this way.[36]

[35] Mallwitz (1988*b*) 45 n. 16.

[36] Pers. comm. Chris Pfaff at a colloquium on Augustan Greece organized (Nov. 2002) by the Department of Classics, Florida State University. Susan Walker points out that the thickness of the marble would suit paving. An interesting *comparandum* is offered by the building inscription beneath the pulpitum in the theatre at Italica in Spain, probably Augustan or Tiberian and coinciding with the introduction of

The date of this inscription in the writer's opinion needs to be tied in more precisely to the Augustan principate than it has been hitherto. Not only does the choice of coloured marble have Augustan resonances: the bronze letters are typical of the 'explosion of inscriptions as a by-product of the Augustan building program'.[37] But on an argument from silence, that is, because there is no mention of any of Agrippa's three consulates in the text as preserved, its original editors proposed a date before Agrippa's first term as consul in 38 BC. Although it has slipped into the literature,[38] this date seems impossibly early—long before Agrippa's first official contacts with Greece, for instance. In fact, as has just been argued, the inscription as we have it is incomplete. After 'Agrippa' we would expect at least his filiation to follow and perhaps his consulships, not to mention a main verb. If there was more of the inscription on one or more additional slabs, the chief obstacle is removed to dating this text where it otherwise would seem most naturally to belong—during Agrippa's political ascendancy under Augustus, with a strong preference for the period between 17 and 15 BC when he is known to have toured mainland Greece and been its benefactor.

One might go further. There was an Olympic celebration precisely in 16 BC, and it is not an unreasonable speculation that Agrippa attended it in person, leaving behind him the funds for the repaving of the temple porch in the new marble style of Augustan Rome. This speculation receives support from the recent redating of the remains of a monumental arch straddling the main ancient approach to Olympia. For a long time the German excavators linked this arch to Nero's visit to Olympia in AD 67. In a posthumous publication by Alfred Mallwitz, on archaeological grounds the arch has now been shown to be earlier, and almost certainly Augustan. It is an honorific arch, it can surely only honour a Roman from the imperial family, and of the two apparent possibilities, Agrippa or Augustus himself, Agrippa on circumstantial grounds now seems the stronger candidate.[39]

5. THE PROLIFERATION OF 'OLYMPIAN' FESTIVALS

This final section addresses the question as to why so many of the new sacred *agōnes* of Roman imperial times were modelled on the Olympia and, to a lesser

coloured marbles into local architecture: *CILA* no. 83; see respectively S. Keay and P. León in Caballos and León (1997) 41–2 and 161–2 (with the illustrations on 161 and 165). Closer to Olympia there is the famous Erastus inscription from colonial Corinth: Kent (1966) no. 232.

[37] Galinksky (1996) 352 citing Alföldy (1991) 293–9.

[38] See e.g. Scanlon (2002) 43.

[39] Mallwitz (1999) 274.

extent, the Pythia. The phenomenon is a well-known one. Wallner's list of new or renewed agonistic festivals under Valerian shows that it was still going strong in the mid-third century AD, when even such ancient festivals as the Asklepeia of Epidaurus or the Herakleia at Thebes have the fashionable epithet 'Olympian'.[40] The self-conscious 'secondariness' of Greek *agōnes* in imperial times offers one explanation: cities hosting new sacred games wished to situate them in the great tradition of Greek agonistics going back to the ancient Panhellenic games of the Greek mainland.

There was also the force of Roman example. In the period from Augustus to the Flavians successive Roman emperors did a great deal to renovate in particular Olympia and Delphi and to promote especially the Olympian games.[41] In the case of Augustus, there is a further item to mention: the foundation of copy-cat Olympic games in his honour by Naples in 2 BC, the so-called Sebasta. The connection with Olympia was underscored by an inscribed copy, displayed at Olympia, of what Louis Robert called the 'act of foundation' of the Neapolitan games. This view of the text, that it was set up by Neapolis when the Sebasta were founded, is supported by the letter-forms (e.g. broken-bar *alpha*, the shortened right-hand *hasta* of *pi*). These in the writer's view pose a problem for the dating to the second century AD found in some of the more recent secondary literature.[42] Augustus is likely to have been consulted in advance of games intended to honour him, and their imitation of the Olympics was surely meant to complement his earlier signs of interest in Olympia and its festival. Moreover, Augustus not only attended the Sebasta in person (Suet. *Aug*. 98, 5; Vell. Pat. 2. 123. 1) but on one occasion, just before his death, presided in person (Cass. Dio 56. 29. 2). Such was his power of example that other emperors followed in his footsteps: Claudius is known to have presided (Suet. *Claud*. 11. 2), as did Titus in AD 70 (*in absentia*), 74, and 78.[43] Augustan precedent, it turns out, lay behind Domitian's presidency of the Capitoline games.

More generally, this precedent, in fact, now looks far more decisive in the development of *agōnes* under Rome than is usually acknowledged. In this connection Nero has yet to be invoked. Caldelli draws attention to a passage in Suetonius describing how this emperor laid his victor's wreath before a statue of Augustus after winning the lyre-playing in his newly instituted Greek games at Rome, the short-lived Neronia (*Nero* 12. 3).[44] The point, she suggests, is that

[40] Moretti (1953) no. 87, lines 9–11.

[41] This imperial involvement, especially for Olympia, has been noted elsewhere, most recently by Scanlon (2002) ch. 2. The writer's discussion does not aim to be exhaustive.

[42] *IvO* no. 56 (*SEG* 37. 356) with Caldelli (1993) 8–37, citing Robert (1970) 9. For the later dating see *SEG* 11. 200; 14. 39.

[43] *AE* (1988) no. 32.

[44] Caldelli (1993) 43.

Nero wished to show that in founding the Neronia he was only following in the authoritative footsteps of Augustus, himself instigator of Greek games in Rome.

The detail cannot be gone into here, but a somewhat similar story can be pieced together in regard to the early Roman emperors and Delphi, in what looks like a pattern of activity aimed at associating imperial benevolence with these exceptionally venerable Greek cults, of which support for the ancient sacred games was one aspect. Here Domitian is already known to have repaired the temple of Apollo, and current German work at Olympia reveals his activity there too.[45] Claudius too took an interest in Delphi. In a well-known letter of AD 52 he intervened in support of measures to repeople the city of Delphi, where there was evidently a manpower shortage in the mid-first century AD. He is now known as well to have accepted an invitation from the Delphians to serve as their eponymous archon. Delphian indebtedness to Claudius is suggested by a number of statues of the emperor attested in the sanctuary, including the one before which, in a recently-published inscription, a Delphian citizen solemnly acknowledged a freed slave as his daughter.[46]

In conclusion, the classicism of Augustan culture, well described by Karl Galinsky, helps to explain why Olympia became an ideal model for the Actian and Sebastan games, and why Agrippa chose to renovate (but also 'Romanize') the temple of Olympian Zeus. Augustus also turns out to have been deeply implicated in Greek agonistics, promoting them even in Rome. Later emperors who founded *agōnes* in Rome, especially Nero and Domitian, could both claim Augustan precedent. The Augustan regime's support for Olympia and the Olympics helps to explain how Olympia recuperated its traditional prestige under the empire. This in turn helps explain the later waves of copy-cat Olympics in the eastern provinces. Acceptance by subject-Greek elites of the Roman estimation of Greek culture was a form of political obeisance to Roman power, an expression of subject loyalty no less than its more instantly recognizable manifestations such as the imperial cult, declarations of *pistis* on Greek local coins, pursuit of Roman office, and so on. Elite Greeks internalized this Roman estimation of their cultural traditions, much of it condemnatory; but, where it was favourable, they could, and did, adjust their own cultural comportment accordingly. The now-unfashionable weasel-word 'Romanization', to pick up where this

[45] *ILS* no. 8905. He is also named 'explicitly' in a building inscription from Olympia, where the Roman refurbishment of the Leonidaion is also now dated to the Flavians. The resemblances of this refurbished building to the Domus Flavia on the Palatine suggest a Roman, and quite possibly an imperial, patron: Specht (1996) 210, 214–15.

[46] A. Plassart, *FD* III, 4, no. 286 (letter of Claudius) with Ferrary and Rousset (1998) 313. For the two inscriptions published by Mulliez (2001) see now *SEG* 51 (2001) nos. 606 (statue) and 607 (archonship). For the correct interpretations of the first of these two texts see Rigsby (2004).

chapter began, in the writer's view is still useful to convey the flavour of the politico-cultural process at work here. It is hard to see how *agōnes* would have flourished in the Greek world to anything like the extent that they did in the first three centuries AD without active imperial support. Augustus, followed by Nero and Domitian, can be said to have transformed Greek agonistics into Graeco-Roman agonistics.

FIFTEEN

Conclusion: The Prestige of the Games

Mary Douglas

The editors of this book have made a grand interdisciplinary gesture. It was a happy thought to put poetry and sport (in its widest sense) into the same frame, and in itself a bold idea to bring together classical scholars from all branches of the discipline to talk about the Panhellenic crown games and Pindar's Odes celebrating the games' victors. Academically speaking, it was also a postmodern gesture. The earlier (modern) idea used to be that sport is sport, a branch of play, a genre of its own, one which has much to say for the education and mental and bodily well-being of the individual performers, and something to do with school and national morale, but nothing else. That narrowly bounded view is dead and done. Nowadays sport is one branch of the 'Performative Arts', which include play, dance, ritual, emotion, celebration, theories of public events, religion, the media, and much more besides.

SOME QUESTIONS ARISING

All great cultures create climactic moments in which the community celebrates itself with its own standardized, awe-inspiring rites. The Hellas-wide, self-celebrations of the games have rightly been compared to victory parades, or to kings' coronations, or to state funerals, but there are many differences. The games were not provoked by a national disaster or triumph. They started at sporadic intervals at the shrines of different gods, and were not initially (or in many cases ever) Hellas-wide events. Over several hundred years the major games became regularized, held on a four-year cycle: four festivals eclipsed the others and ended up at the heart of networks which spread round the vast archipelago as one cultural system. Why did they spread so completely, and so fast? When the games are simply presented as an example of competition for glory the thing looks quite different. If the games were so popular, why were they, at least in pre-Roman times, confined to the Hellenes? Even in the Roman Empire, they were still called the Greek games. And how did the religious aspect of the games, dedicated to different deities, contribute to the integration of the region?

In Greece, at least from the fifth century onwards, barbarians were not eligible to compete. Games became both an enactment and an exhibition of Hellenism, hedged around by codes, rules, judges, and administrators. Essentially the games were an exhibition to the world of Hellenes enjoying their Hellenic heritage. There is perhaps a puzzle here. One might expect that ethnic exclusivity would have hindered the expansion, although ethnic identity is, of course, often claimed and ascribed (as the case of the Macedonian ruling house demonstrates). Unless the peace was already established, how could competitive games make for peace without using military force? These were questions in my mind at the beginning of October 2002. But now I have a different perspective for reflecting on competition for prestige. Helping to keep the peace cannot be the central point, for the peace was not kept; outsiders caused many invasions, sanctuaries suffered violent disruptions, and fights occurred between Greek states

In the sociologist's standard terms of inquiry the usual questions are posed in terms of competition for power and wealth.

> 'Why did athletes compete in the games?'
> 'Presumably because they individually got something out of it.'

But apart from personal satisfaction, what did they get in return for all the effort they make and the physical risks they take? Wealth? Not likely. Commercial profits were certainly to be made for the city and/or sanctuary in providing for a mass of visitors. In smaller competitions the cities gave quite rich prizes but in the big four games (at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia) the victorious athlete only received wreaths. As Davies points out, athletes got their rewards from their home cities. Influence too—and power? Glory, certainly, but how do we set about studying that? What about evidence? Compared with what we hear about our football stars, do we know anything about the relative wealth of the Greek players, or about the forms of patronage which enabled them to play? What sort of trail should we follow to trace the distribution of power? It turns out that where the power used to reside in the Greek games system is obscure. The games must have been expensive to organize, and without gate money it is difficult to see how they could generate big profits, or who got them.

The results of this search for pecuniary reward for individuals, or access to power, or other political and economic privileges distributed through the machinery of the games, are thin. The usual theories based on individual advantage, psychological or economic, do not tell us how a super-star emerges. We don't know where to look for other advantages which make a strenuous competition worth while. Answers based on individual cost-benefit do not seem to apply. We can transfer our curiosity away from that line of questioning and try to make a fresh start. We have been used to thinking of power and domination as the

sources of influence. Prestige is something quite other.[1] It is defined as freely conferred deference; it is completely different from dominance achieved by force or threat of force. To appreciate how it works we have to shift up one level, stop focusing on individuals, start thinking of a system developed by individuals for themselves, think of culture. Prestige is a cultural phenomenon, not susceptible to questions about individual gain.

PRESTIGE SYSTEMS

The theory of Prestige will open up different questions about cultural transmission. The Panhellenic crown games were obviously a full-blown prestige system based on deference freely conferred on the heroes. They provide a splendid exemplar for the new theory of prestige proposed by Joseph Henrich and Francisco Gil-White (2001) It carries us beyond piecemeal observations to appreciate some systemic aspects of competition. We will have to look for different kinds of evidence to recognize the limits and strength of prestige systems. The theory may even be able to settle the chicken-and-egg question: were the games dependent on a peace already enforced? Or did the prestige of the games bring the peace with them? John Davies' chapter touches lightly on this—and the editors themselves raise the question in their Introduction, when they evaluate modern interpretations of the sacred truce. I am aiming at a form of argument that can show that the games contributed to the level of peace which made themselves, the games, possible.

We normally have a rather scrappy idea of how a prestige system works. Perhaps our own dislike of snobbism and self-interested behaviour makes the subject unpalatable, so that sociology hardly goes beyond disparaging individual efforts to 'keep up with the Joneses'. The theory of prestige that is now beginning to emerge consolidates and systematizes what we only know naively. It comes from Evolutionary Psychology via Rational Choice and 'Information Goods'. This sounds a heavy brew, but it is in practice a clever move towards practising what it preaches: it manages to ground a theory about prestige on the most prestigious theories in the social sciences. We can't afford to ignore it.

The theory starts off from evolutionary assumptions about natural selection. It focuses strongly on the survival of groups, rather than on survival of individual members. In other words, it is about the process of achieving a public good. It starts by linking the collective need for high-quality information to the individual interest in acquiring it. The theory assumes that a group will be at risk if its members are not interested in seeking the best available information. It states

[1] Henrich and Gil-White (2001).

that, to acquire good-quality information, individuals look for skilled experts from whom to learn. Humans have developed talents for judging and ranking each other for expertise; natural selection favours learners who can select the most successful models. The big issue for the quality of transmission is how individuals decide whom to copy, and how they can persuade their chosen model to give access for learning. This is where freely conferred deference comes in. Prestige is a powerful draw. The drive to be near to high-prestige holders accounts for much of social life. One simple method for choosing the best and most compliant expert model for copying is to use success as an indicator. The choosing confers prestige on successful individuals. At this point we leave the evolutionary model in order to study the social relations between high-prestige individuals and their deferential following of copiers.

A big following is not only the result of success, it is an important sign of success. Success breeds more success, and more prestige from bigger bands of followers. The process is a positive feedback. In the primitive conditions of hunters and foragers, prestige bestows many individual advantages: influence, power to persuade, choice of sexual partners; a flow of gifts to the successful individual in return for access to the model. Hunters and gatherers are favourite exemplars (understandably) in evolutionary psychology, but there is no need to stay with them. Success does the same for us moderns. Anthropologists have put on record many examples of patronage systems, or political systems where the leaders who surface through a competition for prestige are known as 'Big Men'.[2] Having arrived at the top, the good things of life start to flow towards them. They become rich. They advertise their success and affluence by giving away their surplus. The successful man's daughters attract a queue of suitors. Rich, successful, and well-connected by marriage, according to the theory the model of success exerts influence. Even arrived at that high point, the Big Men can't sit back and collect the benefits. They have to work hard to protect their prestige rating against challenge; hence the interest in costly display and the dispensing of generous gifts. And so, the competition for prestige expands the field. The Big Men will use their influence to stop wars they can't control. This line of argument can be a help in thinking about how the games spread; it can redirect our search for information.

The theory of prestige is not complete without a theory of rejection. It describes competition as generating a series of positive feedbacks. For any such system to persist it would have to be complemented by a series of negative feedbacks too. Most societies try to curb individual competition, some curb it just a little, others try to control it more severely, some let it go free. Without any internal controls the system of prestige which the theory describes would be running towards its own destruction. Fortunately for us, who want to use the

[2] Godelier (1982).

theory, we don't have to assume the Greek games were rushing towards their own ruin. The theoretical complement has been at hand for over twenty years. It falls to us to combine Prestige Theory with Rubbish Theory, to the benefit of our study of the games.

Michael Thompson's theory of rubbish,[3] published in 1979, was widely applauded as an essay in aesthetic philosophy. The front players in his book are not people but objects. The book is about treasures which have once been famous and costly, and which a change of fashion has directed to the trash bin. The pattern traces out the same destiny for these one-time valuables now become rubbish as for many social processes, as for example the destiny of concepts in the history of ideas, and the fate of persons' reputations in a competitive social system.

Prestige is a generating process. Unless there is something to stop it, as it unfolds it creates more and more prestige until a saturation point is reached. From lowly beginnings a steepening path leads on to dizzying heights and puts huge distances between persons, so that the humblest is worlds below the top. However, anyone who reaches near the top of the system finds that opportunities of increasing scale begin to fade. There are not enough large halls or theatres. The current superstars are riding so high on their triumphs that they can rise no further. Michael Thompson considers the dilemmas that face a hero when his agent has exhausted all the resources for drumming up yet bigger audiences: he has to risk failing altogether or decide upon a new orbit, or find a new career.

The central idea is that the nature of rubbish is determined by the kind of society that has discarded it, above all it depends on social attitudes to competitive behaviour. The conservative hierarchical society seeks to limit competition, and conserves its treasures. The competitive society lightly discards its old treasures and its tastes change quickly. Eventually, it runs out of new valuable objects; long before that stage has been reached, discerning people have been going back to the attic and bringing out old discarded furniture, textiles, or ceramics, unpacking the old-fashioned silver from the trunk in the cellar, and representing it as a new thing, 'an antique', valued for its age. Rubbish theory suggests that the students of competitive processes should watch the failures as carefully as they watch the successful ventures. The processes of decay and of enhanced prestige are complementary and both turn out to be dynamic.[4]

THE HOLINESS RAT RACE

Ernest Gellner wrote the best description of how a prestige system generates its own validation. *Saints of the Atlas* is a book on success as the proof of sanctity in

[3] Thompson (1979). [4] Thompson (1980).

the society of the Berbers.[5] Every spring these camel herders make a wild competitive scramble for the best pasture lands. Boundary disputes will lead to fighting unless they can call in a reputed Holy Man to adjudicate. He will administer oaths to reveal the truth of the conflicting claims. The more important a dispute, the larger and richer the population involved in it, the less likely it is to be settled peacefully. He has to be someone very impressive for his authority to be accepted by all parties.

The tribes are divided between warrior lineages and holy lineages. The latter compete just as energetically for reputation and commissions as the former do for pastures. To become a powerful and respected adjudicator a holy man has to be known as the holiest and the most discerning and authoritative judge in the region. Success breeds, and every successfully conducted negotiation adds to a growing reputation. This is the competition which takes place between different lineages of holy men, jockeying for position in the eyes of the warrior lineages who rely on them to settle their disputes about pastures.

The same competition is played out at another level within the holy lineage itself. There is no rule of succession which indicates who is to be the leader of their branch. A hopeful candidate has to prove his superior holiness against his own brethren. The sign of great holiness is generosity. They all start out as poor as each other, to be successful a holy man must acquire the wherewithal to be conspicuously generous by acumen. This is what he does. He goes to the look-out post at the top of the house in which the large family of holy men and their wives and children live together. The trick is for his servant to be there and to spot the cloud of dust heralding a troop of horsemen in the distance. As they draw near, the ambitious holy man must assess whether the strangers are rich or poor, needing alms or able to bestow them. If they look poor, the clever man will leave them to be received by the other brethren. If they are rich, he sends out his servants to welcome them on the road, lead them in, pressing his hospitality on them. When they leave, they repay his generous welcome with lavish gifts. This strategy enhances the store of wealth which enables him to be even more generous to the next batch of rich visitors. The more generous he is, the holier he is esteemed to be; the more astutely he distributes his gifts, the wealthier he becomes, and more able to justify his reputation for holiness. The system endows authority while concealing its inherent inequality.

Within his own lineage his guileless brethren have been getting poorer as their brother gets richer, but it is an advantage for them to have in their midst a big leader to speak for them in the assemblies. In a competitive system there are bound to be losers. The same pattern of negative feedbacks applies between holy lineages. Eventually it may become politic for the losing lineages to give up their

[5] Gellner (1969).

identity and merge with one of the other lineages. The result of all the excitement and effort is that the community as a whole has gained a way of limiting warfare between its members.

DOMINANT PRESTIGE SYSTEMS

The theory of prestige should allow for a cyclic element: a prestige system is inherently unstable, eventually it turns against its champions. When it moves into a new phase they find themselves losing rank to their rivals. Prestige systems are greedy. Ever attracting new members, they come into competition with each other and eventually one system will win, and be dominant. We are familiar with this in our own lives: in various spheres, sports heroes, pop stars, politicians, find themselves the pawns of fashion. Given time, the same generative process can make one prestige system so successful that it absorbs the others. So if it is a commercial system, profit-seeking provides a model for all other behaviour; everything in the social process may become buyable or sellable. If it is a political system, the hustings model dominates. We could illustrate the greediness of a dominating prestige system in sport with the history of English cricket, or fox hunting. As the games moved off the village greens and local farms to become great national games, they were quickly absorbed into the stream of competitions supporting gentlemanly prestige. Prestige systems tend to converge and coalesce. Several of the chapters in this volume have described the way in which states may suddenly choose to commemorate victors retrospectively, to suit the changing political circumstances.

A competitive prestige system is inherently inegalitarian. It raises some competitors to the stars, making a huge unaccountable gap between winners and the rank and file. This might explain how in a list of Olympic winners only a happy few are commemorated by an ode. It is the generative principle at work, the prestige of the games attracting more followers, swelling the number of adherents and creating more prestige. For the Prima Donna or the Superstar, prestige is based on returns to scale. Success of the singer or actor depends on managing to perform in the biggest halls.[6] However, at some point in the process the knock-on effect produces saturation, maybe because there are no bigger halls to hire. At that point, a downturn is liable to follow unless some adjustments can be made.

CHOICE OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS AND OTHER SOCIAL EFFECTS OF PRESTIGE

You may have noticed that anthropologists of my generation yearn for systematic information about kinship and marriage; the status of women; demographic and family structures; political, economic, and ecological pressures. Prestige theory

[6] Meyer (1960); Rosen (1981).

starts by assuming that the possessor of prestige has better choice of mating partners. Did a winner in the Games have a better choice of potential brides (as prestige theory would predict)? This is a very important question for anthropologists, but not much is said about it in ancient sources. Yet there is a specific reference in Pindar: Maria Stamatopoulou reminds us that in *P.* 10. 55–9, Pindar says that Hipplokleas' victory will make him more attractive to girls.

Just as important would be whether the prestige of the young men's games would have affected the balance of power and authority between old and young in Delphi. I imagine it might be harder to be an old man in Greece than in some other places not so obsessed with excelling in strength and speed. Were the best young athletes and the best trainers in the pay of powerful patrons (as market theory would assume)? Did their patrons pay the poets for their congratulatory odes? There is certainly one instance of this in *Pythian* 10, as Maria Stamatopoulou again describes, but we can only guess at how typical this was.

What about gambling? I recall Peter Brown's account[7] of the chariot races in Byzantium on whose outcomes major political issues hung. And Clifford Geertz's account of the Balinese cockfights, on which princes and their dependants betted heavily.[8] Were there laws against betting? and fixing? At Olympia at least, the measures taken to publicize cheating imply that it must have been a problem. Candidates took an oath not to cheat at the altar of Zeus Horkios before the temple, and those caught cheating were fined and the fines used to pay for bronze statues (Zanes) set up along the athletes' way into the stadium. Evidence for betting is less direct. At Nemea, the presence in the late fourth-century stadium of contingents of spectators from Argos, Sikyon, Phlius, and Kleonai, is illustrated by the distribution of coins from these cities, and the fact that these are mostly small change may suggest that they were used for betting and gaming.[9]

In this seminar there were some information gaps that would be easy to fill, and others that would entail hard work and not be worth the trouble. And of course any systematic research develops ways of ignoring information that does not meet its current needs, information one can really do without. Paul Bohannon had a little joke about a book that 'filled a much-needed gap'. The restricted focus of a scholarly discipline necessarily creates gaps in curiosity. Some questions are just not worth asking because there is no valid way of answering them.

'MUCH-NEEDED GAPS'

Simon Hornblower's chapter is an exercise in rejecting unnecessary questions. He demonstrates that many of Pindar's odes referred to victors from Aegina, and

[7] Brown (1970). [8] Geertz (1971). [9] Knapp (2005) 22–30.

discusses several possible explanations for their preponderance. He dismisses them all in turn and ends by discarding the whole issue as too contrived, unnecessary, over-sophisticated. Instead he urges the simple explanation that Pindar would have had a special affection for the island, and many good friends there; the people were famous for their welcoming generosity, they loved a good time. No wonder they got so many odes from the poet who enjoyed their hospitality. According to the evidence, these lovable features of the Aeginetan personality were, and still are, characteristic of *all* Greek culture, and so Hornblower went on to show that Pindar thought that the people of Aegina had these virtues to a higher degree than other Greeks. In other words, he regarded the whole question as unnecessary, and sought to defend simple everyday explanations. The academic questioning was either probing into inevitable gaps, or plain wrong-headed. So now I try to defend my choice of what I hope are worthwhile questions.

THE EXPANDING COLONIES

The Greek colonial expansion kept surfacing in our discussion as the background of the games. I am interested in colonies, having lived through the decline and end of the British Empire, and I have read about its earlier period of growth and conquest. It had to be explained to me that in this seminar the word colony means quite simply a settlement of Greeks in other lands, more to do with plantations than with military conquest and colonial administration. There is no real evidence that the incoming groups were technologically, economically, or militarily superior. They were definitely at a disadvantage numerically, even though the ethnic divisions were more fluid than one might suppose.[10]

This made what Carla Antonaccio said about elite mobility even more intriguing. By mobility she did not mean social mobility up and down the vertical axis of a class structure. She focused on the physical journeys of elite settlers from their colonial sites to their ancestral homes and back again. The settlers would have had a permanent stake in the land; certainly the climate was good enough to stay all the year round and rear children. My first question is why, if these Greeks had settled as traders or farmers, gaining their livelihood on a remote peninsular or island, did they keep returning? It was hardly a question of going 'home' since they made their home on their western farms and cities. They may have wanted to keep in touch with their old folks, though they probably could not afford to return frequently and such personal connections may have weakened over time. Traders obviously have to travel to pick up and sell their wares; regular trips

[10] Morgan (1997*a*).

home would help them to assess demand for their products. I am angling for an answer that relies on their pride in Hellenic identity, and the role that the games played in maintaining it.

The main sociological interest in elites focuses upon the vertical dimension of social stratification. Whether the players belonged to the elite would be answered by reference to a ranked occupational structure, such as whether a cook like Coroebus of Elis was allowed to compete. If they did travel back and forth, it is worth recalling the effect on local solidarities of travelling out of their territory together and joining in sporting competitions away from home. How far would they have to travel to get from the outposts of civilization to where the games were being held? How long would it take? How much did it cost? How many days? Would it be the equivalent of flying to America for a baseball game? Did they go on foot, riding a mule, or in a bullock cart, and over water in a boat? Did the men go, and their families stay behind? Or did the wives and children follow with the baggage train?

Of course the distances travelled varied a lot according to starting point; it would be easier to sail to Olympia at least from Sicily than from the Aegean islands. But we can still ask what the travellers did with the children. If they accompanied their parents travelling back and forth, it says much for the safety of the route. Carla Antonaccio told us that the settlers sent remittances to their family at home; she called it a kind of investment. What, and how much, did they send? And why did they send anything? This reminds me of the Central African migrant workers in the Copperbelt who regularly sent remittances back to their family. That was a worthwhile investment which they made, they said, to 'keep their place in the village warm'. They hoped thereby to have preserved their kinship links, so that on retiring from the mines they would still be entitled to claim their lineal right to office in the village. Would there be a Hellenic equivalent? Did the settlers plan to retire to Greece, or did they try to make a sustainable local community to live and die in? The latter, I think—although the question of a 'right of return' is much debated.

DEMOGRAPHY: A CITY NEEDS TO HOLD ITS MEMBERS

A range of the questions which recurred from week to week during the seminar have now been treated at greater length in the editors' introduction. We argued around encyclopaedia definitions of the word 'elite'. Marxist views were occasionally scanned. Were the games the effort of a declining aristocracy to regain visibility and prestige? Or were they just for the pleasure of the Greek elites? Or again, did anyone suggest that games in which all Greeks could compete prevented status differences turning into social classes?

We in England have had the same question raised about fox hunting. The claim that the conviviality of hunting together in the fields and dancing together at the annual Hunt Ball welds the rural community into a single social unit (which is not the same as a classless society) is open to challenge. More likely, the solidarity is a feature of urban life. I would expect in each city a shared concern for its survival and prosperity. The honour paid to a victorious athlete would be part of an attempt to bind him to his place of origin (see Rosalind Thomas's chapter).

In Central Africa every village would be very concerned to maintain its size and quality of life. Among the Lele, for example, anxiety about defection of the young men was a major preoccupation. On a night following a day of squabbling the village announcer would warn the old people not to offend the young men or to make them feel unwelcome. 'Who will hunt for us, who will build our houses, if they leave?' Visiting the absent sick was an occasion to calumniate the people of the patient's present abode. The sick man would be berated for leaving home, warned that his new village was full of jealous sorcerers deceitfully plotting to poison him, and that if he would only come back where he belonged he would make a quick recovery.

I imagine that smaller Greek communities could also have been afraid of losing a successful athlete. The games furnished seductive occasions for social climbing. According to prestige theory, the young athlete would want to live near his role models. This explains why the prizes for victors came from their own towns, and it suggests that by offering other sources of support for the games the aristocracy hoped to retrieve a passing glory. A local benefactor who generously supplied the alcohol or other material things for the games was not just doing himself a favour by becoming even more notable than before. He was also contributing to the movement which involved smaller regions into a great Panhellenic unity. He was cranking up the machinery of an expanding prestige system. The growing stability and dignity of the society increased the scale of his rewards, and so increased his incentives to be a contributor, so more alcohol and good things, and so more demand for festivals. It would be another positive feedback leading to more stability and dignity.

MEMORIALIZATION

Bert Smith said that the Greeks had 'the statue habit'. Rosalind Thomas enlarged upon an intriguing parallel between odes and monuments. She also referred to the Greeks' passion for commemoration, and suggested (unexpectedly) that to commission a monument cost less than a poem. There is not much known about the relative prices, but the two forms of commemoration imply two different, if

interacting, prestige systems. Most monumental sculptors probably worked for a more local clientele than poets (although the existence of star sculptors is well illustrated in the appendix to Smith's chapter). Some families wanted to commemorate members who died prematurely—young persons whose lives will not otherwise be remembered because they have no descendants. The sculptors themselves would have had a professional interest in making the parents feel bad about uncommemorated dead, a parallel with unburied dead. Indeed, Greek sympathy for the unfulfilled life extended to making statues of unfulfilled women.

The passion for memorializing would very likely have been carried along on the ever-expanding prestige system. It would have been an accepted form of public relations for the successful families and their imitators. Alternatively, commemorative rites can be strongly imposed on mourners by the community, sometimes expecting the heir to make lavish disbursements of cash or property. It comes as no surprise that epinikian odes fit well into the picture of a society engrossed with competition for prestige. Translations of odes tend to suggest a rather portentous style. One expects the poetry of another language to be lost on the outsider. However, Michael Silk's chapter on *Olympian* 12 corrected these expectations with a subtle analysis of a single, complex, poem. It was shown to be much more highly structured than a first reading of the English version suggested to me. In the event, I was delighted to find that the discussion of poetic form managed to transcend disciplinary boundaries. I hope one day to read how Pindar compares with other commissioned praise-song writers, poet laureates, or imperial bards. (I am thinking of Kipling's verse at the height of the British Raj.) It would be interesting if expatriate cultures tend to prefer a particular genre of poetry. Does absence from home lead to pride of place and pride in performance? Do expatriates like ironic, teasing, paradoxes? Some wistfulness, some irony, stiff upper lip, and moral uplift? Are these the regular components of diaspora literatures? If the very idea of Pindar as a poet of the diaspora seems strange, it is at least supported in the editors' introduction and in Carla Antonaccio's chapter.

In all this, however, we said very little about the athletes themselves, their strains and pains, or about the rigours of their training, camaraderie, or envy. Stephen Instone made me want to know more about the sporting contenders themselves. For example, the rule of nudity was one of the things that the early Roman elite held against Greek games. Evidently the two cultures had very different ideas of decency, but their differing does not mean that the Greeks were lacking in that respect. Indeed, the Greeks were scandalized by the state of undress of the Spartan women who were allowed to compete in the Spartan games.

NAKED OR NUDE?

Nudity came up again in Bert Smith's chapter on its sculptural treatment, and again in Tony Spawforth's account of the Greek games in the Roman Empire. Various reasons for the Greek games' nudity rule have been offered. The simplest is that it was a practical concession to the conditions of athletics. The disadvantage of wearing clothes for heavy exercise is the sweat and smell; it makes sense to wear no clothes at all. A more fanciful idea is that nudity upholds equality between men: the naked man is utterly simple and natural, the genuine person, no faking with elaborate dress. A convention of this kind would make nudity a value in itself. But in one sense it is absurd, because equality in nakedness is an illusion. Remember Thomas Mann's hero, the handsome young Felix Krull, who had to take off his shirt to be examined by the Board that could grant him exemption from military service. Aware of his physical advantages, he stripped off completely and walked in to the interview room stark naked. The examining board were so moved by his uncovered beauty that they agreed unanimously that it would be iniquitous to let him risk combatant status. He got his exemption, enjoying a secret smile about the inequality of nature's endowments.

The rule of nudity for contestants was linked in antiquity to the absence of women at the games. My own experience in Africa of inter-village wrestling matches supports the connection, but in term of modesty rather than confirmation of the biological sex of the participant. The Lele were extremely circumspect in dress and speech, and men never exposed themselves naked in front of women. It was easy for a loincloth to slip in the course of a wrestling match. For this reason the polite wrestlers banned women from approaching the 'ring', in case an accidental glimpse of their genitals gave offence. But the practicalities of nakedness should not be confused with the aesthetics of nudity—the latter at the heart of Smith's paper. Kenneth Clark defines nudity as 'an art form invented by the Greeks in the fifth century'. He insists that the nude is not the subject of art, but a form of art. This form of art uses the human body to exemplify the central Greek concept of human wholeness.[11] Nakedness and nudity are defined in terms of each other. The two concepts have to be a central contrast in every culture. They are used normatively to express the difference between child and adult, member and outsider, human and animal, public and private, savage and civilized. The presentation of the body can be neutral, but usually it carries heavy social implications. The Greeks were shocked at the depiction of a deformed body.

The most powerful analysis of the body as a moral indicator is Bernadette Bucher's study of the illustrations in De Bry's *Les Grand Voyages*.[12] These were

[11] Clark (1956) 18–22.
[12] Bucher (1981) (trans. from the French original, *La Sauvage aux Seins Pendants*; Paris, 1977).

popular reports on the explorations of the Caribbean and American shores in the late sixteenth century. The artists had never seen the people they portrayed, and at first, inspired by the thought of a new race of humans, not descended from Adam and Eve so untainted by original sin, drew their models from Greek statues of gods and goddesses. But the history of exploration turned into the history of conflict between natives defending their lands and the intruding settlers. They were discovered to be cannibals, not innocent at all. The later illustrations took up the moral theme with verve. Women chewing on human bones or tending the fire for the cannibal feast, had long pendulous breasts. Warriors' bodies were old and wrinkled, children's bodies were clumsy as one carried a severed head and another a dismembered arm. Formerly the population had been presented as nude, but now they were utterly, repulsively naked.

Clothing and covering are not the same. One can be naked under a blanket. A naked woman in one culture can be very embarrassed if she has taken off her nose-ring to show it to the English traveller (trying to hide her face, looking away), but completely at ease once she has put it on again. Nakedness is all right in intimacy, but not among strangers or honoured visitors. The Lele feel 'undressed' if they are not wearing red paint on a formal occasion. In this light, the very fact of taking part in the games would have been enough to transform nakedness into acceptable nudity. The context of the games would serve as well to frame the body in a noble aura just as the context of an art gallery makes nudity presentable.

From these discussions I got the idea of a team-spirited set of sportsmen in Italy, and a ruthlessly ego-focused set in Greece. The Greeks maintained that the games were a good preparation for war, which amused the Romans whose army (not trained in the games but in the gymnasium) had carved up the Greek military defences in no time at all. One can suppose that the military competence of the Romans was greater: Greek individualism, a strength in the games, would have been a weakness in confronting Roman coordination, discipline, and strategy. The potential exception is Sparta where, as Cathy Morgan's chapter shows, recent scholarship has struggled to come to terms with the apparently paradoxical implications of athletic and equestrian competition in a military state.

SPORTSMANSHIP

A by-blow of this very basic cultural difference might show in contrasted ideas of good- sportsmanship. If that difference existed it could irritate both parties trying to join the same games. I would suppose the Romans might have had more protocol about team spirit and fair play, and the Greeks might play a more uninhibited game. The late Victor Turner told me that when he first visited

the States, he was challenged to a game of ping-pong, lost the game, and shruggingly retired saying, 'Never mind, it's only a game.' Whereupon his winning opponent furiously dragged him back to play again, shouting: 'Don't you ever say that! You are in America now! Here you play to win.' From that day on, he always played to win, and generally did.

In some countries the competitive aspects of games is deliberately damped. At the end of the seminar I showed a film on Trobriand Cricket. The game was very dramatic, enhanced by vigorous singing and dancing. Only at the end was it revealed that Trobrianders observed strict conventions of courtesy and that it was unthinkable for them to let the visiting team lose the match. Tennis players at Wimbledon used to walk decorously to the net to shake hands after a game, the winner would say something kind to the loser. Compare that with TV in summer 2002, and observe Tim Henman dancing on the court after a winning match, throwing up his arms in wild exultation, no eyes for his vanquished opponent creeping ignominiously away—a familiar image in the Greek world.

I dwell on this cultural difference because it ought to show up in the statuary. Romans also had the 'statue habit'. We saw a fine upstanding Greek charioteer, wrestlers, and a discus thrower, but their posture didn't seem to be specially exhibitionist. Did the Romans present their sportsmen in the same postures? Their victors should show very different body language.

RELIGION AND MYTHICAL ORIGINS

Religion was touched upon in many papers: the shrines and the role of the gods, religious obligations, sanctuaries. This makes it very credible that there would have been a strong religious concern, with the god of the city backing his home team and expecting due offerings when the victory was gained.

John Davies considers these athletics to be a natural extension of religion, backed by the idea that the gods gave success. In his piece on the origins of the games he recounted several myths in which a god appeared to a worshipper and told him to make a festival in his honour. The idea that the endeavours of the champions and the god's gifts of success were reciprocal is clearly present in the ancient sources, and the sense of athletics as a cultic service has long been present in modern scholarship. Can we connect the asceticism of the runner with religious asceticism? I have gained the impression that this was very much the case, and that visions of the gods were not accidental features of the origins of the games.

There might be another mechanism for self-renewal concealed here. Remember that physical deprivation, such as extreme hunger, thirst, or exhaustion, induces states of dissociation, and that long-distance runners have hallucinatory

experiences. Mystics preparing for a trance experience often force their physical resources to the limit. This confirms a strong link between the games and the gods. We have been hearing of myths in which the gods command new festivals. There is a positive feedback:

> Runners have visions of Gods,
> The Gods ask for more races;
> More runners have more visions
> of Gods commanding more races.

On this showing, nothing could be more conducive to the rise of 'nationalism' (for want of a better term), the strengthening of religious faith, and the adherence of scattered peoples to the cultural centre, than the games. No one underrates their central contribution to the spread of Greek culture.

RELIGION AND PHYSICAL PAIN

A possible support for this version of the history of the games is suggested by a recent book on religion. Steven Whitehouse's *Icon and Argument* (2000)[13] starts from initiation rituals in Papua New Guinea, a region which has been covered extensively by anthropological fieldwork. He asks why initiation rites often seek to terrorize the initiates and do them physical violence. His answer throws a new light on some old theories of violence practised in religions. Walter Burkert has had some credence for his theory that all religions are originally based on bloody sacrifice, violence, and bloodshed, and have progressed gradually to non-sacrificial modern rituals. It is a modern version of moral evolution illustrated from Greek sources. Whitehouse has reformulated the question on the basis of two kinds of religions. He uses modern brain science to distinguish religions using violent rituals and what he calls 'imagist religiosity', from religions using non-violent rites, and 'doctrinal religiosity'.

The theory is about how religious beliefs get transmitted, and how different kinds of memory are engaged. Most remembering depends on reiteration, very complex sequences can be recalled without major losses of information if they are repeated with regular frequency. Specialists are assigned the responsibility of developing a good memory, and have much practice in learning by rote and public recitation. This type is the sort of religion that develops elaborate doctrines. It suits a community which has the benefit of literacy, which is why it survives so well into the present world. By contrast, something that is learnt on an occasion of great pain, horror, and terror is never forgotten. It remains fresh

[13] Whitehouse (2000).

and vivid even if only recalled to mind irregularly at long intervals. The religious teaching that is transmitted in this way naturally tends to be much simpler and more personal.

On a modest and contemporary scale, compare the rite of baptism in the Catholic Church with the Baptists' rite of total immersion. The former uses constant reiteration and an elaborate doctrinal inheritance, and its rite consists of such gentle sprinkling that the baby barely notices. The latter, plunging the adult bodily into cold water administers a violent shock, and their doctrines are much simpler and more emotive.

A type of religion closely associated with festivals which demand extraordinary athletic feats will be of the latter type. Spectators can see athletes' fear of losing, see them burst their lungs, strain their sinews, break their bones, bleed, even die. The risks the athletes incur add to the emotion of the event. No one is going to forget the principles of the religion associated with these stupendous displays of courage and endurance. I would like to hear the comparison of Roman and Greek religions tried out on these lines. Presumably the old Romans tended towards a more reiterative doctrinal religion, the Greeks, towards more violent imagist religion.

These rather disjointed thoughts suggest a picture of prestige systems, with their internal competitive pressures to expand, focusing and concentrating all their values, competing, one prestige system against another, one dominating the rest. In Greece the games went hand in hand with religion; methods of warfare were influenced by the individualism of competitive games; attitudes to the body and clothing, and the demographic concerns of cities, literature and sculpture, could not help but be drawn into the dominant prestige system. It seems to have been so pervasive that the one form of prestige coloured all the others.

SUMMING UP THE POSITIVE FEEDBACK

Prestige theory can take a series of unanswerable, unnecessary questions, and extract from the background information a set of systematic interactions. The theory tells us that prestige tends to expand because of positive feedbacks. The copiers want to copy the successful, trying to get near to the models they want to imitate; they form a following. The following demonstrates that the model is a success, which attracts more followers. The followers have gathered to learn, they also hope the success and the prestige will rub off on themselves. A limit to the size of the following can be caused by crowding at the top. When too many people are allowed to join an elite club, the prestige value of membership is diminished. Or the system may be confronted by a failure in demand for the particular kind of expertise, or by competition between models. Warfare puts

a severe limit on the expansion of prestige. When it is blocked, for whatever reason, the leaders at the top are less secure. They feel the pressure to play to bigger audiences. These pressures and responses create a cyclic effect for prestige systems.[14]

The Greek games were patently a competition for prestige. If they had not excluded slaves and barbarians the pressure to expand could have gone on indefinitely, but the Greeks in that case might have lost control of the games to other ethnics. Rival centres might have had a chance to get established, each with its own cycle of expansion and impending limit. On the other hand, ethnic exclusivity might have led to a check after all the Greeks were enrolled as followers. But for the overseas colonies and northern 'margins' the system might have toppled. The competition for prestige would make it easy for the games to spread through the archipelago. It became an outlet for competition between cities; individual athletes were the role models, objects of adulation, but their cities claimed them. These interacting social pressures made for integration. The people of all the islands were deeply involved with each other. At every level an emotionally powerful engagement in the competition for prestige would have worked against the constraints that war would impose. This is why I come down on the side of the games as co-evolving with cultural integration.

None of this means that more international games will produce world peace—the editors make this point clearly for the Greek world in the Introduction. Remember that the objective of primitive warfare is not domination. The reason is simple: conquest is possible, but dominating a conquered people requires an administrative apparatus. It takes generations to build up an effectively co-ordinated bureaucracy. The effort is hampered by problems of transport and communication. The great empires of antiquity were blessed with extensive waterways and resources for horse-breeding. The Greek mainland and islands are mountainous and rugged. With this infrastructure the games prestige system could not be nested inside a dominant governmental system, nor was it interstitial within a market system. In a complex industrial society there are multiple prestige systems, not well co-ordinated, not necessarily peaking in synchrony. But in a simple agricultural economy one prestige system could influence everything else that was happening. This is why the influence of the Greek games, co-ordinated with Greek religion, and interlocked with competition between Greek cities, sweeping all together in the competition for prestige, was so powerful.

[14] Michael Thompson (1979) developed a theory of cycles of prestige. The theory would help us to rephrase our questions about the spread of the Games. His theory of self-generating fashion cycles and credit cycles applied Norbert Weiner's account of cybernetic systems and the concepts of 'negative feedback' and 'positive feedback' which in economics and politics are routinely applied to any systematized human relations, voting for example, or consumer behaviour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta-Hughes, B. (2003). Review of Barbantani (2001), *BMCR* 2003. 02. 20.

—— Kosmetatou, E., and Baumbach, M. (eds.) (2004). *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P. Mil. Vog l. VIII. 309)* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Adrymi-Sismani, V. (1983). '*Τύμβος Φερών*', *AAA* 16: 23–42.

Adshead, K. (1986). *Politics of the Archaic Peloponnese: The Transition from Archaic to Classical Politics* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT).

Ajootian, A. (1998). 'A day at the races: The Tyrannicides in the fifth-century Agora', in K. J. Hartswick and M. C. Sturgeon (eds.), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway* (Philadelphia), 1–13.

Alcock, S., Cherry, J., and Elsner, J. (eds.) (2001). *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Ancient Greece* (Oxford).

Alexiou, M. (1974). *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge).

Alföldy, G. (1991). 'Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation', *Gymnasium* 98: 289–324.

Allamani-Souri, V. (1983). ''*Επιτύμβια στήλη ἀπό τὴν 'Ελάτεια τῆς Θεσσαλίας*', *AE*: 148–60.

Aloni, A. (1997). 'The proem of the Simonides Elegy on the battle of Plataea (Sim. frags. 10–18 W) and the circumstances of its performance', in L. Edmonds and R. W. Wallace (eds.), *Poet, Public and Performance in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore and London), 8–28.

Amandry, P. (1971). 'Collection Paul Canellopoulos, 1: Armes et lébès de bronze', *BCH* 95: 585–626.

—— (1980). 'Sur les concours argiens', in *Études argiennes* (*BCH* Suppl. 6), 211–53.

—— (1981). 'Le Monnayage de Dymé', *Rev. Num*. 53–7.

—— (1983). 'Le Bouclier d'Argos (note complémentaire)', *BCH* 107: 627–34.

—— (1987). 'Trépieds de Delphes et du Péloponnèse', *BCH* 111: 79–131.

—— (2002). 'Hydries argiennes', in A. J. Clark and J. Gaunt (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* (Amsterdam), 29–32.

Andrewes, A. (1971). 'Two notes on Lysander', *Phoenix* 25: 206–26.

—— (1981). *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. v (Oxford).

Antonaccio, C. M. (1995). *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Lanham, MD).

—— (1999). 'Colonization and the origins of Greek hero cult', in Hägg (1999) 109–21.

—— (2001). 'Colonization and acculturation', in Malkin (2001), 113–57.

Arachoviti, P. (1994). '*Θολωτός Πρωτογεωμετρικός τάφος στην περιοχή των Φερών*', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 125–38.

—— (2000). '*Στοιχεία αρχαιολογικής δράσης στις Φερές και την ευρύτερη περιοχή τους κατά τα τελευταία οκτώ χρόνια*', in *Έργο των Εφορειών*: 355–71.

—— (2002). '*Τα μνημεία του άξονα της εθνικής οδού στα όρια του δήμου Φερών - Αερινό*', in *Μνημεία*: 48–55.

Arafat, K. W. (1996). *Pausanias' Greece: Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers* (Cambridge).

Archibald, Z. (2000). 'Space, hierarchy and community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace', in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 212–33.

Arnold, I. (1960). 'Agonistic festivals in Italy and Sicily', *AJA* 64: 245–51.

ARVANITOPOULOS, A. S. (1906). '*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Θεσσαλία*', *PAE*: 123–30.
—— (1907). '*Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Θεσσαλία*', *PAE*: 147–82.
—— (1908). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ Θεσσαλίᾳ*', *PAE*: 145–223.
—— (1910). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κατὰ το ἔτον* 1910', *PAE*: 168–264.
—— (1911). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κατὰ το ἔτον* 1911', *PAE*: 280–356.
—— (1915). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλιᾳ*', *PAE*: 131–200.
ASHERI, D. (1988). 'Carthaginians and Greeks', in *CAH* iv. 739–80.
ASHMOLE, B., and YALOURIS, N. (1967). *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London).
ASLAMATZIDOU, Z. (2004). '*Κορινθία και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Εργα. Ευρήματα και πορίσματα απα τις ανασκαφές στη νέα σιδηροδρομική γραμμή Κορίνθου–Πατρων. Τμῶήμα Κόρινθος–Κιάτο*', *Αρχαιολογικές Ερευνες και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Εργα. Αρχαιολογική Συνάντηση Εργασίας* (Thessaloniki), 62–5.
—— and KASIMI, P. (2004). '*Γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο στην Αρχαία Κόρινθο*', *Αρχαιολογικές Ερευνες και Μεγάλα Δημόσια Έργα. Αρχαιολογική Συνάντηση Εργασίας* (Thessaloniki), 223.
AUPERT, P., with CALLOT, O. (1979). *Fouilles de Delphes*, II. *Le Stade* (Paris).
AUSTIN, C., and BASTIANINI, G. (2002). *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia* (Milan).
AXENIDIS, T. D. (1947*a*). *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Θεσσαλικοὶ αγῶνες καί ἡ πολιτιστικὴ των σημασία* (Athens).
—— (1947*b*). *Ἡ Πελασγὶς Λάρισα καὶ ἡ Ἀρχαία Θεσσαλία* (Athens).
BACCHIELLI, L. (1985). 'Modelli politichi e modelli architettonici a Cirene durante il regime democratico', in G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford), 1–14.
BAKALAKIS, G. (1973). '*Φεραία Ἀθηνᾶ*', *Arch. Thess. Mel.* 2: 1–24.
BAKIR, G. (1981). *Sophilos: Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz).
BARAKARI-GLENI, K., and PARIENTE, A. (1998). 'Argos du VIIe au IIe siècle av. J.-C.: Synthèse des données archéologiques', in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et urbanisme* (Paris), 165–78.
BARBANERA, M. (1995). *Il guerriero di Agrigento: una probabile scultura frontonale del Museo di Agrigento e alcune questioni di Archeologia 'sicelita'* (Rome).
BARBANTANI, S. (2001). *Φάτις Νικηφόρος. Frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell'età delle Guerre Galatiche*: *Suppl. Hel.* 958 and 969, Milan.
BARRETT, W. S. (1973). 'Pindar's twelfth *Olympian* and the fall of the Deinomenidai', *JHS* 93: 23–35.
—— (1978). 'The Oligaithidai and their victories (Pindar, *Olympian* 13; *SLG* 339, 340)', in R. Dawe, J. Diggle, and P. E. Easterling (eds.), *Dionysiaca. Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by Former Pupils Presented to Sir Denys Page on his Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge), 1–20.
BARRON, J. (1984). 'Ibycus: Gorgias and other poems', *BICS* 31: 13–24.
BASTIANINI, G., and GALLAZZI, C., with the collaboration of C. AUSTIN (2001). *Papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, viii. *Posidippo di Pella. Epigrammi* (*P. Mil. Vogl. VIII. 309*) (Milan).
BAURAIN-REBILLARD, L. (1999). 'Sophilos, grand artiste du parlant', in M.-C. Villanueva Puig, F. Lissarague, P. Rouillard, and A. Rouveret (eds.), *Céramique et peinture grecques: Modes d'emploi. Actes du colloque international. École du Louvre 26–27–28 avril 1995* (Paris), 155–62.
BAUSLAUGH, R. A. (1979). 'The text of Thucydides IV 8.6 and the south channel at Pylos', *JHS* 99: 1–6.
BECK. H. (1997). *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart).

—— Bol, P. C., and Bückling, M. (1990). *Polyklet: Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik* (Mainz).
Bell, M. (1995). 'The Motya charioteer and Pindar's *Isthmian* 2', *MAAR* 40: 1–42.
Beloch, K. J. (1926). *Griechische Geschichte*, I²2 (Berlin and Leipzig).
Bengtson, H. (1972). *Die Olympischen Spiele in der Antike*, 2nd edn. (Zurich and Stuttgart).
Bennet, C. (2002). 'The children of Ptolemy III and the date of the Exedra of Thermos', *ZPE* 138: 141–5.
Bentz, J. (1998). 'Appendix A: The date of the destruction of the Archaic temple based on ceramic evidence', in Gebhard (1998) 110–13.
Bentz, M. (1998). *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (*Ant. Kunst* 18, Basel).
—— and Eschbach, N. (eds.) (2001). *Panathenaïka. Symposion zu den Panathenaischen Preisamphoren, Rauischholzhausen 25.11–29.11.1998* (Mainz).
Béquignon, Y. (1937*a*). *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IV siècle: Études d'archéologie et de topographie* (Paris).
—— (1937*b*). *Recherches archéologiques à Phéres de Théssalie* (Paris).
Bergemann, J. (1991). 'Pindar: Das Bildnis eines konservativen Dichters', *AM* 106: 157–89.
Bergquist, B. (1990). 'The Archaic temenos in western Greece: A survey and two enquiries', in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le Sanctuaire grec* (Entretiens Hardt 37, Geneva), 109–52.
Bernstein, F. (1998). *Ludi publici*: *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im republikanischen Rom* (Historia Einzelschriften 119, Stuttgart).
Bers, V. (1974). *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden).
Biesantz, H. (1957). 'Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Gebiet der Gremnos-Magoula bei Larisa in Frühjahr 1958', *AA*: 37–57.
—— (1959). 'Griechisch-Römische Altertümer in Larissa und Umgebung', *AA*: 74–107.
—— (1965). *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz).
Bing, P. (2003). 'Posidippus and the admiral: Kallikrates of Samos in the Milan epigrams', *GRBS* 43: 243–66.
Bingen, J. (2002*a*). 'La Victoire pythique de Callicratès de Samos (Posidippe, P. Mil. Vogl. VIII. 309, xi.33–xii.7)', *Chr. Eg.* 77: 185–90.
—— (2002*b*). 'Posidippe: Le Poète et les princes', in *Un poeta ritrovato: Posidippo di Pella* (Milan), 47–59.
Birge, D. (1992). 'The Sacred Square', in D. Birge, L. Kraynak, and S. Miller, *Excavations at Nemea: Topographical and Architectural Studies: The Sacred Square, the Xenon, and the Bath* (Berkeley), 1–98.
Blanchard-Lemée, M., Ennaifer, M., Slim, H., and Slim, L. (1996). *Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia* (London).
Blech, M. (1982). *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin).
Blegen, C., Palmer, H., and Young, R. (1964). *Corinth*, xiii. *The North Cemetery* (Princeton).
Blickman, D. R. (1986). 'The myth of Ixion and the pollution of homicide in Archaic Greece', *CJ* 81: 193–208.
Boardman, J. (1975). *Attic Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London).
—— (1994). *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London).
Boatwright, M. T. (2000). *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton).
Boedeker, D. (1995). 'Simonides on Plataea: Narrative elegy, mythodic history', *ZPE* 107: 217–29.

BOEDEKER, D. and SIDER, D. (eds.) (2001). *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (Oxford).

BOEHRINGER, D. (1996). 'Zur heroisierung historischer Persönlichkeiten bei den Griechen', in M. Flashar, H.-J. Gehrke, and E. Heinrich (eds.), *Retrospektive: Konzepte von Vergangenheit in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Munich), 37–61.

BOHRINGER, F. (1979). 'Cultes d'athlètes en Grèce classique: Propos politiques, discours mythiques', *REA* 81: 5–18.

BOL, P. C. (1978). *Grossplastik aus Bronze in Olympia: Olympische Forschungen*, ix (Berlin).

BOMMELAER, J.-F., and LAROCHE, D. (1991). *Guide de Delphes: Le Site* (Paris).

—— and DES COURTILS, J. (1994). *Études péloponnésiennes*, x. *La Salle hypostyle d'Argos* (Paris).

BONACASA, N., and BUTTITTA, A. (eds.) (1988). *La statua marmorea di Mozia* (*Studi e materiali*: Istituto di archeologia, Università di Palermo 8, Rome).

—— and ENSOLI, S. (2000). *Cirene* (Milan).

BONFANTE, L. (1989). 'Nudity as a costume in classical art', *AJA* 93: 543–70.

BOOKIDIS, N. (1990). 'Ritual dining in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Some questions', in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford), 86–94.

—— (1993). 'Ritual dining at Corinth', in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 45–61.

—— (1995). 'Archaic Corinthian sculpture: A summary', in *Corinto e l'Occidente (Atti Taranto 34, 1994)*, 233–56.

—— (2000). 'Corinthian terracotta sculpture and the temple of Apollo', *Hesperia* 69: 381–452.

—— (2003). 'The sanctuaries of Corinth', in C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis (eds.), *Corinth*, xx. *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896–1996* (Princeton), 247–59.

—— and FISHER, J. (1972). 'The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Preliminary report iv: 1969–1970', *Hesperia* 41: 283–331.

—— and STROUD, R. (1999). *Corinth*, xviii, iii. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture* (Princeton).

—— HANSEN, J., SNYDER, L., and GOLDBERG, P. (1999). 'Dining in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth', *Hesperia* 68: 1–54.

BORRELLI, L. V., and PELAGATTI, P. (1984). *Due bronzi da Riace: Rinvenimento, restauro, analisi ed ipotesi di interpretazione* (*Bollettino d'arte* 3, Rome).

BORTHWICK, E. K. (1976). 'Zoologica Pindarica', *CQ* 26: 198–205.

BOSCHUNG, D. (2002). *Gens Augusta: Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses* (Mainz).

BOSNAKIS, D. N. (1990). *Συμβολή στη μελέτη των Θεσσαλικών επιταφίων αναγλύφων του 5ου και 4ου αι. π.Χ.* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ioannina).

BOULTER, C. G. (ed.) (1985). *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (Leiden).

BOURDIEU, P. (1997). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge).

BOURGUET, E. (1929). *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. *Épigraphie. Fasc.* 1: *Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens* (Paris).

BOUSQUET, J. (1984). 'Delphes et les "Pythioniques" d'Aristote', *REG* 97: 374–80.

BOUTROS, L. (1981). *Phoenician Sport: Its Influence on the Origin of the Olympic Games* (Amsterdam).

BOWRA, C. M. (1960). 'Euripides' epinician for Alcibiades', *Historia* 9: 68–79.

—— (1961). *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd edn. (Oxford).

—— (1964). *Pindar* (Oxford).

BRASWELL, B. K. (1988). *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar* (Berlin).

Bremer, J. (2004). Review of Acosta-Hughes *et al.* (2004), *BMCR* 2004.07.47.
Brenne, S. (1992). ' "Porträts" auf Ostraka', *AM* 107: 161–85.
Bresson, A. (2000). *La Cité marchande* (Bordeaux).
—— (2002). 'Un Athénien à Sparte ou Plutarque lecteur de Xénophon', *REG* 115: 22–57.
Brinkmann, V. (1987). 'La Polychromie de la sculpture archaique en marbre', *Pact* 17: 35–70.
—— and Koch-Brinkmann, U. (2002). *Der prächtige Prinz: Zur Farbigkeit der Ägineten* (Munich).
Brock, R., and Hodkinson, S. (eds.) (2000). *Alternatives to Athens* (Oxford).
Broneer, O. (1942). 'Hero cults in the Corinthian agora', *Hesperia* 11: 128–61.
—— (1954). *Corinth*, I, iv. *The South Stoa and its Roman Successor* (Princeton).
—— (1958). 'Excavations at Isthmia, third campaign, 1955–1956', *Hesperia* 27: 1–37.
—— (1973). *Isthmia*, II. *Topography and Architecture* (Princeton).
Brown, C. C. (1992). 'The Hyperboreans and nemesis in Pindar's tenth Pythian', *Phoenix* 46: 103–7.
Brown, P. (1970). 'Sorcery, demons and the rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages', in M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London and New York), 17–46.
Brulotte, E. (1994). 'The "Pillar of Oinomaos" and the location of Stadium I at Olympia', *AJA* 98: 53–64.
Bruneau, P., and Ducat, J. (1983). *Guide de Délos*, 3rd edn. (Paris).
Brunn, H., and Bruckmann, F. (1902–43). *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* (Munich).
Brunnsåker, S. (1971). *The Tyrant Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, 2nd edn. (Stockholm).
Bucher, B. (1981). *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago).
Buck, C. D. (1955). *The Greek Dialects*, rev. edn. (Chicago).
—— and Petersen, W. (1944). *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago).
Buck, R. J. (1994). *Boiotia and the Boiotian League, 428–371* (Edmonton).
Buckler, J. (1980). *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 BC* (Harvard).
—— (1989). *Philip II and the Sacred War* (Leiden).
Budelmann, F. (ed.) (forthcoming). *Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric* (Cambridge).
Bulman, P. (1992). *Phthonos in Pindar* (Berkeley).
Bundy, E. L. (1986) [1962]. *Studia Pindarica*, i–ii (Berkeley).
Burkert, W. (1985). *Greek Religion* (Eng. trans. J. Raffan) (Oxford).
—— (1994). 'Olbia and Apollo of Didyma: A new oracle text', in J. Solomon (ed.), *Apollo: Origins and Influence* (Tucson), 49–60.
Burnett, A. P. (1985). *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass., and London).
—— (2005). *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina* (Oxford).
Burton, R. (1962). *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford).
Bury, J. B. (1890). *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London).
—— (1892). *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London).
Bynum, M. R. (1995). 'Studies in the Topography of the Southern Corinthia' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley).
Caballos, A., and León, P. (eds.) (1997). *Italica MMCC. Actas de la Journadas del 2.200 Aniversario de la Fundación de Itálica (Sevilla, 8–11 noviembre 1994)* (Seville).
Cain, P. (1993). *Männerbildnisse neronisch-flavischer Zeit* (Munich).
Cairns, D. (2005). 'Myth and the *polis* in Bac̀chylides' Eleventh Ode', *JHS* 125: 35–50.
Caldelli, M. L. (1993). *L'Agon Capitolinus: Storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domizianea al IV secolo* (Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica 54, Rome).

CAMERON, A. (1990). 'Two mistresses of Ptolemy Philadelphus', *GRBS* 31: 287–311.
—— (1993), *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford).
—— (1995), *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton).
CAMPBELL, D. A. (ed.) (1992). *Greek Lyric*, iv. *Bacchylides, Corinna and Others* (London).
CAREY, C. (1981). *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar: Pythian 2, Pythian 9, Nemean 1, Nemean 7, Isthmian 8* (Salem).
—— (1983). Review of Maehler (1982), *JHS* 103: 165.
—— (1989*a*). 'Prosopographica Pindarica', *CQ* 39: 1–9.
—— (1989*b*). 'The performance of the victory ode', *AJP* 110: 545–65.
—— (1991). 'The victory ode in performance', *CP* 86: 192–200.
—— (1995). 'Pindar and the victory ode', in L. Ayres (ed.), *The Passionate Intellect. Essays on the Transformation of the Classical Tradition presented to Prof. I. Kidd* (London), 85–103.
—— (2001). 'Poesia pubblica in performance', in M. Cannatà Fera (ed.), *I lirici greci: Forma di comunicazione e storia del testo* (Messine), 11–26.
CARNE-ROSS, D. (1985). *Pindar* (New Haven and London).
CARNEY, E. D. (2000). *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia* (Norman).
CARTER, JANE (1989). 'The chests of Periander', *AJA* 93: 355–78.
CARTER, JOSEPH (1996). 'Agricultural settlements', in Pugliese Carratelli (1996) 361–8.
—— (1998). *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropoleis* (Austin).
CARTLEDGE, P. (1985). 'The Greek religious festivals', in P. Easterling and J. Muir (eds.), *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge) 98–127.
CARUSO, F. (1990). 'L'anfore panatenaiche fra vecchia e nuova technica', in *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*, vol. i. *Cronache di Archeologia* 29: 145–53.
CASTRIOTA, D. (1992). *Myth, Ethos, and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth-Century B.C. Athens* (Madison).
CHAMOUX, F. (1953). *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris).
—— (1955). *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. 5. *L'Aurige* (Paris).
CHANIOTIS, A. (1995). 'Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik', in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (*Vestigia* 47, Munich), 147–69.
CHARLES-GAFFIOT, J., and LAVAGNE, H. (eds.) (1999). *Hadrien: Trésors d'une villa impériale* (Milan).
CHATZIAGGELAKIS, L. P. (2000). '*Δραστηριότητες στο βορειοδυτικό τμήμα του νομού Καρδίτσας*', in *Εργο των Εφορειών*: 381–94.
CHRYSOSTOMOU, P. (1998). *Η Θεσσαλική Θεά Εν(ν)οδία, ή Φεραία Θεά* (Athens).
CLARK, K. (1956). *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art* (Harmondsworth).
CLARKE, K. (1999). *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford).
CLARYSSE, W., and VAN DER VEKEN, G. (1983). *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (*P.L. Bat. 24*) (Leiden).
CLAY, D. (2004). *Archilochos Heros: The Cult of Poets in the Greek Polis* (Washington, DC).
COLE S. G. (2001). 'Achieving political maturity: *stephanosis, philotimia*, and *phallephoria*', in Papenfuß and Strocka (2001) 203–13.
COLE, T. (1992). *Pindar's Feasts or the Music of Power* (Rome).
COLONNA, G. (1989). 'Nuove prospettive sulla storia etrusca tra Alalia e Cuma', in *Secondo Congresso internazionale etrusco*, *Atti vol.* i (Rome), 361–73.
—— (1993). 'Doni di Etruschi e di altri barbari occidentali nei santuari panellenici', in Mastrocinque (1993) 43–67.

Condoléon, N. M. (1949). 'Inscriptions de Chios', *RP* 23: 5–16.
Cope, E. M., and Sandys, J. E. (1877). *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (Cambridge).
Cordano, F. (1974). 'Rodos prima del sinecismo e Rodioi fondatori di colonie', *PdP* 29: 179–82.
Corsten. T. (1999). *Vom Stamm zur Bund: Gründung und territoriale Organisation griechischer Bundesstaaten* (Munich).
Crampa, J. (1972). *Labraunda*, v, 3. *The Greek Inscriptions* (Lund).
Crielaard, J. P. (2000). 'Honour and valour as discourse for early Greek colonialism (8th–7th centuries B.C.)', in F. Krinzinger (ed.), *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer. Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr. Wien, 24. bis. 27. März 1999* (Vienna), 499–506.
Criscuolo, L. (2003). 'Agoni e politica alla corte di Alessandria: Riflessioni su alcuni epigrammi di Posidippo', *Chiron* 33: 311–32.
Croissant, F. (1983). *Les Protomés féminines archaïques: Recherches sur les représentations du visage dans la plastique grecque de 550 à 480 av. J.-C.* (Athens and Paris).
Crouch, D. (2005). *Tournament* (London).
Currie, B. (2002). 'Euthymos of Locri: A case study in heroization in the Classical period', *JHS* 122: 24–44.
—— (2003). Review of Ekroth (2002), *JHS* 123: 238–41.
—— (2004). 'Reperformance scenarios for Pindar's odes', in Mackie (2004) 51–69.
—— (2005). *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (Oxford).
Curtius, E., and Adler, F. (1882). *Olympia und Umgegend* (Berlin).
d'Alessio, G. B. (1997). 'Pindar's prosodia and the classification of Pindaric papyrus fragments', *ZPE* 118: 23–60.
—— (2004). 'Argo e l'Argolide nei canti cultuali di Pindaro', in P. A. Bernadini (ed.), *La Città di Argo: Mito, storia, tradizioni poetiche* (Rome), 107–25.
Daux, G. (1922). 'Inscriptions de Delphes', *BCH* 46: 439–66.
—— (1958). 'Dédicace thessalienne d'un cheval à Delphes', *BCH* 82: 329–34.
Davies, J. K. (1993). *Democracy and Classical Greece*, 2nd edn. (London).
—— (1994), 'The tradition about the First Sacred War', in Hornblower (1994*a*) 193–210.
—— (1997*a*). ' "The Origins of the Greek Polis": Where should we be looking?' in Mitchell and Rhodes (1997) 24–38.
—— (1997*b*). 'The moral dimension of Pythian Apollo', in Lloyd (1997) 43–64.
Davison, J. A. (1958). 'Notes on the Panathenaea', *JHS* 78: 23–42.
—— (1962). 'Addenda to "Notes on the Panathenaea" ', *JHS* 82: 141–2.
—— (1968). *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London).
Debord, P., and Varinlioğlu, E. (2001). *Les Haute-Terres de Carie* (Paris).
De Cesare, M. (1997). *Le statue in immagine: Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca* (Rome).
Decker, W. (1987). *Sport und Spiel im alten Ägypten* (Munich).
Décourt, J.-C. (1990). *La Vallée de l'Énipeus en Thessalie: Études de topographie et de géographie antique* (*BCH* Suppl. 21, Athens and Paris).
—— (1995). *Inscriptions de Thessalie*, i. *Les Cités de la vallée de l'Énipeus*. (*Études Épigraphiques* 3, Athens and Paris).
—— and Mottas, L. (1997). 'Voies et milliaires de Thessalie', *BCH* 121: 311–54.
Defradas, J. (1954). *Les Thèmes de la propagande delphique* (Paris).
De la Coste-Messelière, P. (1969). 'Chronologie delphique', *BCH* 93: 730–58.
de la Genière, J. (1983). 'A propos des métopes du monoptère de Sicyone à Delphes', *CRAI*: 158–71.

De Ligt, L., and de Neeve, P. W. (1988). 'Ancient periodic markets: Festivals and fairs', *Athenaeum* 66: 391–416.
Demand, N. H. (1982). *Thebes in the Fifth Century: Herakles Resurgent* (London).
Denniston, J. D. (1954). *The Greek Particles*, 2nd edn. (Oxford).
De Polignac, F. (1984). *La Naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris).
—— (1995). *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Eng. trans. J. Lloyd) (Chicago and London).
des Courtils, J. (1992). 'L'Architecture et l'histoire d'Argos dans la première moitié du Ve siècle avant J.-C.', in M. Pièrart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos* (*BCH* Suppl. 22), 241–51.
Detienne, M. (1968). 'La Phalange', in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris and The Hague), 119–42.
—— and Vernant, J.-P. (1978). 'The live bit', in *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society* (London), 187–213.
Dickerman, S. O. (1903). 'Archaic inscriptions from Cleonae and Corinth', *AJA* 7: 147–56.
Dickey, K. (1992). 'Corinthian Burial Customs, ca.1100 to 550 BC' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College).
Diehl, E. (1964). *Die Hydria: Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (Mainz).
Dinsmoor, W. (1950). *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York).
Di Vita, A. (2004). 'Olympia and the Greeks of Sicily', in Stampolidis and Tassoulas (2004) 59–77.
Dodd, C., and Faraone, C. (eds.) (2003). *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives* (London).
Dohrn, T. (1968). 'Die Marmor-Standbilder des Daochos-Weihgeschenks in Delphi', *Antike Plastik* 8: 33–52.
Donderer, M. (1991–2). 'Irreversible Deponierung von Großplastik bei Griechen, Etruskern und Römern', *ÖJh*. 61: cols. 192–276.
Donlan, W. (1980). *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece* (Lawrence, Kan.).
—— (1999). *The Aristocratic Ideal and Selected Papers* (Wauconda, Ill.).
D'Onofrio, A. M. (1988). 'Aspetti e problemi del monumento funerario attico arcaico', *Ann. A. Stor. Ant*. 10: 83–96.
—— (1998). 'Oikoi, généalogies et monuments: Refléxions sur le système de dédicaces dans l'Attique archaique', *Ktema* 23: 103–23.
Dornseiff, F. (1921). *Pindars Stil* (Berlin).
Dougherty, C. (1994). 'Archaic Greek foundation poetry: Questions of genre and occasion', *JHS* 114: 35–46.
—— (2001). *The Raft of Odysseus* (Oxford).
—— and Kurke, L. (eds.) (2003). *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration* (Cambridge).
Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, A. (1985). '*Σωστική ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Ευγενίας Μήτσιου. Τομή στο παρελθόν της Λάρισας*', in *Larisa*: 79–110.
—— (1991). 'La Thessalie à l'époque Archaique', *Doss. A. Paris* 159: 26–7.
—— (1994). '*Οι νεότερες έρευνες στην περιοχή των αρχαίων Φερών*', in *Θεσσαλία Β*: 71–92.
—— (2000*a*). '*Φεραί—Πεπάρηθος—Σκιάθος: Μερικά στοιχεία του αρχαιολογικού έργου μίας οκταετίας* (1990–1998)', in *Έργο των Εφορειών*: 345–53.
—— (2000*b*). *Θεσσαλικές Επιγραφές σε τοπικό αλφάβητο* (Ph.D. thesis, Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki).
Dow, S. (1942). 'Corinthiaca', *HSCP* 53: 89–119.

DOWDEN, K. (1996). 'Amazons', *OCD*[3]: 69–70.
DREES, L. (1962). *Der Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele* (Schondorf).
—— (1968). *Olympia: Gods, Artists, and Athletes* (London).
DUBOIS, L. (2002). *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de grande grèce*, ii (Geneva).
DUCAT, J. (1994). *Les Pénestes de Thessalie* (Besançon).
—— (1997). 'Bruno Helly et les pénestes', *TOPOI* 7: 183–9.
DUCREY, P. (1995). 'La muraille est-elle un élément constitutive d'une cité?' in Hansen (1995) 245–56.
—— METZGER, I. R., and REBER, K. (eds.) (1993). *Eretria: Fouilles et recherches,* VIII. *Le Quartier de la Maison aux mosaïques* (Lausanne).
DUNBABIN, K. M. D. (1999). *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge).
EAVERLY, M. A. (1995). *Archaic Greek Equestrian Sculpture* (Ann Arbor).
EBELING, H. (1885). *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig).
EBERT, J. (1963). *Zum Pentathlon der Antike* (*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 56.1).
—— (1972). *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 63.2).
ECKSTEIN, F. (1969). *Anathemata: Studien zu den Weihgeschenken strengen Stils im Heiligtum von Olympia* (Berlin).
EDER, B. (2001*a*). 'Continuity of Bronze Age cult at Olympia? The evidence of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery', in R. Laffineur and R. Hägg (eds.), *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 23), 201–9.
—— (2001*b*). 'Die Anfänge von Elis und Olympia: Zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Landschaft Elis am Übergang von der Spätbronze zur Früheisenzeit', in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions Anlässlich '100 Jahre der Feier österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Athen', Athen 5.3–7.3.1998* (Athens), 233–43.
—— (2001*c*). *Die submykenischen und protogeometrischen Gräber von Elis* (Athens).
—— and MITSOPOULOS-LEON, V. (1999). 'Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis von dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr.', *JOAI* 68: 1–39.
EDMONDS, J. M. (1957). *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, (Leiden).
EFFENTERRE, H. VAN (1948). *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe* (Paris).
—— and RUZÉ, F. (1994). *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaisme grec*, i (Rome).
—— (1995). *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaisme grec*, ii (Rome).
EFSTATHIOU (BATZIOU), A. (2001). *Δημητριάς* (Athens).
—— MALAKASIOTI, Z., and REINDERS, R. (1990). 'Halos archaeological survey project: Preliminary report of the 1990 campaign', *Netherlands Institute at Athens Newsletter* 3: 31–45.
EHRENBERG, V. (1960). *The Greek State* (Oxford).
EIDINOW, E. (forthcoming). *Exploring Risk among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford).
EKROTH, G. (2002). *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods* (Liège).
ELIOT, T. S. (1920). *The Sacred Wood* (London).
ELRASHEDY, F. M. (2002). *Imports of Post-Archaic Greek Pottery into Cyrenaica from the End of the Archaic to the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period* (Oxford).

ELSNER, J. (2001). 'Structuring "Greece": Pausanias's *Periegesis* as a literary construct', in Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner (2001) 3–20.

ENGELS, J. (1998). *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia: Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der griechisch-römischen Welt mit einigen Ausblicken auf Einschränkungen des funeralen und sepulkralen Luxus im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart).

FANTUZZI, M. (2004*a*). 'Performance and genre', in M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge), 1–41.

—— (2004*b*). 'The structure of the *Hippika* in P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309', in Acosta-Hughes *et al*. (2004) 212–24.

—— (2005). 'Posidippus at court: The contribution of the *Hippika* of *P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309* to the ideology of Ptolemaic kingship', in Gutzwiller (2005) 249–68.

FARAONE, C. (1991). 'The agonistic context of early Greek binding spells', in C. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford), 3–32.

—— (1992). *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford).

FÄRBER, H. (1936). *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike* (Munich).

FARRINGTON, A. (1997). 'Olympic victors and the popularity of the Olympic games in the Imperial period', *Tyche* 12: 15–46.

FAURE, P. (1985). 'Les Dioscures à Delphes', *Ant. Cl.* 54: 56–65.

FEENEY, D. (1998). *Literature and Religion at Rome* (Cambridge).

FELTEN, F. (1983). 'Heiligtümer oder Märkte?', *AK* 26: 84–105.

FERRARY, J.-L. and ROUSSET, D. (1998). 'Un lotissement de terres à Delphes au IIe siècle après J.-C.', *BCH* 122, I (1998): 290–5.

FIGUEIRA, T. (1981). *Aegina: Society and Politics* (Salem).

—— (1986). *Aegina: Society and Economy* (New Salem, NH).

—— (1988). 'The chronology of the conflict between Athens and Aigina in Herodotus book 6', *QUUC* 28: 48–89.

—— (2004). 'The Saronic Gulf', in Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 620–3.

FINLEY, M. I., and PLEKET, H. W. (1976). *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years* (London).

FISHER, N., and VAN WEES, H. (eds.) (1998). *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London).

FITTSCHEN, K. (1996). 'Ritratti: Roma'; in *Enciclopedia di Arte Antica*, 2nd Suppl., iv. 750–60.

FLOWER, M. A. (1994). *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Oxford)

FONTENROSE, J. (1968). 'The hero as athlete', *CSCA* 1: 73–104.

—— (1988). 'The cult of Apollo and the games at Delphi', in Raschke (1988*a*) 121–40.

FORTUIN, R. W. (1996). *Der Sport im augusteischen Rom: Philologische und sporthistorische Untersuchungen* (*Palingenesia* LVII, Stuttgart).

FRAENKEL, E. (1950). *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (Oxford).

FRANKE, P. R. (1973). '*To* "*Κοινόν των Θεσσαλών*"', *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 2: 5–13.

FRASER, P. M. (1992). *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford).

—— (1993). 'The colonial inscription of Issa', in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, ii (Paris), 167–74.

—— (2003). 'Agathon and Kassandra (*IG* IX. 1² 4. 1750)', *JHS* 123: 26–40.

FRAZER, J. G. (1965, repr.). *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, iv (New York).

FREITAG, K. (2000). *Der Golf von Korinth: Historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich).

FREL, J. (1978). *The Getty Bronze* (Malibu).

FREYER-SCHAUENBURG, B. (1974). *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils, Samos*, xi (Bonn).
FRIEDLÄNDER, P. (1948). *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse* (Berkeley).
—— (1965). *Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (New York).
FRISCH, P. (1988). 'Die Klassifikation der PAIDES bei den griechischen Agonen', *ZPE* 75: 179–85.
FRISK, H. (1954). *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i (Heidelberg).
FUHRER, T. (1992). *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Chorlyrikern in den Epinikien des Kallimachos* (*Schweitzerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 23, Basel and Kassel).
—— (1993). 'Callimachus' epinician poems', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and C. G. Wakker (eds.), *Callimachus: Hellenistica Groningana*, i (Groningen), 79–97.
FÜRTWANGLER, A. (1884). 'Archaischer Goldschmuck', *Arch. Zeitung*: 100–14.
—— and REICHHOLD, K. (1904–32). *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich).
GAERTRINGEN, F. HILLER VON (1931). 'Rhodos', *RE* (*Supp. bd.* 5): cols. 731–840.
GALINKSY, K. (1996). *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton).
GALLIS, K. (1979). 'A short chronicle of the Greek archaeological investigations in Thessaly, from 1881 until the present day', in Helly (1979) 1–30.
—— (1982). '*Η Λάρισα αποκαλύπτει τον αρχαίο κόσμο της*', *Politeia* 6 (Oct.–Dec.) 52–64.
—— (1988). 'The games in ancient Larisa: An example of provincial Olympic games', in Raschke (1988*a*) 217–35.
GARDINER, E. N. (1910). *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London).
—— (1924). *Olympia: Its History and Remains* (Oxford).
—— (1930). *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford).
GARDNER, P. (1883). *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Thessaly to Aetolia* (London).
GARLAND, R. (1989). 'The well-ordered corpse: An investigation into the motive behind Greek funerary legislation', *BICS* 36: 1–15.
GARNSEY, P., GALLANT, T., and RATHBONE, D. (1984). 'Thessaly and the grain supply of Rome during the second century B.C.', *JRS* 74: 30–44.
GÄRTNER, T. (2002). 'Zum neuen Poseidipp, col. XII 16–19: Ein Seelenverwandter der Alkibiades in hellenistischer Zeit', *ZPE* 139: 31–2.
GAUER, W. (1968). *Weigeschenke aus den Perserkriegen* (Tübingen).
GAUTHIER, P. (1985), *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (ive–ier siècle avant J.-C.): Contribution à l'histoire des institutions* (*BCH* Suppl. 12, Athens and Paris).
—— (2000). 'Le Decrét de Thessalonique pour Parnassos: L'éuergète et la dépense pour sa statue à la basse époque hellénistique', *Tekmeria* 5: 39–62.
—— and HATZOPOULOS, M. (1993). *La Loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia* (*Meletemata* 16, Paris).
GAZDA, E. (2002). *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (Ann Arbor).
GEAGAN, H. R. (1970). 'Mythological themes in the plaques from Penteskouphia', *AA* 85: 31–48.
GEBHARD, E. (1992). 'The early stadium at Olympia and the founding of the Isthmian games', in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens), 73–9.
—— (1993). 'The evolution of a pan-Hellenic sanctuary: From archaeology towards history at Isthmia', in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 154–77.
—— (1998). 'Small dedications in the Archaic temple of Poseidon at Isthmia', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm) 91–115.

GEBHARD, E. (2002*a*). 'The beginnings of Panhellenic games at the Isthmus', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 221–37.
—— (2002*b*). 'Caves and cults at the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* (Stockholm), 63–74.
—— and DICKIE, M. (1999). 'Melikertes-Palaimon, hero of the Isthmian games', in Hägg (1999) 159–65.
—— and HEMANS, F. (1992). 'University of Chicago excavations at Isthmia, 1989: I', *Hesperia* 61: 1–77.
—— —— (1998). 'University of Chicago excavations at Isthmia, 1989: II', *Hesperia* 67: 1–63.
—— —— and HAYES, J. (1998). 'University of Chicago excavations at Isthmia, 1989: III', *Hesperia* 67: 405–56.
GEDDES, A. G. (1987). 'Rags and riches: The costume of Athenian men in the fifth century', *CQ* 37: 307–31.
GEERTZ, C. (1971). 'Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight', in C. Geertz (ed.), *Myth, Symbol and Culture* (New York), 1–38.
GEHRKE, H.-J. (1985). *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Munich).
GELDER, H. VAN (1900). *Geschichte der Alten Rhodier* (The Hague).
GELLNER, E. (1969). *Saints of the Atlas* (London).
GELZER, T. (1985). 'Mousa authigenes: Zu einem Typ Pindarischer und Bakchylidischen Epinikien', *MH* 42: 95–120.
GENTILI, B. (1988). *Poetry and its Public in Ancient Greece: From Homer to the Fifth Century* (Baltimore).
GEORGANAS, I. (2000). 'Early Iron Age tholos tombs in Thessaly (c. 1100–700 BC)', *Medit. Arch.* 13: 47–54.
—— (2002). 'Constructing identities in Early Iron Age Thessaly: The case of the Halos tumuli', *OJA* 21: 289–98.
GEORGIADIS, N. (1894). *Θεσσαλία*, 2nd edn. (Volos).
GERBER, D. (1999). 'Pindar, *Nemean* 6: A commentary', *HSCP* 99: 33–91.
—— (2002). *A Commentary on Pindar Olympian Nine* (Stuttgart).
GIANGIULIO, M. (1993). 'Le città di Magna Grecia e Olimpia in età arcaica', in Mastrocinque (1993) 93–118.
—— (2002). 'I culti delle colonie achee d'Occidente: Strutture religiose e matrici metropolitane', in Greco (2002) 283–313.
GILDERSLEEVE, B. L. (1899). *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes*, rev. edn. (New York).
GINOUVÈS, R. (1972). *Études péloponnésiennes*, vi. *Le Théâtron a gradins droits et l'odéon d'Argos* (Paris).
GODELIER, M. (1982). *La Production des Grands Hommes* (Paris).
GOLDEN, M (1997). 'Equestrian competitions in ancient Greece: Difference, dissent, democracy', *Phoenix* 51: 327–44.
—— (1998). *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
GOMBRICH, E. H. (1960). *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London).
GOMME, A. W. (1956). *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, iii: *Books* IV–V. 24 (Oxford).
GOODHART, H. C. (1893). *The Eighth Book of Thucydides' History* (London and New York).
GOW, A. S. F. (1965). *Theocritus* (Cambridge).
GRAF, F. (1979). 'Apollo Delphinios', *MH* 36: 2–22.

GRANDJEAN, Y., and SALVIAT, F. (2000). *Guide de Thasos* (Paris).
GRECO, E. (ed.) (2002). *Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'occidente* (*Tekmeria* 3, Paestum).
GREGORY, T. (1993). *Isthmia*, V. *The Hexamilion and the Fortress* (Princeton).
GRIFFIN, A. (1982). *Sikyon* (Oxford).
GUIDE DE DELPHES: LE MUSÉE (1991). (Paris).
GUTHRIE, W. K. C. (1954). *The Greeks and their Gods* (London).
GUTZWILLER, K. (1998). *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigram in Context* (Berkeley).
—— (2004). 'A new Hellenistic poetry book: P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309', APA Posidippus Panel. http://www.apaclassics.org/Publications/posidippus/posidippus.html
—— (ed.) (2005). *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (Oxford).
GZELLA, S. (1971). 'Problem of the fee in Greek choral lyric', *Eos* 59: 189–202.
—— (1981). 'Pindar and Aegina', *Eos* 69: 5–19.
HABICHT, C. (1973–4). 'Ein thesprotischer Adliger im Dienste Ptolemaios V', *Arch. Cl.* 25–6: 313–18.
—— (1985). *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
—— (1991). 'Milesische Theoren in Athen', *Chiron* 21: 325–9.
—— (1994). *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Munich).
HABINEK, T. (1998). *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity and Empire in Ancient Rome* (Princeton).
HÄGG, R. (ed.) (1983). *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm).
—— (ed.) (1999). *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (Stockholm).
HALL, J. M. (1995). 'How Argive was the "Argive" Heraion? The political and cultic geography of the Argive plain, 900–400 B.C.', *AJA* 99: 577–613.
—— (1999). Beyond the *polis*: The multilocality of heroes', in Hägg (1999), 49–59.
—— (2001). 'Contested ethnicities: Perceptions of Macedonia within evolving definitions of Greek identity', in Malkin (2001) 159–86.
—— (2002). *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago).
HALLETT, C. H. (1986). 'The origins of the early Classical style in Greek sculpture', *JHS* 106: 71–84.
HALLIDAY, W. R. (1928). *The Greek Questions of Plutarch, with a New Translation and Commentary* (Oxford).
HAMILTON, R. (1974). *Epinikion: General Form in the Odes of Pindar* (The Hague).
HAMMOND, N. G. L. (1986). *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, 3rd edn. (Oxford).
—— and GRIFFITH, G. T. (1979). *A History of Macedonia*, ii. *550–336 B.C.* (Oxford).
HAMPE, R., and JANTZEN, U. (1936–7). 'Die Grabung im Frühjahr 1937', in *Olympia Berichte*, i (Berlin), 25–97.
HANSEN, M. H. (ed.) (1995). *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium August 24–27 1994: Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 2 (Copenhagen).
—— (ed.) (1997). *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community. Symposium August 29–31 1996: Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 4 (Copenhagen).
—— (2004*a*). 'Boiotia', in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (2004) 431–61.
—— (2004*b*). 'Introduction', in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (2004) 3–153.
—— (2006). *Studies in the Population of Aigina, Athens and Eretria* (Copenhagen).
—— and HEINE NIELSEN, T. (eds.) (2004). *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford).
HANSON, V. D. (2000). 'Hoplite battle as ancient Greek warfare: When, where and why?' in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London), 201–32.
HARDER, M., REGTUIT, R. F., WAKKER, G. C. (1993). *Callimachus. Proceedings of the Groningen workshops on Hellenistic poetry* (Groningen).

HARDIE, A. (1983). *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (*ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs* 9, Liverpool).
HARMON, D. P. (2000). 'The religious significance of games in the Roman age', in W. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, 2nd edn. (Madison), 236–55.
HARRELL, S. (1998). 'Cultural Geography of East and West: The Representation of Archaic Sicilian Tyranny' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University).
HARRIS, H. A. (1964). *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London).
—— (1972). *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London).
HARVEY, A. E. (1955). 'The classification of lyric poetry', *CQ* 5: 159–75.
HATZOPOULOS, M. B. (1996). *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, i. *A Historical and Epigraphic Study* (*Meletemata* 22, Athens).
HAUBEN, H. (1970). *Callicrates of Samos: A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Admiralty* (*Studia Hellenistica* 18, Leuven).
HAUSER, F. (1887). 'Zur Tübinger Bronze', *JdI* II: 95–111.
HAUSMANN, U. (ed.) (1977). *Der Tübinger Waffenläufer* (*Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 4, Tubingen).
HAWTHORNE, J. G. (1958). 'The myth of Palaemon', *TAPA* 89: 92–8.
HAYNES, D. E. L. (1992). *The Technique of Greek Bronze Statuary* (Mainz).
HEATH, M. (1989). *Unity in Greek Poetics* (Oxford).
—— and LEFKOWITZ, M. (1991). 'Epinician performance', *CP* 86: 173–91.
HEINE NIELSEN, T. (2002). *Arkadia and its Poleis in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Göttingen).
—— (2004). 'Victors in Panhellenic games as evidence for *polis* identity', in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (2004) 107–10.
HELLY, B. (1973). *Gonnoi*, i. *La Cité et son histoire* (Amsterdam).
—— (ed.). (1979). *La Thessalie: Actes de la table-ronde 21–24 Juillet 1975* (Lyon and Paris).
—— (1983). 'Les Italiens en Thessalie au IIe au Ier s. av. J.-C.', in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les 'Bourgeoisies' municipales italiennes au IIe et Ier siècles av. J.C.* (Paris) 355–80.
—— (1984). 'Le Territoire de Larisa: Ses limites, son extension, son organisation', *Ktema* 9: 213–34.
—— (1987). 'Le "Dotion Pedion", Lakéreia et les origines de Larisa', *JSav*. 127–58.
—— (1995). *L'État thessalien: Aleuas le Roux les tétrades et les tagoi* (Lyon).
HENRICH, J., and GIL-WHITE, F. (2001). 'The evolution of prestige: Freely conferred deference as a mechanism for enhancing the benefits of cultural transmission', *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22: 165–96.
HENRY, W. B. (2005). *Pindar's Nemeans: A Selection, Edition and Commentary* (Munich).
HERBERT, S. (1977). *Corinth*, VII, iv. *The Red-Figure Pottery* (Princeton).
—— (1986). 'The torch-race at Corinth', in M. del Chiaro (ed.), *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (Columbia), 29–35.
HERFORT-KOCH, M. (1986). *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (Münster).
HERINGTON, C. J. (1985). *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London).
HERMAN, G. (1987). *Ritualized Friendship in the Greek City* (Cambridge).
—— (1990). 'Treaties and alliances in the world of Thucydides', *PCPS* 216: 83–102.
HERMARY, A. (1984). *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, 34, 1. *La Sculpture archaïque et classique* (Paris).
HERRMANN, F. (1925). 'Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 35: 1–69.
HERRMANN, H.-V. (1984) 'Altitalisches und Etruskisches in Olympia (Neue Funde und Forschungen)', *ASAtene* 61: 271–94.

—— (1988). 'Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia', *Nikephoros* 1: 119–83.
Hiller, H. (1975). *Ionische Grabreliefs der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (*Ist. Mitt.* Supp. 12, Tübingen).
Himmelmann, N. (1990). *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (*JDAI* 16. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin).
—— (1994). *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (*JDAI* 18. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin).
Hintzen-Bohlen, B. (1992). *Herrscherrepräsentation im Hellenismus: Untersuchungen zu Weihgeschenken, Stiftungen und Ehrenmonumenten in den mutterländischen Heiligtümern, Delphi, Olympia, Delos und Dodona* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna).
Hodkinson, S. (1999). 'An agonistic culture? Athletic competition in Archaic and Classical Spartan society', in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London), 147–87.
—— (2000). *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (London).
Hoepfner, W. (1971). *Zwei Ptolemäerbauten* (*AM* Beiheft 1, Berlin).
Hölbl, G. (2001). *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London and New York).
Hölscher, T. (1993). Review of Himmelmann (1990), *Gnomon* 65: 519–28.
—— (1998). 'Images and political identity: The case of Athens', in D. Boedeker and K. A. Raaflaub (eds.), *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens* (Cambridge, Mass.), 153–83.
Holzhauser, J. (2004). 'Pindar und die Orphik: Zu frg. 133 Snell/Maehler', *Hermes* 132: 20–36.
Hopkinson, N. (1984). *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge).
Horden, P., and Purcell, N. (2000). *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford).
Hornblower, S. (1991). *Commentary on Thucydides*, i (Oxford).
—— (1992). 'The religious dimension to the Peloponnesian war, or what Thucydides does not tell us', *HSCP* 94: 169–97.
—— (ed.) (1994*a*). *Greek Historiography* (Oxford).
—— (1994*b*). 'Introduction', in Hornblower (1994*a*) 1–72.
—— (1996). *Commentary on Thucydides*, ii*: Books* iv–v. 24 (Oxford).
—— (2000). 'Thucydides, Xenophon and Lichas: Were the Spartans excluded from the Olympic games from 420–400 BC?', *Phoenix* 54: 131–2.
—— (2002). *The Greek World 479–323 BC*, 3rd edn. (London).
—— (2004). *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (Oxford).
—— (2006). 'Pindar and kingship theory', in Lewis (2006) 151–63.
—— (forthcoming). 'Greek lyric and the politics and sociologies of Archaic and Classical Greek communities', in Budelmann (forthcoming).
How, W. W., and Wells, J. (1912). *Commentary on Herodotus*, 2 vols. (Oxford).
Howie, G. (1989). 'Greek polytheism', in G. Davies (ed.), *Polytheistic Systems* (Edinburgh), 51–76.
Howland, R. L. (1970). 'Athletics', in N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds.), *OCD*^{2} (Oxford).
Hubbard, T. K. (1985). *The Pindaric Mind* (Leiden).
—— (2001). 'Pindar and Athens after the Persian wars', in Papenfuss and Strocka (2001) 387–97.
—— (2004). 'The dissemination of epinician lyric: Pan-Hellenism, reperformance, written texts', in Mackie (2004) 71–93.

HURWIT, J. M. (1989). 'The Kritios boy: Discovery, reconstruction, and date', *AJA* 93: 41–80.

—— (1999). *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology* (Cambridge).

HUSS, W. (1976). *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 69, Munich).

—— (2001). *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.* (Munich).

HUTCHINSON, G. (2001). *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces* (Oxford).

HUXLEY, G. (1975). *Pindar's Vision of the Past* (Belfast).

INAN, J. (1975). *Roman Sculpture in Side* (Ankara).

—— and ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, E. (1979). *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (Mainz).

INSTONE, S. (1996). *Pindar: Selected Odes, Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Warminster).

INTZESILOGLOU, B. G. (1994). '*Ιστορική τοπογραφία της περιοχής του κόλπου του Βόλου*', in *Θεσσαλία Β*: 31–56.

—— (2000*a*). 'A newly discovered Archaic bronze cult statue from the ancient city of Metropolis in Thessaly', in C. C. Mattusch, A. Brauer, and S. E. Knudsen (eds.), *From the Parts to the Whole*, 1. *Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress held at Cambridge, Massachussets, May 28–June 1 1995* (*JRA* Suppl. 39, Portsmouth, RI), 65–8.

—— (2000*b*). '*Εργα και Ημέραι*" (1990–1997)', in *Εργο των Εφορειών:* 373–9.

—— (2002*a*). 'The Archaic temple of Apollo in ancient Metropolis (Thessaly)', in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds.), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece. Oxford 24–26 March 2001* (Oxford), 109–15.

—— (2002*b*). 'Aiatos et Polycléia: Du mythe à l'histoire', *Kernos* 15: 289–95.

IJSEWIJN, J. (1961). *De Sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Brussels).

JACKSON, A. H. (1983). 'Some deliberate damage to Archaic Greek helmets dedicated at Olympia', *LCM* 8(2): 22–7.

—— (1991). 'Hoplites and the gods: The dedication of captured arms and armour', in V. D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London), 228–49.

—— (1992). 'Arms and armour at the Panhellenic sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia', in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens), 141–4.

—— (2000). 'Argos' victory over Corinth *ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΔΙϜΙ ΤΟΝ ϘΟΡΙΝΘΟΘΕΝ*', *ZPE* 132: 295–311.

JACOBY, F. (1913). 'Herodotos', *RE* Suppl. 2: cols. 205–520.

JACQUEMIN, A. (1992). 'Offrandes monumentales italiotes et siciliotes à Delphes', in *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria (Atti Taranto 31, 1991)*, 193–204.

—— (1999). *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris).

—— and LAROCHE, D. (2001). 'Le Monument de Daochos ou le trésor des Thessaliens', *BCH* 125: 305–32.

JAMESON, M., JORDAN, D. R., and KOTANSKY, R. D. (1993). *A lex sacra from Selinous* (*GRBM* 11, Durham, NC).

JANKO, R. (1992). *The Iliad: A Commentary*, iv. *Books 13–16* (Cambridge).

—— (2005). 'On first looking into the New Posidippus (*Ep.* 64, 74 and 87 Austin–Bastianini)', in A. Kolde *et. al.* (eds.) *Κορυφαίῳ ἀνδρί. Mélanges offerts à André Hurst* (Geneva), 125–32.

JEANMAIRE, H. (1939). *Couroi et courètes: Essai sur l'éducation Spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité Hellénique* (Lille).

JEBB, R. C. (1905). *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge).
JEFFERY, L. H. (1976). *Archaic Greece: The City States, c. 700–500 B.C.* (London).
—— (1990). *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (rev. A. W. Johnston) (Oxford).
JEX-BLAKE, K., and SELLERS, E. (1896). *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (New York).
JOHNSTON, A. W. (1987). '*IG* II² 2311 and the number of Panathenaic amphorae', *BSA* 82: 125–9.
JONES, C. P. (1990). 'A new Lycian dossier establishing an artistic contest and festival', *JRA* 3: 484–8.
—— (1999). *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.).
JÜTHNER, J. (1965–8). *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, vols. i and ii (ed. F. Brein) (Graz).
KAGAN, J. (2004). 'The so-called Persian weight coins of Larisa', in *Οβολός Coins in the Thessalian Region: Mints, Circulation, Iconography, History, Ancient, Byzantine, Modern. Proceedings of the Third Scientific Meeting* (Athens), 79–86.
KAH, D. (2004). 'Militärische Ausbildung im hellenistischen Gymnasion', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Berlin), 47–90.
KALTSAS, N. (2001). *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens: Catalogue* (Athens).
KANELLOPOULOS, CH. (1996). *Η Δωρική αρχιτεκτονική της Κέας κατά την Κλασική και Ελληνιστική περίοδο. Συμβολή στην κατανόηση του Δωρικού ρυθμου στις Κυκλάδες* (Ph.D. thesis, Athens University).
KAROUZOS, C. (1961). *Aristodikos: Zur Geschichte der spät-archaischen Plastik und der Grabstatue* (Stuttgart).
KATAKOUTA, S., and TOUFEXIS, G. (1994). '*Τα τείχη της Φαρσάλου*', in *Θεσσαλία Β*: 189–200.
KEESLING, C. (2003). *Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge).
KEPHALIDOU, E. (1996). *Νικητής. Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού Αθλητισμού* (Thessaloniki).
KENT, J. H. (1966). *Corinth*, VIII, iii. *The Inscriptions 1926–1950* (Princeton).
KERKHECKER, A. (1999). *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* (Oxford).
KILIAN, K. (1975). *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit* (*PBF* XIV 2, Munich).
—— (1977). 'Zwei italische Kammhelme aus Griechenland', *Études Delphiques* (*BCH* Suppl. 4), 429–42.
—— (1983). 'Weihungen aus Eisen und Eisenverarbeitung im Heiligtum zu Philia (Thessalien)', in Hägg (1983) 131–47.
KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, I. (1985). 'Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *JRGZ* 32: 215–54.
—— (2002). *Kleinfunde aus dem Athena Itonia-Heiligtum bei Philia (Thessalien)* (Mainz).
KIRK, G. S. (1985). *The Iliad: A Commentary, vol. 1, Books 1–4* (Cambridge).
KIRKWOOD, G. M. (1982). *Selections from Pindar* (Chicago).
KLEE, T. (1918). *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen* (Berlin).
KLOSE, D. A. O., and STUMPF, G. (1996). *Sport, Spiele Sieg: Münzen und Gemmen der Antike* (Munich).
KNAPP, R. C. (2005). 'The Classical, Hellenistic, Roman provincial and Roman coins', in R. C. Knapp and J. D. MacIsaac (eds.), *Excavations at Nemea*, III. *The Coins* (Berkeley), 3–179.
KNOEPFLER, D. (1979). 'Contributions à l'épigraphie de Chalcis', *BCH* 103: 165–88.

KNOEPFLER, D. (1992). 'Recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie', *Chiron* 22: 411–503.
—— (1994). 'Haltère de bronze dédié à Apollon Hékabolos dans la collection G. Ortiz (Genève)', *CRAI*: 337–79.
KÖHNKEN, A. (1971). *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar: Interpretationen zu sechs Pindargedichten* (Berlin and New York).
—— (1976). 'Gebrauch und Funktion des Litotes bei Pindar', *Glotta* 54: 62–7.
KÖNIG, J. (2005). *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge).
KONTAXI, E. I. (ed.) (1996). *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994* (Volos).
KONTOGIANNIS, A. (2000). '*Απόλλωνι Αισωνίωι (Αναθηματικές επιγραφές από τους Γόννους)*', in *Εργο των Εφορειών*: 125–43.
KOSMETATOU, E. (2002). 'The Attalids of Pergamon', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford), 159–74.
—— (2004). 'Constructing legitimacy: The Ptolemaic Familiengruppe as a means of self-definition in Posidippus' *Hippika*', in Acosta-Hughes *et al*. (2004) 225–46.
KOSMOPOULOU, A. (2002). *The Iconography of Sculptured Statue Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Madison).
KRAAY, C., and HIRMER, M. (1966). *Greek Coins* (London).
KRAAY, M. (1976). *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London).
KRAUSE, J. H. (1841). *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen* (Leipzig).
KREIKENBOM, D. (1990). *Bildwerke nach Polyklet* (Berlin).
KRITZAS, C. (1989). '*Τα Ταξίδια μιας αργειτικής υδρίας*', *Πρακτικά του Β τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αργολικών Σπουδών* (Athens), 161–6.
—— (1992). 'Aspects de la vie politique et économique d'Argos au V^e^siècle avant J.-C.', in M. Pièrart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos* (*BCH* Suppl. 22), 231–40.
KRUMEICH, R. (1991). 'Zu den goldenen Dreifüssen der Deinomeniden in Delphi', *JDAI* 106: 37–62.
KRUMMEN, E. (1990). *Pyrsos Hymnon: Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie 1 und 3)* (Berlin).
KRYSTALLI-VOTSI, K. (1976). '*Αὐστηρορυθμικό Κεφάλι Κούρου ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο*', *AE*: 182–93.
KÜHNER, R., and GERTH, B. (1898). *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II.1. 'Satzlehre' (Hanover).
KURKE, L. (1991). *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca, NY).
—— (1993). 'The economy of *kudos*', in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (eds.), *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece* (Oxford), 131–63.
—— (1998). *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton).
—— (2005). 'Choral lyric as "ritualization": Poetic sacrifice and poetic *ego* in Pindar's sixth paian', *CA* 24: 81–130.
—— (forthcoming). 'Visualizing the choral: Epichoric poetry, ritual, and elite negotiation in fifth-century Thebes', in C. Kraus, S. Goldhill, H. Foley, and J. Elsner (eds.), *Visualizing the Tragic* (Oxford).
KURZ, G. (1974). 'Humor bei Pindar?', in U. Reinhardt and K. Sallmann (eds.), *Musa Iocosa: Arbeiten über Humor und Witz, Komik und Komödie der Antike* (Hildesheim), 3–25.
KYLE, D. G. (1987). *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden).
KYRIELEIS, H. (1996). *Samos*, X. *Der grosse Kuros von Samos* (Bonn).

—— (ed.) (2002*a*). *Olympia 1875–2000: 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen* (Mainz).
—— (2002*b*). 'Zu den Anfängen des Heiligtums von Olympia', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 213–20.
Lafond, Y. (1997). 'Les Concours locaux dans le Péloponnèse', *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafica Greca e Latina, Roma 18–24 settembre 1997: Preatti* (Rome), 235–41.
Lamb, W. (1929). *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London).
Lämmer, M. (1982–3). 'Der sogenannte Olympische Friede in der griechischen Antike', *Stadion* 8–9: 47–83.
Lang, F. (1996). *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung* (Berlin).
Langenfeld, H. (1975). 'Die Politik des Augustus und die griechische Agonistik', in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Monumentum Chiloniense. Kieler Festschrift für Erich Burck* (Amsterdam), 228–59.
Langlotz, E. (1975). *Studien zur nordionischen Kunst* (Mainz).
—— and Hirmer, M. (1965). *The Art of Magna Graecia* (London).
Laroche, D., and Nenna, M.–D. (1990). 'Le Trésor de Sicyone et ses fondations', *BCH* 114: 241–84.
Larsen, J. A. O. (1968). *Greek Federal States* (Oxford).
Laumonier, A. (1958). *Les Cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris).
Lavecchia, S. (2000). *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta* (Rome and Pisa).
—— and Martinelli, M. C. (1999). 'P.Oxy. XXXV 2736: Quattro *fragmenta dubia* di Pindaro', *ZPE* 125: 1–24.
Lazenby, J. F. (1993). *The Defence of Greece 490–479 B.C.* (Warminster).
Lazzarini, M. L., and Zevi, F. (1988–9). 'Necrocorinthia a Pompeii: Una idria bronzea per le gare di Argo', *Prospettiva* 53–6: 33–48.
Leavis, F. R. (1936). *Revaluation* (London).
Lee, H. M. (1988). 'The "first" Olympic games of 776 BC', in Raschke (1988*a*) 110–18.
Lefèvre, F. (1998). *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: Histoire et institutions* (Paris and Athens).
Lefkowitz, M. R. (1991). *First-Person Fictions: Pindar's Poetic 'I'* (Oxford).
Legras, B. (1999). *Néotês: Recherches sur les jeunes grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaique et romaine* (Geneva).
Lehnus, L. (1984). 'Pindaro: Il *dafneforico* per Agasicle (Fr. 946 Sn.-M.)', *BICS* 31: 61–92.
Lemos, I. S. (2002). *The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC* (Oxford).
Le Rider, G. (1977). *Le Monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294* (Paris).
—— (1996). *Monnayages et finances de Philippe II: Un état de la question* (Meletemata 23, Athens).
Lewis, D. (1981). 'The origins of the first Peloponnesian war', in G. Shrimpton and D. McCargar (eds.), *Classical Contributions. Studies in Honour of Malcolm Francis McGregor* (Locust Valley, NY), 71–8 [=Selected Papers (1997) 9–21].
Lewis, S. (2006). *Tyrants and Autocrats in the Classical World* (Edinburgh).
Liampi, K. (1996). 'Das Corpus der Obolen und Hemiobolen des thessalischen Bundes und die politische Geschichte Thessaliens im 2. Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in W. Leschhorn, A. V. B. Miron, and A. Miron (eds.), *Hellas und der griechischen Osten: Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt. Festschrift für Peter Robert Franke zum 70. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken), 99–126.
Lintott. A. (1982). *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City 750–330 BC* (London).

LIPPOLD, G. (1956). *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin).
LIPPOLIS, E. (2004). 'The cultural framework of the polis and sport in the Greek west', in Stampolidis and Tassoulas (2004) 39–53.
LLOYD, A. B. (ed.) (1997). *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (London).
LLOYD, G. E. R. (1966). *Polarity and Analogy* (Cambridge).
—— (1979). *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge).
LLOYD-JONES, H. (1990). *Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford).
LOLOS, G. J. (1998). 'Studies in the Topography of Sikyonia' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley).
LOMAS, K. (2000). 'The polis in Italy: Ethnicity, colonization, and citizenship in the western Mediterranean', in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 167–85.
LO PORTO, F. G. (1967). 'Tombe di atleti tarentini', *ASMG* 8: 31–98.
LORENZ, B. (1976). *Thessalische Grabgedichte vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Innsbruck).
LÖRN, C. (2000). *Griechische Familienweihungen: Untersuchungen einer Repräsentationsform von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Rahden).
LUCAS, G. (1997). *Les Cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse: Étude de topographie et de géographie historique* (Lyon).
LUCE, J.-M. (forthcoming). *Fouilles de Delphes*, II. *L'Aire du Pilier des Rhodiens (fouille 1990–1992): A la frontière du profane et du sacré* (Paris).
LULLIES, R., and HIRMER, M. (1979). *Griechische Plastik: Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 4th edn. (Munich).
LUPPE, W. (1994). 'Die Korinther in der Schlacht von Plataiai bei Simonides nach Plutarch (Simon. Fr. 15 und 15W²; P. Oxy. 3965 fr. 5)', *Arch. f. Pap.* 40: 21–4.
LURAGHI, N. (1994). *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia, da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi* (Florence).
MCDONNELL, M. (1991). 'The introduction of athletic nudity: Thucydides, Plato, and the vases', *JHS* III: 182–93.
MCDOWELL, D. M. (2000). *Demosthenes: On the False Embassy (Oration 19)* (Oxford).
MCGLEW, J. (1993). *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, NY).
MCGOWAN, E. (1995). 'Tomb marker and turning post: Funerary columns in the Archaic period', *AJA* 99: 615–32.
MCINERNEY, J. (1999). *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin).
MACKIE, C. J. (ed.) (2004). *Oral Performance and its Context* (Leiden and Boston).
MACLEOD, C. W. (1983). *Collected Essays* (Oxford).
MCPHEE, I. (1983). 'Local red-figure from Corinth, 1973–1980', *Hesperia* 52: 137–53.
MAEHLER, H. (1982). *Die Lieder der Bakchylides*, i. *Die Siegeslieder*. 2: *Kommentar* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 62, Leiden).
—— (1989). *Pindarus*, ii. *Fragmenta-Indices* (Leipzig).
—— (2002). 'Bakchylides and the Polyzalos inscription', *ZPE* 139: 19–21.
MAFFRE, J.-J. (2001). 'Amphores panathénaïques découvertes en Cyrénaïque', in Bentz and Eschbach (2001) 25–32.
MALAKASIOTI, Z. (1997). '*Ταφικοί τύμβοι στην περιοχή Βουλοκαλύβα–Πλάτανου Αλμυρού : η περίπτωση του αγρού Δ. Δεσποτόπουλου*', in *Αρχαιοφθιωτικά Β. Πρακτικά του Β΄ Συνεδρίου Αλμυριωτικών σπουδών. Ιστορία, αρχαιολογία, λαογραφία Αχαΐας Φθιώτιδας 3–4 Ιουνίου 1995*, vol. A (Almyros), 189–96.
—— (2000). '*Το έργο της ΙΓ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων στην περιοχή Αλμυρού*', in *Εργο των Εφορειών*: 125–43.

MALAKASIOTI, Z. and EFSTATHIOU, A. (2002). '*Το Κάστρο του Βόλου από την προϊστορία ως το τέλος της αρχαιότητας*', in *Μνημεία*: 140–7.

—— and MOUSIONI, A. (2004). '*Νέα ευρήματα της Υστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού και της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Αλο*', in N. C. Stampolides and A. Giannikouri (eds.), *Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος, 1–4 Νοεμβρίου 2002* (Athens), 353–68.

MALKIN, I. (1986). 'Apollo Archegetes and Sicily', *ASNP*, NS 3, 17.4: 959–72.

—— (1987). *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden).

—— (1994). *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge).

—— (1998). *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley).

—— (ed.) (2001). *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass.).

—— (2002*a*). 'A colonial middle ground: Greek, Etruscan, and local elites in the bay of Naples', in C. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Malibu), 151–81.

—— (2002*b*). 'Exploring the validity of the concept of 'foundation': A visit to Megara Hyblaia', in V. Gorman and E. Robinson (eds.), *Oikistes: Studies in Constitutions, Colonies and Military Power in the Ancient World. Offered in Honor of A. J. Graham* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 234, Leiden), 195–225.

MALLWITZ, A. (1972). *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Darmstadt).

—— (1988*a*). 'Cult and competition locations at Olympia', in Raschke (1988*a*) 79–109.

—— (1988*b*). 'Olympia und Rom', *Antike Welt* 19.2: 21–45

—— (1999). *XI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Olympia* (Berlin).

—— and HERRMANN, H.-V. (1980). *Die Funde aus Olympia: Ergebnisse hundertjähriger Ausgrabungstätigkeit* (Athens).

MANN, C. (2000). 'Der Dichter und sein Auftraggeber: Die Epinikien Bakchylides' und Pindars als Träger von Ideologien', in A. Bagordo and B. Zimmermann (eds.), *Bakchylides: 100 Jahre nach seiner Wiederentdeckung* (Munich).

—— (2001). *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland* (Göttingen).

MANZELLI, V. (1994). *La policromia nella statuaria greca arcaica* (*Studia archaeologica* 69, Rome).

MARCHAND, J. C. (2002). 'Well-built Kleonai: A History of the Peloponnesian City based on a Survey of the Visible Remains and a Study of the Literary and Epigraphic Sources' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley).

MARI, M. (2002). *Al di là dell'Olimpo: Macedoni e* i *grandi santuari della Grecia dall'età arcaica al primo ellenismo* (Athens).

MARINATOS, N., and HÄGG, R. (eds.) (1993). *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London and New York).

MARTIN. T. R. (1985). *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton).

—— (1995). 'Coins, mints and the *Polis*', in Hansen (1995) 257–91.

MARVICK, D. (1995). 'Elites', in A. and J. Kuper (eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn. (London and Boston), 237–8.

MARZOLFF, P. (1994). 'Antike Städtebau und Architektur in Thessalien', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 255–76.

—— (1996). '*Η πολεοδομική εξέλιξη και τα κυριότερα αρχιτεκτονικά έργα της περιοχής της Δημητριάδας*', in Kontaxi (1996) 47–73.

MASSON, O. (1974). 'L'Inscription généalogique de Cyrène', *BCH* 98: 263–70.

MASTROCINQUE, A. (ed.) (1993). *I grandi santuari della Grecia e l'Occidente* (Trento).

MATTERN, T. (2002). 'Kleonai 2000–2001: Verbericht über die Arbeiten im Herakleion', *AA*: 1–8.

MATTUSCH, C. C. (1988). *Greek Bronze Statuary from the Beginnings through the Fifth Century* (Ithaca, NY).

—— (2003). 'Corinthian bronze: Famous but elusive', in C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis (eds.), *Corinth*, XX. *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896–1996* (Princeton), 219–32.

MAZARAKIS AINIAN, A. (1997). *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.)* (Jonsered).

MEILLER, C. (1979). *Callimaque et son temps: Recherches sur la carrière et la condition d'un écrivain à l'époque des premiers Lagides* (Lille).

MENADIER, B. (1995). 'The Sixth Century BC Temple and the Sanctuary and Cult of Hera Akraia, Perachora' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati).

MENDONI, L. (1994). 'The organisation of the countryside in Kea', in P. Doukellis and L. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés etniques* (Paris), 145–61.

—— (1998). *Αρχαία Κεα. Ιστοριογραφία και αρχαιολογικές έρευνες*', in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 17–48.

—— and MAZARAKIS AINIAN, A. (eds.) (1998). *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology* (Athens and Paris).

MERKELBACH, R., and STAUBER, J. (1998). *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, i. *Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion* (Stuttgart and Leipzig).

MERTENS, D. (1996). 'Greek architecture in the west', in Pugliese Carratelli (1996) 315–46.

MEULI, K. (1941). 'Der Ursprung der olympischen Spiele', *Die Antike* 17: 189–208 (repr. in Meuli (1975) ii. 881–906).

—— (1968) (ed. R. Merkelbach). *Der griechische Agon: Kampf und Kampfspiel im Totenbrauch, Totentanz, Totenklage und Totenlob* (Cologne).

—— (1975) (ed. T. Gelzer). *Gesammelte Schriften*, i–ii (Basel and Stuttgart).

MEYER, E. (1909). *Theopomps Hellenika mit einer Beilage über die Rede an die Larisaeer und die Verfassung Thessaliens* (Halle).

MEYER, T. (1960). 'The distribution of ability and earnings', *Review of Economics and Statistics* 42: 189–195.

MILLAR, F. (1992). *The Emperor in the Roman World*, rev. edn. (London).

MILLER, STELLA (1982). 'Kleonai, the Nemean games, and the Lamian war', in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), 100–8.

—— (1988). 'Excavations at the Panhellenic site of Nemea: Cults, politics, and games', in Raschke (1988*a*) 141–51.

—— (2000). 'Macedonians at Delphi', in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes: Cent ans après la grande fouille. Essai de bilan. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, Athènes-Delphes, 17–20 septembre 1992* (Athens and Paris), 263–81.

MILLER, STEPHEN (1979). 'Excavations at Nemea, 1978', *Hesperia* 48: 73–103.

—— (1990). *Nemea: A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley).

—— (2000). 'Naked democracy', in P. Flensted-Jensen, T. Heine Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000* (Copenhagen), 277–96.

—— (2001). *Excavations at Nemea*, II. *The Early Hellenistic Stadium* (Berkeley).

—— (2002). 'The shrine of Opheltes and the earliest stadium at Nemea', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 239–50.

—— (2004). *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven and London).

MILOJCIC, V. (1960). 'Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Arbeiten im Thessalien im Herbst 1960', *AA*: 150–78.

—— (1974). 'Bericht über die deutschen archäologischen Ausgrabungen in Thessalien 1973', *AAA* 7: 43–75.

MINETTI, A. E., and ARDIGÓ, L. P. (2002). 'Halteres used in ancient Olympic long-jump', *Nature* 420: 141–2.
MITCHELL, B. (2000). 'Cyrene: Typical or atypical?', in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 82–102.
MITCHELL, L. G. (1997). *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435–323 BC* (Cambridge).
—— and RHODES, P. J. (eds.) (1997). *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London).
MITCHELL, S. (1990). 'Festivals, games, and civic life in Roman Asia Minor', *JRS* 80: 183–93.
MITFORD, T. B. (1961). 'The Hellenistic inscriptions of Old Paphos', *BSA* 56: 1–41.
MITSOS, M. (1952). *Αργολική Προσωπογραφία* (Athens).
MOLYNEUX, J. (1992). *Simonides: A Historical Study* (Wauconda, Ill.).
MOMIGLIANO, A. (1975). 'Note sulla storia di Rodi, 1. Atene Lindia e l'unità di Rodi', in *Quinto Contributo all a storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome), 511–14.
MOOREN, L. (1975). *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography* (Brussels).
—— (1985), 'The Ptolemaic court system', in *Studia J. Bingen dicata. Chr. Eg.* 60: 214–22.
MORENO, P. (1998). *I bronzi di Riace: Il Maestro di Olimpia e i Sette a Tebe* (Milan).
MORETTI, L. (1953). *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome).
—— (1957). *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olympici* (Rome).
—— (1970). 'Supplemento al catalogo degli olympionikai', *Klio* 52: 295–303.
—— (1987). 'Nuovo supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai', *Miscellania greca e romana* 12: 67–91.
MORGAN, C. (1988). 'Corinth, the Corinthian gulf and western Greece during the eighth century BC', *BSA* 83: 313–38.
—— (1990). *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC* (Cambridge).
—— (1993). 'The origins of Pan-Hellenism', in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 18–44.
—— (1997*a*). 'The archaeology of ethnicity in the colonial world of the eighth to sixth centuries BC: Approaches and prospects', in *Confini e Frontiera nella grecità d'Occidente (Atti Taranto 37, 1997)*, 85–145.
—— (1997*b*). 'The archaeology of sanctuaries in Early Iron Age and Archaic *ethne*: A preliminary view', in Mitchell and Rhodes (1997) 168–98.
—— (1999*a*). *Isthmia*, VIII. *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary* (Princeton).
—— (1999*b*). 'Cultural subzones in Early Iron Age and Archaic Arkadia?', in T. Heine Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia* (Copenhagen), 382–456.
—— (2000). 'Politics without the polis: Cities and the Achaean ethnos, *c.*800–500 BC', in Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 189–211.
—— (2001). 'Symbolic and pragmatic aspects of warfare in the Greek world of the 8th to 6th centuries BC', in T. Bekker-Nielsen and L. Hannestad (eds.), *War as a Cultural and Social Force* (Copenhagen), 20–44.
—— (2002). 'The origins of the Isthmian festival', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 251–71.
—— (2003). *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (London).
—— (forthcoming). 'The archaeology of ethnicity in the fourth-century Peloponnese', in N. Luraghi and P. Funke (eds.), *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League* (Harvard).
—— and COULTON, J. J. (1997). 'The *polis* as a physical entity', in Hansen (1997) 87–144.

MORGAN, K. (1993). 'Pindar the professional and the rhetoric of the κῶμος', *Classical Philology* 88: 1–15.

MORRIS, I. (1992*a*). 'Law, culture, and funerary art in Athens, 600–300 BC', *Hephaistos* 12: 35–50.

—— (1992*b*). *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge).

—— (ed.) (1994). *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (Cambridge).

—— (1998). 'Archaeology and archaic Greek history', in Fisher and van Wees (1998) 1–91.

—— (1999). *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece* (Oxford).

MORRIS, S. P. (1992). *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton).

MORRISON, J. S. (1942). 'Meno of Pharsalus, Polycrates and Ismenias', *CQ* 36: 57–68.

MOSCATI, S. (ed.) (1988). *I Fenici* (Milan).

MOSSHAMMER, A. A. (1982). 'The date of the first Pythiad—again', GRBS 23: 15–30.

MOST, G. W. (1985). *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes* (Göttingen).

MOUSTAKA, A. (1983). *Kulte und Mythen auf thessalischen Münze* (Würzburg).

—— (1997). '*ΤΡΙΚΚΑΙΩΝ ΑΘΛΑ*', in. K. A. Sheedy and G. Papageorgiadou-Banis (eds.), *Numismatic Archaeology, Archaeological Numismatics* (Oxford), 86–95.

MULLEN, W. (1982). *Choreia: Pindar and Dance* (Princeton).

MÜLLER, H. (2003). 'Pergamenische Parerga', *Chiron* 33: 419–45

MÜLLER, S. (1992). 'Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne', *BCH* 116: 445–96.

MULLIEZ, D. (2001). 'Note d'épigraphie delphique, VIII. L'Empereur Claude, témoin et archonte à Delphes', *BCH* 125: 289–303.

MUNN, M. L. ZIMMERMAN (1984). 'Corinthian Trade with the West in the Classical Period' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College).

—— (2003). 'Corinthian trade with the Punic West in the Classical Period', in C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis (eds.), *Corinth*, XX. *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896–1996* (Princeton), 195–217.

MÜRI, W. (1976). *Griechische Studien* (Basel).

MURRAY, O. (1993). *Early Greece*, 2nd edn. (London).

MYLONOPOULOS, J. (2003). *Πελοπόννησος οικτήριον Ποσειδώνος. Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes* (*Kernos* Suppl. 13, Liège).

NAGY, G. (1990). *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore).

NASO, A. (2000). 'Etruscan and Italic artefacts from the Aegean', in D. Ridgway *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara* (Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 4, London), 193–207.

—— (2003). 'Reflexe des griechischen Wunders in Etrurien', in Papenfuß and Strocka (2001) 317–25.

NEER, R. T. (2002). *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting: The Craft of Democracy, 53–460 BCE* (Cambridge).

—— (2003). 'Framing the gift: The Siphnian treasury at Delphi and the politics of architectural sculpture', in Dougherty and Kurke (2003) 129–49.

NEILS, J. (ed.) (1992). *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Hanover, NH).

—— (2000). 'Who's who on the Berlin foundry cup', in C. Mattusch, A. Braver, and S. E. Knudsen (eds.), *From the Parts to the Whole: Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress, Cambridge, held at Massachusetts, May 28–June 1, 1996* (*JRA Suppl.* 39, Portsmouth, RI), 75–80.

—— (2001). 'Panathenaics in the west', in Bentz and Eschbach (2001) 125–30.

NEUDECKER, R. (1988). *Die Skulpturenaustattung römischer Villen in Italien* (Mainz).
NEWBY, Z. (2005). *Greek Athletics in the Roman World* (Oxford).
NEWMAN, J. K., and NEWMAN, F. S. (1984). *Pindar's Art* (Hildesheim).
NICHOLSON, N. (2003). 'Aristocratic victory memorials and the absent charioteer', in Dougherty and Kurke (2003) 101–28.
NILSSON, M. P. (1961). *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, ii, 2nd edn. (Munich).
NOCK, A. D. (1972). 'The cult of heroes', in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ii (Oxford), 575–602.
OBBINK, D. (2001). 'The genre of Plataea: Generic unity in the new Simonides', in Boedeker and Sider (2001), 65–85.
ORTIZ, G. (1994). *In Pursuit of the Absolute: Art of the Ancient World from the George Ortiz Collection. Royal Academy of Arts, London 20 January–6 April 1994* (Berne).
OSANNA, M. (2002). 'Da Aigialos ad Achaia: Sui culti più antichi della madrepatria delle colonie achee di occidente', in Greco (2002) 271–81.
OSBORNE, M. (1983). *Naturalization in Athens*, iii, iv (Brussels).
OSBORNE, R. (1996). *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.* (London).
—— (1997). 'Men without clothes: Heroic nakedness and Greek art', *Gender Studies* 9.3: 504–28.
—— (1998). 'Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the west', in Fisher and van Wees (1998) 251–69.
ØSTBY, E. (1993). 'Twenty-five years of research on Greek sanctuaries: A bibliography', in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 192–227.
—— (1994). 'A reconstruction of the Classical temple at Pherai', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 139–42.
O'SULLIVAN, P. (2003). 'Victory statue, victory song: Pindar's agonistic poetry and its legacy', in Phillips and Pritchard (2003) 75–100.
—— (2005). 'Pindar and the statues of Rhodes', *CQ* 55: 96–104.
OVERBECK, J. (1868). *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig).
PAGE, D. L. (1955). *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford).
—— (1970). 'Fragments of Greek lyric poetry: P. Oxy 2637', *PCPS* 16: 91–6.
—— (1975). *Epigrammata graeca* (Oxford).
PALAGIA, O., and HERZ, N. (2002). 'Investigation of marbles at Delphi', in J. J. Herrmann Jr., N. Herz, and R. Newman (eds.), *Asmosia*, 5. *Interdisciplinary Studies of Ancient Stone. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1998* (London), 240–9.
PALAIOGEORGOU, A. (2000). 'A Literary Commentary on Four Odes of Pindar: Olympia 10, Nemean 4, Nemean 10, and Isthmian 6' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London).
PAPACHATZIS, N. D. (1960). '*Η Κορόπη καί τό ἱερό τοῦ Απόλλωνα*', *Thessalika* 3: 3–24.
PAPANIKOLAOU, A. (1998*a*). '*Η οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στην ν. κλιτύ της Ακροπολέως της Καρθαίας κατά τον 6ου και 5ου αἰ. π.Χ.*', in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 583–608.
—— (1998*b*). '*Η στέγη του ναού της Αθηνάς στην Καρθαία*', in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 555–582
PAPENFUSS, D., and STROCKA, V. M. (eds.) (2001). *Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr* (Mainz).
PARIENTE, A. (1992). 'Le Monument argien des "Sept contre Thèbes"', in M. Pièrart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos* (*BCH* Suppl. 22), 195–225.

PARIENTE, A. PIÈRART, M., and THALMANN, J.-P. (1998). 'Les Recherches sur l'Agora d'Argos: Résultats et perspectives', in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et urbanisme* (Paris), 211–31.
PARISINOU, E. (2000). *Light of the Gods* (London).
PARKER, R. (1983). *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford).
—— (1995). 'Early Orphism', in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London), 483–510.
—— (1996). *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford).
—— (1998). *Cleomenes on the Acropolis. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 12 May 1997* (Oxford).
—— (2005). *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford).
PARKER, V. (1994). 'Some aspects of the foreign and domestic policy of Cleisthenes of Sikyon', *Hermes* 122: 404–24.
—— (1997). *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart).
PARSONS, P. J. (1977). 'Callimachus: Victoria Berenices', *ZPE* 25: 1–50.
PARTIDA, E. (2000). *The Treasuries at Delphi: An Architectural Study* (Jonsered).
PAYNE, H. (1931). *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (Oxford).
—— and YOUNG, G. MACKWORTH (1936). *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London).
PEEK, W. (1942). 'Zwei agonistische Gedichte aus Rhodos', *Hermes* 77: 206–11.
PEMBERTON, E. G. (1989). *Corinth*, XVIII, i. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery* (Princeton).
—— (1996). 'Wealthy Corinth: The archaeological evidence for cult investment at Greek Corinth', in M. Dillon (ed.), *Religion in the Ancient World. New Themes and Approaches* (Amsterdam), 353–66.
—— (1999). 'Wealthy Corinth: The archaeology of a Classical city'. *Proceedings 1998 of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, Canberra*: 138–65.
—— (2000*a*). 'Wine, women and song: Gender roles in Corinthian cult', *Kernos* 13: 85–106.
—— (2000*b*). 'Agones hieroi: Greek athletic contests in their religious context', *Nikephoros* 13: 111–23.
PERLMAN, P. (1995). '*ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ*: Panhellenic *epangelia* and political status', in Hansen (1995) 113–64.
—— (2000). *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen).
PÉRON, J. (1974). *Les Images maritimes de Pindare* (Paris).
PFAFF, C. (1999). 'The Early Iron Age pottery from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore', *Hesperia* 68: 55–134.
—— (2003*a*). 'Corinthian architecture of the sixth century BC', in C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis (eds.), *Corinth*, XX. *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896–1996* (Princeton), 95–138.
—— (2003*b*). *The Argive Heraion*, I. *The Architecture of the Classical Temple of Hera* (Princeton).
PFANNER, M. (1989). 'Über das Herstellen von Porträts: Ein Beitrag zu Rationalisierungsmassnahmen und Produktionsmechanismen von Massenware im späten Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit', *JdI* 104: 157–257.
PFEIFFER, R. (1968). *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford).
PFEIJFFER, I. L. (1999). *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar: A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III and Pythian VIII* (Leiden).
PHILIPP, H. KOENIG (1992). 'Le caratteristiche delle relazioni fra il sanctuario di Olimpia e la Magna Grecia', in *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria (Atti Taranto 31, 1991)*, 29–51.

—— (1994). 'Olympia, die Peloponnes und die Westgriechen', *JDAI* 109: 77–92.
PHILIPPSON, A. (1950). *Die griechische Landschaften: Eine Landeskunde*, I, 1. *Der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel: Thessalien und die Spercheios-Senke* (Frankfurt).
PHILLIPS, D., and PRITCHARD, D. (eds.) (2003). *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World* (Swansea).
PICARD, O. (1979). *Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne: Étude de numismatique et d'histoire (IVe–Ier siècle)* (Paris).
—— (1990). 'Numismatique et épigraphie', in *Un siècle d'épigraphie classique: Aspects de l'œuvre des savants français dans les pays du bassin méditerranéen de 1888 à nos jours*. Actes du Colloque international du centenaire de *l' Année Épigraphique* (Paris), 251–66.
PIÈRART, M. (1997). 'L'Attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cités d'Argolide', in Hansen (1997) 321–51.
—— (1998). 'Panthéon et hellénisation dans la colonie romaine de Corinthe: La "Redécouverte" du culte de Palaimon à l'Isthme', *Kernos* 11: 85–109.
—— (2000). 'Argos: Une autre démocracie,' in P. Flensted-Jensen, T. Heine Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000* (Copenhagen), 297–314.
PIKOULAS, Y. (1995). *Ὁδικο Δίκτυο καὶ Ἄμυνα. Ἀπό τὴν Κόρινθο στὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδία* (Athens).
PLEKET, H. W. (1974). 'Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 36: 57–79.
—— (1975). 'Games, prizes, athletes and ideology: Some aspects of the history of sport in the Greco-Roman world', *Stadion* 1: 48–89.
—— (1992). 'The participants in the ancient Olympic games: Social background and mentality', in W. D. E. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens), 147–52.
PODLECKI, A. (1979). 'Simonides in Sicily', *La Parola del Passato* 34: 5–16.
—— (1980). 'Festivals and flattery: The early Greek tyrants as patrons of poetry', *Athenaeum* 58: 371–95.
POLIAKOFF, M. (2001). 'Competition', in Papenfuß and Strocka (2001) 51–64.
POLINSKAYA, I. (2002). 'A new inscribed funerary monument from Aigina', *Hesperia* 71: 399–413.
POLLITT, J. J. (1972). *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (Cambridge).
—— (1974). *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven).
POLTERA, O. (1998). 'Von Seleukos zu Simonides und zurück: Simon. *PMG* 540', *MH* 55: 129–30.
POMTOW, H. (1918). 'Hippokrates und die Asklepiaden in Delphi', *Klio* 15: 303–38.
POPHAM, M., and MILBURN, E. (1971). 'The Late Helladic IIIC pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi), a summary', *BSA* 66: 333–52.
—— and SACKETT, L. H. (1968). *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964–66* (London).
POPP, H. (1957). *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegfuehrung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (diss. Erlangen).
POUILLOUX, J. (1976). *Fouilles de Delphes*, II. *Épigraphie. Fasc.* 4: *Les Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple at de la region nord du sanctuaire* (Paris).
—— (1994). 'Théogénès de Thasos … quarante ans après', *BCH* 118: 199–206.
POULSEN, F. (1945). 'Talking, weeping and bleeding statues', *Acta Archaeologica* 16: 187–95.
POUND, E. (1954). *Literary Essays* (London).
PRITCHETT, W. K. (1996). *Greek Archives, Cults and Topography* (Amsterdam).

Pugliese Carratelli, G. (1993). *Le lamine d'oro orfiche* (Milan).
—— (ed.) (1996). *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily* (New York).
Puhvel, J. (1988). 'Hittite athletics as prefigurations of ancient Greek games', in Raschke (1988*a*) 26–31.
Raaflaub, K. (1997). 'Power in the hands of the people: Foundations of Athenian democracy', in I. Morris and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges* (Dubuque), 31–66.
Race, W. H. (1982*a*). *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden).
—— (1982*b*). 'How Greek poems begin', *YCS* 29: 13–38.
—— (1983). 'Negative expressions and Pindaric ποικιλία', *TAPA* 113: 95–122.
—— (1986). *Pindar* (Boston).
—— (1987*a*). 'Pindaric encomium and Isokrates' *Evagoras*', *TAPA* 117: 121–55.
—— (1987*b*). 'P. Oxy. 2438 and the order of Pindar's works', *RM* 130: 407–10
—— (1997). *Pindar*: *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes* (Cambridge, Mass.).
Rambach, J. (2002). 'Olympia: 2500 Jahre Vorgeschichte vor den Gründung des eisenzeitlichen griechischen Heiligtums', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 213–20.
Raschke, W. J. (ed.) (1988*a*). *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other Festivals in Antiquity* (Madison).
—— (1988*b*). 'Images of victory: Some new considerations of athletic monuments', in Raschke (1988*a*) 38–54.
Raubitschek, A. (1949). *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass.).
—— (1988). 'The Panhellenic idea and the Olympic games', in Raschke (1988*a*) 35–7.
Raubitschek, I. (1998). *Isthmia*, vii. *The Metal Objects (1952–1989)* (Princeton).
Rausa, F. (1994). *L'immagine del vincitore: L'atleta nella statuaria greca dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo* (Rome).
Rechenauer, G. (1973). 'Zu Thukydides II.22,3: ... ἀπό τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος ...', *Rh. M. Phil*. 136: 238–44.
Redfield, J. (2003*a*). *The Locrian Maidens: Love and Death in Greek Italy* (Princeton).
—— (2003*b*). 'Initiations and initiatory experience', in Dodd and Faraone (2003) 255–9.
Reger, G. (1997). 'Islands with one *polis* versus islands with several *poleis*', in Hansen (1997) 450–92.
Reinders, R. H., Fijma, P., Malakasioti, Z., and Rondiri, V. (2000). 'An archaeological survey of the Sourpi plain (Thessaly, Greece)', *Pharos* 8: 83–92.
—— Floras, S., Karimali, E., Malakasioti, Z., Prummel, W., Rondiri, V., Sgouras, I., and Wijnen, M. (1997). 'Karatsádhagli: A Neolithic site in the Almirós plain (Thessaly, Greece)', *Pharos* 5: 85–143.
Renfrew, C. (1988). 'The Minoan-Mycenaean origins of the Panhellenic games', in (Raschke 1988*a*) 13–15.
Reuterswärd, P. (1958). *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik* (Stockholm).
Rhodes, P. J. (1994). *Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War, Book 3* (Warminster).
—— (2003). 'Nothing to do with democracy: Athenian drama and the *polis*', *JHS* 123: 104–19.
—— with Lewis, D. M. (1997). *The Decrees of the Greek States* (Oxford).
Rice, E. E. (1983). *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford).
Richardson, N. J. (1985). 'Pindar and later literary criticism in antiquity', *Papers of the Leeds Latin Seminar* 5: 383–401.
—— (1992). 'Panhellenic cults and panhellenic poets', *CAH* v²: 223–44.

RICHTER, G. M. A. (1961). *Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London).
—— (1968). *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London).
—— (1970). *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths*, 3rd edn. (London).
—— and SMITH, R. R. R. (1984). *The Portraits of the Greeks*, abridged and revised (Oxford).
RIDGWAY, B. S. (1981). 'Sculpture from Corinth', *Hesperia* 50: 422–48.
—— (1984). *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor).
—— (1991). 'Archaic architectural sculpture and travel myths', *DHA* 17: 95–112.
—— (1993). *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 2nd edn. (Chicago).
RIDINGTON, W. R. (1935). *The Minoan-Mycenaean Background of Greek Athletics* (Philadelphia).
RIGSBY, K. J. (1996). *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London).
—— (2004). 'Claudius at Delphi', *ZPE* 146: 99–100.
RINGWOOD, I. C. (1927). 'Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence, Part I: Non-Attic, Mainland and Adjacent Islands, except Euboea' (Diss., Poughkeepsie, NY).
ROBERT, J., and ROBERT, L. (1989). *Claros*, I. *Décrets hellenistiques* (Paris).
ROBERT, L. (1935). 'Sur des inscriptions de Chios, V: Catalogue agonistique' *BCH* 59: 459–65 (= *OMS* I. 512–29).
—— (1960). 'Un pancratiaste de Dorylée', *Hellenica* XI–XII: 342–9.
—— (1966). 'Deux inscriptions agonistiques de Rhodes', *Arch. Eph.* 108–18 (*OMS* VI. 696–706).
—— (1967*a*). *Monnaies grecques* (Geneva and Paris).
—— (1967*b*). 'Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse: Fêtes, athlètes, empéreurs, épigrammes', *RPh.* 41: 7–84 (*OMS* V. 347–424).
—— (1970). 'Deux concours grecs à Rome', *CRAI*: 6–27.
—— (1978). 'Catalogue agonistique des Romaia de Xanthos', *OMS* VII. 681–94.
—— (1981). 'Une épigramme satirique d'Automédon et Athènes au début de l'Empire, Anthologie Palatine XI, 319', *REG*: 338–61 (*OMS* VI. 432–55).
—— (1984*a*). 'Discours d'ouverture du VIIIe Congrès d'épigraphie à Athènes', *OMS* VI. 709–19.
—— (1984*b*). 'Héraclès à Pergame et une épigramme de l'Anthologie XVI 91', *Rev. Phil.*: 7–18 (*OMS* VI. 457–68).
ROBERTSON, M. (1975). *A History of Greek Art* (London).
ROBERTSON, N. (1978). 'The myth of the First Sacred War', *CQ* 28: 38–73.
ROBINSON, E. (1997). *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government outside Athens* (Stuttgart).
RODDAZ, J.-M. (1984). *Marcus Agrippa* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 253, Rome).
ROLLEY, C. (1983). 'Les Grandes sanctuaires panhelléniques', in Hägg (1983) 109–14.
—— (1990). 'En regardant l'Aurige', *BCH* 114: 285–97.
—— (1994). *La Sculpture grecque*, I. *Des origines au milieu de Ve siècle* (Paris).
—— (1999). *La Sculpture grecque, II. La Période classique* (Paris).
—— (2002). 'Delphes de 1500 à 575 av. J.-C. Nouvelles données sur le problème "ruptures et continuités" ', in Kyrieleis (2002*a*) 273–9.
ROSE, P. (1982). 'Towards a dialectical hermeneutic of Pindar's Pythian X', *Helios*, NS 9: 47–73.
—— (1992). *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth: Ideology and literary form in Ancient Greece* (Cornell).
ROSEN, S. (1981). 'The economics of superstars', *American Economic Review* 71 no. 5: 825–44.

ROSENMEYER, T. G. (1969). 'The rookie: A reading of Pindar Nemean I', *CSCA* 2: 233–46.
ROTROFF, S., and HOFF, M. (eds.) (1997). *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford).
ROUECHÉ, C. (1993). *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London).
ROUGEMONT, G. (1992). 'Delphes et les cités grecques d'Italie du sud et de Sicile', in *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria (Atti Taranto 31, 1991)*, 157–92.
ROUX, G. (1958). *Pausanias en Corinthie* (Paris).
ROY, J. (1999). 'The economies of Arkadia', in T. Heine Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia* (Copenhagen), 320–81.
RUSNAK, T. J. Jnr. (2001). 'The Active Spectator: Art and the Viewer in Ancient Greece' (Ph. D. diss., Bryn Mawr College).
RUTHERFORD, I. (2001*a*). *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford).
—— (2001*b*). 'The new Simonides: Towards a commentary', in Boedeker and Sider (2001), 33–54.
—— and IRVINE, J. A. D. (1988). 'The race in the Athenian oschophoria and oschophoricon by Pindar', *ZPE* 72: 43–51.
SAKELLARIOU, M., and FARAKLAS, N. (1971). *Corinthia-Cleonaea* (Athens).
SALMON, J. (1984). *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford).
SALVATORE, M. di (1994). 'Richerche sul territorio di Pherai: Insediamenti, difese, vie e confini', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 93–124.
SAMUEL, A. E. (1972). *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich).
SÁNCHEZ, P. (2001). *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes: Recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au IIe siècle de notre ère* (Stuttgart).
SANDERS, J. (1992). 'The early Lakonian dioskouroi reliefs', in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London), 205–10.
SANSONE, D. (1988). *Greek Athletics and the Genesis of Sport* (Berkeley).
—— (1991). 'Cleobis and Biton in Delphi', *Nikephoros* 4: 121–32.
SAVALLI-LESTRADE, I. (2005). 'Devenir une cité: *Poleis* nouvelles et aspirations civiques en Asie Mineure à la basse époque hellénistique', in P. Fröhlich and C. Müller (eds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique* (Geneva).
SCANLON, T. F. (2002). *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford).
SCHACHTER, A. (1981–94). *Cults of Boiotia*, vols. i–iii (London).
—— (ed.) (1992). 'Policy, cult, and the placing of Greek sanctuaries', in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le Sanctuaire grec* (Geneva), 1–64.
SCHADEWALDT, W. (1928). *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle).
SCHMIDT, D. (1999). 'An unusual victory list from Keos: IG XII, 5, 608 and the dating of Bacchylides', *JHS* 119: 67–85.
SCHMITZ, T. (1997). *Bildung und Macht: Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit* (Zetemata 97, Munich).
SCHNEIDER, L. A. (1975). *Zur sozialen Bedeutung der archaischen Korenstatuen* (Hamburg).
SCHWYZER, E. (1953 and 1950). *Griechische Grammatik*, i and ii (Munich).
SCULLION, S. (1994). 'Chthonian and Olympian', *Class. Ant.* 13: 74–119.
—— (2000). 'Heroic and Chthonian Sacrifice: New Evidence for Selinus', *ZPE* 132, 163–71.
SEAFORD, R. (2004). *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy and Tragedy* (Cambridge).
SEGAL, C. (1985). 'Messages to the underworld: An aspect of poetic immortalization in Pindar', *AJP* 102: 199–212.

SEGRE, M. (1948). 'L'Institution des Nikephoria de Pergame', *Hellenica* 5: 101–28 [posthumously published by L. Robert].
SERVAIS, J. (1969). 'Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypsélides', *Ant. Cl.* 38: 28–81.
SERWINT, J. N. (1987). 'Greek Athletic Sculpture from the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.' (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University).
SHAPIRO, A. (1992). 'Mousikoi agones: Music and poetry at the Panathenaia', in Neils (1992) 53–76.
SHEAR, L. (1978). 'Tyrants and buildings at Athens', in *Athens Comes of Age: From Solon to Salamis* (Princeton), 1–19.
SHEPHERD, G. (1995). 'Burial and religion in the Sicilian colonies', *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 51–82.
—— (1999). 'Fibulae and females: Intermarriage in the western Greek colonies', in G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greece: West and East* (Leiden), 267–300.
—— (2000). 'Greeks bearing gifts: Religious relationships between Sicily and Greece in the Archaic period', in C. Smith and J. Serrati (eds.), *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History* (Edinburgh), 55–70.
SHIPLEY, G. (1997). ' "The other Lakedaimonians": The dependent perioikic *poleis* of Laconia and Messenia', in Hansen (1997) 189–281.
SIEWERT, P. (1992). 'The Olympic rules', in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens), 113–17.
—— (1996). 'Votivbarren und das Ende der Waffen- und Geräteweihungen in Olympia', *Ath. Mitt.* 111: 141–8.
—— (2001). 'Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis', in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions Anlässlich '100 Jahre der Feier österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Athen', Athen 5.3–7.3.1998* (Athens), 245–52.
—— (ed.) (2002). *Ostrakismos-Testimonien*, i (*Historia* Einz. 155, Stuttgart).
SILK, M. S. (1974). *Interaction in Poetic Imagery: With Special Reference to Early Greek Poetry* (Cambridge).
—— (1998). 'Pindar's poetry and the obligatory crux: *Isthmian* 5.56–63, text and interpretation', *TAPA* 128: 25–88.
—— (2000). *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy* (Oxford).
—— (2001). 'Pindar meets Plato: Theory, language, value and the Classics', in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Texts, Ideas and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory and Classical Literature* (Oxford), 26–45.
—— (forthcoming). *Poetic Language* (Oxford).
SINN, U. (1987). 'Aphaia und die "Aigineten", zur Rolle des Aphaiaheiligtums im religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Lebe der Insel Aigina', *Ath. Mitt.* 102: 131–67.
—— (1994). 'Apollon und die Kentauromachie im Westgiebel des Zeustempels in Olympia', *AA*: 585–602.
—— *et al.* (1996). 'Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt "Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike", v. Die Arbeiten im Jahr 1995', *Nikephoros* 9: 199–228.
SLATER, W. J. (1969). *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin).
—— (1986). *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (Berlin).
—— (1999). 'Augustan sports', *CR* 49: 194–5.
SLAVITT, D. R. (1998). *The Odes of Bacchylides* (Baltimore).
SMITH, R. R. R. (1990). 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 90: 127–55.
—— (1991). *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London).
—— (2002). 'The use of images: Visual history and ancient history', in T. P. Wiseman (ed.), *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome* (London), 59–102.

SMITH, T. C. (1959). 'Religious ἀρετή in Pindar's *Ol.* 12', *CB* 36: 16–17.
SMITH, W. D. (1990). *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings (Letters—Embassy—Speech from the altar—Decree), Studies in Ancient Medicine* (ed. J. Scarborough), vol. ii (New York).
SMYTH, H. W., and LLOYD-JONES, H. (1963). *Aeschylus*, ii (London).
SNELL, B., and MAEHLER, H. (1987). *Pindari Carmina*, i, 8th edn. (Leipzig).
SNODGRASS, A. (1980). *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London).
—— (1983). 'Heavy freight in Archaic Greece', in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London), 16–26.
—— (2001). 'Pausanias and the Chest of Kypselos', in Alcock *et al.* (2001) 127–41.
SOKOLOWSKI, F. (1955). *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris).
—— (1969). *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris).
SÖRBOM, G. (1966). *Mimesis and Art: Studies in the Origin and Early Development of an Aesthetic Vocabulary* (Stockholm).
SORDI, M. (1958). *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno* (Rome).
—— (1987). 'La Thessalia nel periodo dell'Indipendenza', *Verbum* 10: 51–67.
—— (1993). 'I rapporti fra Roma e Delfi e la decima', in Mastrocinque (1993) 149—58.
SOURVINOU-INWOOD, C. (1990). 'What is *polis* religion?', in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford), 295–322.
—— (1993). 'Early sanctuaries, the eighth century and ritual space: Fragments of a discourse', in Marinatos and Hägg (1993) 1–17.
—— (1995). *'Reading' Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford).
SPAWFORTH (1989). 'Agonistic festivals in Roman Greece', in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (*BICS* Suppl. 55, London), 193–7.
—— (2001). 'Shades of Greekness: A Lydian case study', in Malkin (2001) 375–400.
SPENCE, I. G. (1993). *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: A Social and Military History* (Oxford).
SPECHT, S. (1996). 'Die architektonische Neugestaltung', in Sinn *et al.* (1996) 203–15.
SPIVEY, N. (2004). *The Ancient Olympics* (Oxford).
SPLITTER, R. (2000). *Die 'Kypseloslade' in Olympia. Form, Funktion und Bildschmuck: Eine archäologische Rekonstruktion* (Mainz).
SPRAWSKI, S. (1999). *Jason of Pherae: A Study on History of Thessaly in Years 431–370 BC* (*Electrum* 3, Krakow).
STADTER, P. A. (1989). *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill).
STAFFORD, E. (2000). *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (London).
STÄHLIN, F. (1924). *Das hellenische Thessalien: Landeskundige und geschichtliche Beschreibung Thessaliens in der hellenischen und römischen Zeit* (Stuttgart).
STAMATOPOULOU, M. (1999). 'Burial Customs in Thessaly in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford).
STAMPOLIDIS, N., and TASSOULAS, Y. (eds.) (2004). *Magna Graecia: Athletics and the Olympic Spirit on the Periphery of the Hellenic World* (Athens).
STANFORD, W. B. (1967). *The Sound of Greek* (Berkeley).
STEARS, K. (2000). 'The times they are a'changing: Developments in fifth-century Athenian funerary monuments', in G. J. Oliver (ed.), *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool), 25–58.
DE STE. CROIX, G. E. M. (1972). *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).
—— (1981). *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London).
—— (2004). 'But what about Aegina?', in D. Harvey and R. Parker (eds.), *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays* (Oxford), 371–420.
STEHLE, E. (1997). *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Performance Poetry in its Setting* (Princeton).

STEINER, A. (1992). 'Pottery and cult in Corinth: Oil and water at the Sacred Spring', *Hesperia* 62: 385–408.
STEINER, D. (1986). *The Crown of Song: Metaphor in Pindar* (London).
—— (1993). 'Pindar's *Ogetti Parlanti', HSCP* 95: 159–80.
—— (1998). 'Moving images: Fifth-century victory monuments and the athlete's allure', *Classical Antiquity* 17: 123–49.
—— (2001). *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought* (Princeton).
STEININGER, E. (1912). 'Haartracht und Haarschmuck', *RE* 7: 2109–25.
STEMMER, K. (ed.) (1995). *Standorte: Kontext und Funktion antiker Skulptur* (Berlin).
STEPHENS, S. (2003). *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley).
STEWART, A. F. (1979). *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London).
—— (1990). *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven).
—— (1997). *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
STIEBER, M. (1994). 'Aeschylus' theoroi and realism in Greek art', *TAPA* 124: 85–119.
STIBBE, C. M. (2000). *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of Archaic Greek Bronze Industry* (Rome).
STROUD, R. (1992–8). 'A Corinthian epitaph', *HOROS* 10–12: 239–43.
—— (1994). 'Thucydides and Corinth', *Chiron* 24: 267–304.
STRUCK, P. T. (2004). *Birth of the Symbol* (Princeton).
STURGEON. M. (1987). *Isthmia*, IV. *Sculpture* i: *1952–1967* (Princeton).
SVENBRO, J. (1976). *La Parole et le marbe* (Lund).
SWADDLING, J. (1999). *The Ancient Olympic Games* (London).
SWAIN, S. (1996). *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford).
SZELIGA, G. (1986). 'The composition of the Argo metopes from the Monopteros at Delphi', *AJA* 90: 297–305.
TANCKE, K. (1990). 'Wagenrennen: Ein Friesthema der aristokratischen Repräsentationskunst spätklassisch-frühhellenistischer Zeit', *JDAI* 105: 95–127.
TAPLIN, O. (2004). Review of Spivey (2004), *Guardian*, 14 Aug. 2004.
TÄUBER, H. (1997). 'Ein Inschriftenfragment der Pulydamas-Basis von Olympia', in I. Weiler (ed.), *Olympia: Sport und Spektakel. Die Olympische Spiele im Altertum und ihre Rezeption im modernen Olympismus. Symposium, Graz, 3.–5. Oktober 1996* (*Nikephoros* 10), 235–43.
TAUSEND, S. (1999). 'Sportstätten und Agone in Lousoi und Pheneos', in K. Tausend (ed.), *Pheneos und Lousoi: Untersuchungen zu geschichte und Topographie Nordostarkadiens* (Frankfurt am Main), 370–9.
THOMAS, RENATE (1981). *Athletenstatuetten der Spätarchaik und des Strengen Stils* (Rome).
THOMAS, ROSALIND (1989). *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
—— (1992). *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
—— (1995). 'The place of the poet in Archaic society', in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London), 105–29.
THOMPSON, D. (2000). 'Philadelphus' procession: Dynastic power in a Mediterranean context', in L. Mooren (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro 19–24 July 1997* (*Studia Hellenistica* 36, Leuven), 365–88.

THOMPSON, D. (2005). 'Posidippus, poet of the Ptolemies', in Gutzwiller (2005) 269–83.
THOMPSON, M. (1979). *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (Oxford).
—— (1980). 'The geometry of confidence, an analysis of the Enga te and Hagen moka: A complete system of ceremonial pig giving in the New Guinea highlands', in J. C. Mitchell (ed.), *Numerical Techniques in Anthropology* (Philadelphia), 235–72.
THOMSON, G. (1966). *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, rev. edn. (Amsterdam and Prague).
THUMMER, E. (1957). *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Innsbruck).
—— (1968). *Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte*, i (Heidelberg).
TIVERIOS, M. (1989). *Περίκλεια Παναθήναια. Ένας κρατήρας του Ζ. του Μονάχου 2335* (Thessaloniki).
—— (2000). *Μακεδόνες και Παναθηναία. Παναθηναϊκοι Αμφορείς από τον βορειοελλαδικό Χώρο* (Athens).
TÖLLE-KASTENBEIN, R. (1980). *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren: Originale* (Mainz).
—— (1986). *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren: Typen und Repliken* (Berlin).
TOMLINSON, R. A. (1969). 'Perachora: The remains outside the two sanctuaries', *BSA* 64: 155–258.
—— (1972). *Argos and the Argolid* (London).
—— (1990). 'The chronology of the Perachora *hestiatorion* and its significance', in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford), 95–101.
TORELLI, M. (1993). 'Spina e la sua storia', in *Spina, Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi* (Rome).
—— (1996). 'The encounter with the Etruscans', in Pugliese Carratelli (1996) 567–76.
TOULOUPA, E. (1998). '*Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού της Αθηνάς στην Καρθαία· περίληψη*', in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 609–23.
TOZER, H. F. (1890). *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford).
TRACY, S. V., and HABICHT, C. (1991). 'New and old Panathenaic victor lists', *Hesperia* 60: 187–236, with plates 71–6. Reproduced as Habicht (1994) 73–139 (without plates).
TRIANTAPHYLOPOULOU, P. (2002). '*Αμφανές: Αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα—πρόταση ανάδειξης*', in *Μνημεία*: 134–9.
TRIANTI, I. (1994). '*Παρατηρήσεις σε δύο Ομάδες Γλυπτών του τέλους του 6ου Αιώνα από την Ακρόπολη*', in W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, H. A. Shapiro, and F. J. Frost (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford), 83–91.
—— (1998). '*Αρχαικά αγάλματα της Κέας*', in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian (1998) 449–58.
TYRELL, W. B. (1980). 'A View of the Amazons', *CB* 57: 1–5.
TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI, O. (ed.) (1989). *Mind and Body: Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece. National Archaeological Museum, 15th May 1989–15th January 1990* (Athens).
TZIAFALIAS, A. (1978). '*Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στον Άγιο Γεώργιο Λαρίσης*', *AAA* 11: 156–82.
—— (1985). '*Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Λάρισα: Νέα στοιχεία για την ιστορία της Πόλης*', in *Larisa*: 56–75.
—— (1992). '*Αρχαία Πέλινα. Απόπειρα αρχαιολογικής γνωριμίας*', *Trikalina* 12: 87–138.
—— (1994*a*). '*Δεκαπέντε χρόνια ανασκαφών στην αρχαία Λάρισα*', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 153–78.
—— (1994*b*). '*Αγιος Γεώργιος Λάρισας*', in *Θεσσαλία B*: 179–88.
—— (1995). '*Αρχαίος' Ατραξ: ιστορία—τοπογραφία—πολιτισμός*', *Πρακτικά του 3ου Συμποσίου Τρικαλινών Σπουδών (Τρίκαλα, 5–7 Νοεμβρίου 1993)*, *Trikalina* 15: 69–96.
—— (2000*a*). '*Το Έργο της Ιε' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων*', in '*Εργο των Εφορειών*: 85–96.
—— (2000*b*). '*Ταύτιση του αρχαίου Μόψιου*', in *Εργο των Εφορειών*: 97–101.

—— and ZAOURI, A. (1999). '*Από τη βόρεια Περραιβία ως την αρχαία Κραννώνα: νεκροταφεία της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου*', in *Περιφέρεια*: 143–52.

UÇANKUŞ, H. T. (1989). 'Die bronzene Siegerstatue eines Läufers aus dem Meer vor Kyme', *Nikephoros* 2: 135–55.

UMHOLZ, G. (2002). 'Architraval arrogance? Dedicatory inscriptions in Greek architecture of the Classical period', *Hesperia* 71: 261–93.

VALAVANIS, P. (2004). *Ιερά και Αγόνες στην αρχαία Ελλάδα* (Athens).

VALENZA MELE, N. (1991). 'Solo "tombe di atleti" a Tarento?', *Prospettiva* 63: 4–16.

VALLET, G. (1984). 'Pindare et la Sicile', in A. Hurst (ed.), *Pindare* (*Entretiens Hardt* 31, Geneva), 285–320.

VAN BREMEN, R. (1996). *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam).

—— (2003). 'Family structures', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford) 313–30.

VAN BUREN, E. D. (1926). *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period* (London).

VANDERPOOL, E. (1942). 'An Archaic inscribed stele from Marathon', *Hesperia* 11: 329–37.

—— (1969). 'Three prize vases', *Arch. Delt.* 24 A: 1–5.

VAN DER WEIDEN, M. (1986). 'P. Oxy. 2624: A new fragment of Pindar?', *ZPE* 64: 15–32.

VAN NIJF, O. (1999). 'Athletics, festivals and Greek identity in the Roman east', *PCPS* 45: 176–200.

—— (2001). 'Local heroes: Athletics, festivals, and elite self-fashioning in the Roman east', in S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge), 306–34.

VAN WEES, H. (2003). 'Conquerers and serfs: Wars of conquest and forced labour in Archaic Greece', in S. Alcock and N. Luraghi (eds.), *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Harvard), 33–80.

VATIN, C. (1964). 'Pharsaliens à Delphes', *BCH* 88: 446–54.

—— (1982). 'Monuments votifs de Delphes', *BCH* 106: 509–25.

VDOVICHENKO, I. I. (1999). '*ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΑ ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΟΝ*', *Archeologiya I Istoriya Bospora* 3: 227–66.

VERDELIS, N. M. (1951). '*Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ*', *PAE*: 129–63.

—— (1952). '*Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ*', *PAE*: 164–204.

—— (1953). '*Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ*', *PAE*: 120–32.

—— (1953–4). '*Χαλκῆ τεφροδόχος καλπὶς ἐκ Τρικάλων*', *AE*: 189–99.

—— (1954). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαρσάλου*', *PAE*: 153–9.

—— (1955). '*Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φαρσάλου*', *PAE*: 140–6.

VERDENIUS, W. J. (1987). *Commentaries on Pindar*, i: *Olympian Odes 3, 7, 12, 14* (Leiden).

VERMEULE, C. C. (1977). *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Ann Arbor).

VERNANT, J.-P. (1965). *Mythe et pensée chez les grecs* (Paris).

—— (1983). 'Hestia-Hermes: The religious expression of space and movement in Ancient Greece', in J. P. Vernant (ed.), *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* (London), 127–75.

VIAL, C. (2003). 'A propos des concours de l'Orient méditerranéen à l'époque hellénistique', in F. Prost (ed.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Rennes), 311–28.

VIVIERS, D. (1992). *Recherches sur les ateliers de sculpteurs et la Cité d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque: Endoios, Philergos, Aristoklès* (Brussels).

VOKOTOPOULOU, J. (1992). 'Dodone et les villes de la grande Grèce et de la Sicile', in *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria (Atti Taranto 31, 1991)*, 63–90.

VON HASE, F.-W. (1997). 'Présences étrusques et italiques dans les sanctuaires grecs (VIIIe–VIIe siècles av. J.-C.)', in F. Gaultier and D. Briquel (eds.), *Les Plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque* (Paris), 293–323.

WACE, A. J. B., and DROOP, J. P. (1906–7). 'Excavations at Theotokou, Thessaly', *BSA* 13: 309–37.

WACHTER, R. (2001). *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford).

WACKER, C. (1998). 'The record of the Olympic victory list', *Nikephoros* 11: 39–50.

WADE-GERY, H. T. (1952). *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge).

—— (1958). *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford).

WALBANK, M. (1978). *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century BC* (Sarasota).

WALLNER, C. (1997). *Soldatenkaiser und Sport* (*Grazer altertumskundliche Studien* 4, Frankfurt am Main).

WALTER-KARYDI, E. (1987). *Alt-Ägina*, II, 2. *Die Äginetische Bildhauerschule: Werke und schriftliche Quellen* (Mainz).

—— (2004). '*Επινίκιες γιορτές, αγάλματα νικητών και η ταυτότητα των Αιγινητών*', in N. C. Stampolides and A. Giannikouri (eds.), *Το Αιγαίο στην πρωιμή Εποχή του Σιδήρου. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος, 1–4 Νοεμβρίου 2002* (Athens), 505–16.

WEBB, P. A. (1996). *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands* (Wisconsin).

WEINBERG, S. (1957). 'Terracotta sculpture at Corinth', *Hesperia* 26: 289–319.

WEISS, P. (1981). 'Ein agonistisches Bema und die isopythischen Spiele von Side', *Chiron* 11: 315–46.

WEST, M. L. (1978). *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford).

WESTLAKE, H. D. (1935). *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.* (London).

WHITEHOUSE, H. (2000). *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity* (Oxford).

WHITELAW, T., and DAVIS, J. (1991). 'The polis centre of Koressos', in J. Cherry, J. Davis, and E. Mantzourani (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History* (Los Angeles), 265–84.

WHITLEY, J. (2001). *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge).

WHITMARSH, T. (2002). *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON (1922). *Pindaros* (Berlin).

WILL, E. (1955). *Korinthiaka* (Paris).

WILLIAMS, C. K. II. (1969). 'Excavations at Corinth, 1968', *Hesperia* 38: 36–63.

—— (1970). 'Corinth, 1969: Forum area', *Hesperia* 39: 1–39.

—— (1978). 'Pre-Roman Cults in the Area of the Forum of Ancient Corinth (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania).

—— and FISHER, J. (1976). 'Corinth, 1975: Forum southwest', *Hesperia* 45: 99–162.

—— and RUSSELL, P. (1981). 'Corinth: Excavations of 1980', *Hesperia* 50: 1–44.

WILSON, P. (1999). 'The aulos in Athens', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge), 58–95.

—— (2000). *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage* (Cambridge).

—— (2002). 'Review of S. Lavecchia, *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta*, Rome/Pisa 2000', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* consulted (1 Nov. 2002) at: *http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2002/2002-04–24.html*.

WINTER, N. A. (1993). *Greek Architectural Terracottas from the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford).

WISEMAN, J. (1963). 'A trans-Isthmian fortification wall: Notes on Hellenistic military operations in the Corinthia', *Hesperia* 32: 248–75.

—— (1967). 'Excavations at Corinth: The gymnasium area, 1966', *Hesperia* 36: 402–28.
—— (1978). *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians* (Göteborg).
Wolters, C. (1979). 'Recherches sur les steles funéraires de Thessalie', in Helly (1979) 81–110.
Wolters, P. (1901). 'Zu griechischen Agonen', *30. Programm des kunstgeschichtlichen Museums (M. von Wagner-Stiftung) der Universität Würzburg*: 5–23.
Woodhead, A. G., and Wilson, R. J. A. (1996). 'Himera', *OCD*³: 707.
Woolf, G. (1994). 'Becoming Roman, staying Greek: Culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman east', *PCPS* 40: 116–35.
Wörrle, M. (1988). *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda* (Vestigia 39, Munich).
—— (1995). 'Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum "gestressten" Euergeten: Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete', in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (*Vestigia* 47, Munich), 241–50.
Wright, J. C., Cherry, J. F., Davis, J. L., Mantzourani, E., Sutton, S. B., and Sutton, R. F. (1990). 'The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project: A preliminary report', *Hesperia* 59: 579–659.
Wycherly, R. E. (1957). *Agora*, III: *The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton).
Young, D. (1984). *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago).
—— (2004). *A Brief History of the Olympic Games* (Oxford).
Zaidman, L. B., and Schmitt Pantel, P. (1992). *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (Eng. trans. P. Cartledge) (Cambridge).
Zanker, P. (1974). *Klassizistische Statuen: Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz).
Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. (2004). 'The proxenoi of western Greece', *ZPE* 147: 93–106.
Ziebahrt, E. (1914). *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen: Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes* (Leipzig and Berlin).
Ziegler, R. (1985). *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik: Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Düsseldorf).
Zimmer, G. (1989). *Locus datus decreto decurionum* (Munich).
—— (1990). *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten: Zur Technologieentwicklung eines antiken Kunsthandwerks* (Mainz).

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX LOCORUM (LITERARY TEXTS, INSCRIPTIONS PAPYRI)

AELIAN, *VH*
12. 3 38
AENEAS TACTICUS
2. 1 186
2. 5 186
AESCHINES
1. 53 189
AESCHYLUS
Ag.
35 193
656 187
664 182f.
665 187
1671 188
Cho.
670 193
941 187
Eum.
245 187
650 185
861–6 188
866 189
PV
371 187
487 185
723 191
Suppl.
32 184
86–103 187
fr. (*TrGF*)
25a 193
78a 6–21 91 and n. 26
300. 3 185
ALCAEUS
fr. 113. 2 L-P 187
fr. 142 W = 307 L-P 69
fr. 308 (2)b L-P 183
fr. 326. 2 L-P 185
ALCMAN
fr. 16 327
fr. 64 183
ANACREON
3 181
'ANACREON' (*FGE*)
516–7 (fr. XIII) 327 n. 128
502–3 (fr. VII) 327 n. 128
ANTH. PAL.
7. 692 385
13. 14 158 and n. 54
13. 16 370 and n. 118
ANTIPHANES
42. 8 183
ANTIPHON
1. 13 183
APOLLODOROS
3. 2. 1 21
APPIAN
Rom.
1. 99 384
ARCHILOCHOS
fr. 12W (*IEG*2) 187
fr. 16W 183
fr. 114W 115 and n. 88
fr, 324W 145
ARISTOPHANES
Ach.
395 189
1227–9 145 and n. 13
1481 190
Birds
721 186
1763–5 145 n. 13
Clouds
616 185
1356 210 and n. 39
Lys.
1128–34 31 n. 122
Peace
117 185
582–3 183
Wasps
245 207 n. 33
Tagenistai
fr. 492 Kock= 507 K/A 167 n. 3
ARISTOTLE
IA (de incessu animalium)
705a 12–19 82 n. 39
Div. Somn.
463b29 186
Gen. An.
783b18 190
Gen. corr.
337b4 186
Mete.
354a20 188
NE
1. 3 (1094b24f.) 71
Part. An.
675b7 186
Physics
5. 3 82
Poetics
1451a13–14 185
1452a22–3 187
Politics
1279a5 184
Rhetoric
1411a15 288
1413b12 193
Topics
122b34–5 185
fr. (Rose)
497–8 316
615–7 52
ARRIAN
Epict. Diss.
3. 22 378 n. 4
ATHENAEUS
382c 74
573–574 168
n. 3; see under CHAMAELEON

ATHENAEUS
578f. 359 and n. 73

AXIONICUS
4. 4 184

BACCHYLIDES
3. 60–66 224
3. 68–71 203 n. 20
4. 9 224 n.45
5. 16–24 206 n. 30
5. 39 123
5. 188–90 203 n. 20
7. 6 184
9. 33 216 n. 20
9. 40–1 371 n. 124
9. 98 371 n. 124
10. 1 183
12. 4–7 298
12. 34 298
13. 95 298
13. 185 183
13. 192–202 203 n. 20
13. 224 298, 301 n. 58
14 (title of poem) 170 n. 16, 333
14. 22 299
14. 23 312 n. 27
17. 4 185
17. 22 183
19. 17 182, 187
fr. 20 (c). 9 184
fr. 65 (c).1. 1 187

CASSIUS DIO
53. 1. 4–5 385
56. 29. 2 389

CHAMAELEON
fr. 31 Wehrli 167 n. 3, 236

CICERO
De Leg.
2. 57 235 n. 95
De Or.
2. 351–3 317 n. 52
2. 86 210 and n. 41
Tusc.
1. 111 382
4. 70 (33) 185
COM. ADESP.
1088. 5 193
CRATES
17. 2 257 n. 203
CRITIAS see KRITIAS
de viris illustribus LX

DEMOCRITUS
14. 3 190
DEMOSTHENES (and Ps. DEM.)
9. 36 185
18. 295–6 340
19. 128 38 n. 148
20. 70 100 n. 53
21. 16 208 and n. 36
23. 211 295 n. 38
59. 33 204
59. 99 189
DINARCHUS
3. 17 185
DIO CHRYS.
33. 17 115 n. 88
33. 63–4 115 n. 88

DIODORUS OF SICILY
4. 16. 3 192
4. 23. 1 193
5. 3. 4 193
5. 4. 4 193
5. 59 21
11. 65 351 n. 175
11. 80. 1–6 338
12. 9. 5–6 100
13. 37 133 n. 122
13. 62 133 n. 122
13. 75 304
13. 90. 4 133 n. 122
13. 96. 5 133 n. 122
13. 108. 2 133 n. 122, 134
13. 108. 4 133 n. 122
14. 47–53 134
14. 53. 4 134
14. 92. 3 339
DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA (DK 64) 5 183
DIOGENES LAERTIUS
6. 35 102 n. 60 190

EMPEDOCLES
82. 1 190
EPIC CYCLE see *IL. PARV.* *ET. MAGN.*
295. 52 170 n. 13
473. 42–5 333 n. 155
690. 35. 4 = 4. 9. 4, 390 Schmidt 169 n. 11

EUPHORION
fr. 53 Meineke, 80 Powell 67f., cf. 51

EUPOLIS (K/A)
fr. 139 210
fr. 68–89 246 n. 143

EURIPIDES
Alc.
917 193
El.
549 184
992–3 183
HF
513 207 n. 33
Hec.
1039 184
Hel.
1187 188
1454–6 287 n. 3

Heracl.
770–1 183
Hipp.
718 187
1180 207 n. 33
Ion
718 184
IT
397 188
700 361 n. 81
Or.
1621 361 n. 81
Phoen.
117 189
667 187
Rhes.
67 184
fr. 282 Kannicht 8, 111 n. 79

EUSEBIUS
101b 62 n. 57
FgrHist 257a and 415: see P[AP] OXY.

FRONTINUS
3. 7. 6 51 n. 11

GALEN
de plac. Hipp. et Plat.
5 89 n. 22, 90 n. 24

GORGON (*FgrHist* 515)
fr. 18 99, cf. 201 n. 13

HELLANICUS (*FgrHist* 4)
fr. 85a 215 n. 13

HERACLITUS
41 183

HERODIAN (grammarian)
1. 343. 20 333 n. 153

HERODIAN (historian)
1. 9. 2–3 383

HERODOTUS
1. 3. 1 250
1. 14 236
1. 83 112
1. 114. 1 207 n. 33
2. 44 23
2. 76. 1 189
2. 178. 3 290
3. 3. 3 185
4. 147 182
4. 147. 5 14
4. 150–64 13
4. 152 291 and n. 17
5. 22 5, 11 n. 44, 60, 256 n. 201
5. 47. 1 160
5. 60 154
5. 63. 3–64 318
5. 67–8 260
5. 71. 1 143
5. 72 100
5. 79 11
5. 83 206
5. 94. 1 318
5. 102 41
6. 35 143
6. 50 303
6. 72 337
6. 73 303
6. 83 254 n. 186
6. 88 304
6. 88–91 288 n. 8
6. 103 144
6. 103. 2 128
6. 126 60
6. 127. 1 289
6. 127. 4 318
6. 128. 1 60 n. 50
7. 154 155, 265 n. 2
7. 163. 2 9
7. 170 10
7. 176 193
7. 181 304
7. 196 337
8. 1 238
8. 43 238
8. 72 238
8. 92–3 303
8. 121 238
6. 122 302
8. 123 207
8. 130 217
8. 137–8 287
9. 33 256 60 n. 50
9. 69 4
9. 78 303
9. 81 238
9. 92 304

HESIOD
Theogony
360 183
Works and Days
11–26 191
21–6 77
42 186
56 186
96 185
247 184
289–90 77
391–2 77
654–7 75, 144
803 182
fr.
280. 26 184

HESYCHIUS
1. 791 333 n. 155

HIPPOCRATES
Aer.
7 188
15 185
Cord.
11 187
Insomn.
89 187
190 190
Presbeutikos
9. 404–26 50 and n. 9
Vict.
2. 49 189
10 183
VM
16 193

HOMER
Iliad
1. 144 184
1. 219 337 n. 65
1. 532 188
2. 158–69 79
2. 396 191

2. 655–6 304 and n. 70
3. 189 191
4. 517–26 79
4. 370–400 76f.
5. 87–8 79
6. 146–9 190
6. 186 191
6. 374 189
7. 455 182
8. 201 182
11. 307 185
13. 806–7 79
14. 6 193
15. 567–91 79
16. 429 189
17. 364–8 189
18. 287 189
18. 489 193
20. 93 184
20. 495–503 80
21. 278 184
22. 442–6 193
23. 257–897 58, 144
23. 629–42 58
23. 826–49 79
24. 530 187f.
24. 534–48 188
Odyssey
1. 117 190
1. 161 67
1. 162 185
1. 326–7 192
3. 204 190
3. 175 185
3. 204 190
3. 294 184
4. 177 183
4. 521–2 194
5. 29 183
5. 275 193
5. 296 185
8. 97–255 76
8. 203–4 151
9. 112 184
9. 147 185
12. 5 184
13. 188 185
13. 140 182
14. 315 185
16. 447 186
Hymns
2 (to Demeter)
420 183
3 (to Apollo)
147–64 64
4 (to Hermes)
30 186
268 193
11 (to Athena)
5 183
HORACE
Ars Poetica
47–8 180 and n. 8
Epistles
1. 1. 130 385
Odes
1. 12 23 n. 89
3. 96–8 209
IAMBICA ADESPOTA
2. 2 185
IBYCUS
fr. 1 (a) (282 *PMG*) 147 n. 21
fr. 1(b) 5. 7 (282 *PMG*) 187
fr. 19 (300 PMG) 193
IL. PARV. (*LITTLE ILIAD*)
dub. 32. 21 Bernabé 193
INSCRIPTIONS (for abbrevations of the type 'Jeffery (1990)', see Bibliography; for others, e.g. *CEG*, see pp. xiii–xiv, Abbrevations).
AE (1988) 32 388 n. 43
Amandry (1971)
617–18, no. VII, fig. 15 333 and nn. 156 and 157
Arch. Delt. 9 (1927–28)
par. 27, no. 8 368f.
Arch, Eph. (1925/6)
p. 26, 30 368
CEG
136 249f. and n. 164
247 187
321. 2 187
393 159 and n. 56; 181
394 n. 39 153 n. 39
888. 8 187
CID
I. 3 52 n. 16
1. 10 54 and n. 29
IV. 1 54 and n. 29
IV. 10 51 n. 12
CILA
83 387 n. 36
Debord and Varinloglu (2001)
129–30 no. 26 21 n. 77
Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985) fig. 24 323 n. 100 n. 99
Ebert (1972)
1 154 n. 41
2 348 n. 14
3 154 and n. 43
4 155 and n. 44
5 139, 155 and n. 45
6 155 and n. 46
7 155 and n. 47
8 155f. and n. 48
9 154 n. 1
11 158 and n. 53
12 158 and n. 55, 294 and n. 26, 346 n. 6
15 158 and n. 54
16 159 and n. 60
17 163 n. 69

19 294 and n. 26
20 159 and n. 57, 163 and n. 71
22 158f. and n. 56
24 159 n. 58, 163 n. 71
27 159 n. 58
31 159 n. 58
33 370 n. 118
43–5 340 n. 198
59 346 and n. 7
62 346 n. 8
64 347 and n. 10, 353 n. 42, 374f.
65 163 n. 71
67 374 and nn. 130 and 132
69 353 n. 42, 357 n. 64
72 346 n. 7, 353 n. 43, 357f. and nn. 64f.
74 345f. and n. 1
Effenterre and Ruzé (1995)
no. 19 323 n. 103
no. 82 323 n. 103
F de D
III. 1. 164 339 n. 193
III. 1. 232 339 n. 193
III. 1. 400 51 n. 12
III. 1. 401 339 n. 193
Friedländer (1965) 30
32
60–93
66
67
69a
74–9
83–9
90
91
92
95a
136
155
156
Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993)
Herrmann, P., *MDAI* 15 (1965) 73
Hesperia (2002) see Polinskaya
I Iasos 111
I Didyma 259
IG I^3 302
I^3 507–8
II^2 555
II^2 680
II^2 2311
II^2 2313
II^2 2313–7
II^2 2314 360 n. 76, 368, 374 n. 129
II^2 2316 374 n. 129
II^2 2318–25 51 n. 14
II^2 3769 377
V. 1. 700 182
V. 1. 1564a 370 n. 118
V. 2. 261. 15 187
162f.
162
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
162 n. 68
156 n. 50
163 n. 69
156 n. 50
156 n. 50
358 n. 68
356f. and n. 59
380 and n. 17
359 n. 72
214 n. 6
63
102
345 n. 4
72, 214 n. 6
360 and nn. 75f.
361ff. and n. 86
VII 417. 60–1 369
VII 1888 40 n.159
IX. 2. 199 323 n. 103
IX. 2. 246 340 n. 201
IX. 2. 249 340 n. 194
IX. 2. 526 368
IX. 2.1202 323 n. 103
IX. 2. 1226 323 n. 103
IX. 12 4750 14 and n. 49
XI. 4. 1127 367 n. 109
XI. 4. 1177 360 n. 75
XII. 9. 952 355ff.
IGR
III. 1012 378
I Kyme
46 369
I Labraunda
40 7f.
I Lampsakos
33 354 n. 50
ILindos
16 291, 304 and nn. 70–71
ILS 8905 389 and n. 45
IvO
56 388 and n. 42
64 31 n.121
142 139
143 125, 137
144 137
146 137
147–8 137. 216 n.20
149 98, 137
151 137
152 138
153 138
155 138
156 138
159 138

160 370 and n. 118
162–3 138
170 138
178 365
243 87 n.13
296 365
913 386 and n. 36

Jameson *et al.* (1993) 24
Jeffery (1990); page references are given first, then catalogue nos.
75 no. 39 156 and n. 49
143 no. 13 260 and n. 220
150 no. 5 259 n. 207
150 no. 6 259 n. 211
169 no. 17 233 n. 85
199 no. 22 215 and n. 16
200 no. 31 215 and n. 16
201 no. 44 215 and n. 14
201 no. 47 215 and n. 14
201 no. 51 215 and n. 16
201 no. 52 215 and n. 16
273 no. 48 155 and n. 45
439 no. E 291
456 no. 1a 153 n. 39

Kent (1966) 232 387 n. 36
Kephalidou (1996) cat. no. G97 334 and n. 168
Knoepfler (1994) 334 and nn. 174–5

LSAM 47
ML 9

13 42 57 77 95d
Milet I. 3. 64

VI. 1. 194

Miller (1990) p. 39

Mitford (1961) 18 40–46 41 42 43 44 45
Moretti (1953) 1 2 4 5 7 10 12

13 159 and n. 60
15 159 and n. 59
21 250 and n. 169
23 250 and n. 170
35 353 n. 44
37 346 and n. 7
40 353 n. 44
41 347 and n. 10, cf. 374f.
44 353 n. 44
45 353 n. 44
52 345f. and n. 1
55 357 and n. 62
72 381 and n. 22, 383 and n. 29
89 377 and n. 3

Mulliez (2001) 389 and n. 46
Polinskaya (2002) 305 and n. 74
Raubitschek (1949) 21 231 n. 72
59–177 157
76 231 n. 72
111 231 n. 72
120 157 n. 52. 231 n. 71
164 159 and n. 59, 231 n. 72
171 231 n. 72
174 157, 231 n. 72
317 155f.

62, 289 and n. 12, cf. 154 7 12 n. 45 281 and n. 64 33 n. 130 35 345f. and n. 1 345f. and n. 1 260 and n. 218 367 n. 109 360 and n. 75 360 and n. 77 360 and n. 78 360 and n. 78 360 and n. 77 360 n. 78 154 n. 41 154 n. 41 154 n. 42 154 n. 43 233 n. 84 233 n. 85 159 n. 59 184

Rev. Phil. 23 (1949)
5–16 14 and n. 48
Robert (1935) 359 n. 72
Robert (1978)
pp. 277–8 359 n. 71, 369
Robert and Robert (1989)
pp. 11–17 354 and nn.
Rhodes-Osborne
100 18 and n. 66
80 51 nn. 12 and 13
SEG
1. 370 367 n. 109
11. 200 388 n. 42
11. 422 182
11. 1223a 181
12. 64 182
14. 39 388 n. 42
17. 233 51 n. 12
27. 183 323 n. 103
28. 60 359 n. 72
29. 806 335 n. 53
30. 364 363, 374 n. 131
32. 415 365
34. 282 11 and n. 42
34. 379 51 n. 13
34. 560 338 n. 182
37. 356 388 and n. 42
37. 388 355 n. 56
38. 1953 63 n. 60
39. 1243 354 and nn.
41. 115 361ff. and n. 86, 368
42. 994
43. 293
45. 412
46. 646
48. 548
48. 553
49. 346
51. 532
51. 606
SGDI
4859 13f., 381f.
Siewert (2001) 184
Sokolowski (1955)
47 161 and n. 66
Sokolowski (1969)
77C 161 and n. 67
97 291, 304 and nn. 70–71
*Syll*³ 18 and n. 67
110 51 n. 12
141 363
275 359
314V 359 n. 72
390 345 n. 4
402 31 n.121
1021 380
Tracy and Habicht (1991) see *SEG* 41. 115
Wörrle (1988) 184
ION
38. 1 186
ISAEUS
9. 19 192
fr. 12 31 n. 122
ISOCRATES
4 *Paneg.* 43
5 *Philip* 119–20
KALLIMACHOS (and see under *Suppl. Hell.* 254–68)
Hymn 6 (To Demeter)
74–7 334 and n. 161
fr. (Pf.)
198 (iambus VIII) 349 and n. 21
384 349 and n. 19, 353, 358, 365, 371 and n. 128
KALLISTHENES (*FgrHist* 124)
T 23 51 n. 12
KRITIAS (DK 88)
B31 327 n. 123
LIVY
33. 32. 1 63
LUCIAN
deorum concilium (*Council of the gods*)
12 101 n. 57
pro imag.
11 97 n. 45
LYSIAS
1. 23 189
MATRO (*Suppl. Hell.* 534)
19 185
MEL. ADESP.
21 (*PMG* 939). 17 185
37 (*PMG* 955) 2 186
60c (*PMG* 978) 182
MENANDER
fr. 1 194
Dis Ex.
fr. 2 184
OLD OLIGARCH see [XEN.]
P[AP] HIBEH
II . 199. 12 367 n. 109
P. MIL. see POSEIDIPPOS
P[AP]. OXY.
222 (=*FgrHist* 415) 190, 200 n. 7, 214, 223, 262 and n. 239

2082 (= *FgrHist* 257a) 365 and n. 102
2327 220 n. 32
2430 fr. 84.1 223 n. 41
2438–51 220 n. 32
2621 220 n. 32
2622 fr. 1 220 n. 32
2623 frs. 21a–22 220 n. 32
2624 220 n. 32
2627 220 n. 32
2636 220 n. 32
2736 220 n. 32
3822 220 n. 32
3965 220 n. 32
PARMENIDES (DK 28)
12. 3 183
PAUSANIAS
1. 23. 9 231 n. 71
2. 1. 3 261
2. 1. 7 232
2. 2. 1 261
2. 15. 2 55
2. 29. 6 288, 307
2. 30 288, 307
3. 8. 1 370f.
3. 17. 6 368
4. 15. 1 216 n. 21
5. 4. 5 74
5. 8. 6–11 58
5. 8. 10–11 365
5. 9. 1 216 n. 21
5. 12. 5 278 n. 51, 371 n. 119
5. 17. 5–19. 10 236
5. 21. 1 95
5. 24. 5 341 n. 203
6. 1. 3 138
6. 1. 4 84
6. 1. 6 124, 371 n. 119
6. 1. 6–2. 3 98
6. 1. 7 138
6. 2. 1 126, 138
6. 2. 8 138
6. 3. 1 363 n. 96, 373 and n. 127
6. 3. 6 97 n. 45
6. 3. 8 100, 138
6. 3. 9 138
6. 3. 11 138
6. 4. 3 138
6. 4. 6 163 n. 71
6. 4. 11 137, 159 and n. 57, 181, 266 n. 12 339f. and n. 194
6. 5 138 101 81 137f.
6. 5. 1 138
6. 5. 1–9 101
6. 5. 7 81
6. 6. 1 137f.
6. 6. 2 138
6. 6. 4 137
6. 6. 4–11 218
6. 7. 1 137f.
6. 7. 2 138
6. 7. 8 138
6. 7. 9 138
6. 7. 10 98, 137f.
6. 8. 1 138
6. 8. 2 138
6. 8. 3 138
6. 8. 4 138
6. 8. 5 137
6. 8. 6 137, 158 n. 55, 293 and n. 26, 306 n. 77
6. 9. 1 138 124, 305 n. 76 218
6. 9. 3 160
6. 9. 4 137, 158 and n. 53
6. 9. 6 137, 305 n. 76
6. 9. 6–7 95 n. 37 118 n. 100, 137f.
6. 9. 9. 137f. 124, 137f.
6. 10. 1 155 137 305 n. 76 334 101 n. 57 137
6. 10. 1–4 10, 130, 157
6. 10. 4 137 138 137 97 123, 137, 155 and nn. 46–47. 233
6. 10. 5 137 137
6. 10. 6 123, 137f., 294 and n. 26 137 97 363 n. 96 124 n. 111 99 363, 365 124, 137 137, 156 260 n. 219 283 158f. and n. 56, 216 n. 21 385 379 379 97 157 163 61 51, 260 n. 219 38, 51, 363, 373 and n. 127
6. 10. 7 155
6. 10. 9 137
6. 11. 2 305 n. 76
6. 11. 5 334
6. 11. 9 101 n. 57
6. 11. 12 137
6. 12. 1 10, 130, 157
6. 13. 1 137
6. 13. 2 138
6. 13. 7 137
6. 13. 8 97
6. 13. 9–10 123, 137, 155 and nn. 46–47. 233
6. 14. 5 137
6. 14. 11 137
6. 14. 12 123, 137f., 294 and n. 26
6. 14. 13 137
6. 15. 8 97
6. 16. 2 363 n. 96
6. 16. 6 124 n. 111
6. 16. 8 99
6. 16. 9 363, 365
6. 18. 1 124, 137
6. 18. 7 137, 156
6. 19. 2 260 n. 219 283
6. 19. 7 158f. and n. 56, 216 n. 21
7. 17. 6–7 385
7. 18. 5 379
8. 9. 7–8 379
8. 10. 1 97
8. 40. 1 157
8. 42. 8 163
8. 42. 9 61
10. 7. 4 51, 260 n. 219
10. 7. 6 38, 51, 363, 373 and n. 127
10. 7. 8

10. 11. 3 281 n. 68
10. 15. 4 341 n. 203
10. 16. 8 341 n. 203
10. 38. 2 385
PHERECRATES
137. 10 190
PHILO
Embassy to Gaius
147 385
PHILOCHORUS (*FgrHist* 328)
T. 1 185
fr. 192 185
PHILOSTRATUS
Gym.
6. 9. 11 78
VS
617 378 n. 4
PHLEGON (*FgrHist* 257)
fr. 1 32 n. 125, 58 n. 44
PHOTIUS
Bibl.
319b35–320a9 169 and n. 10
PINDAR
O.
1. 14–17 205
1. 16–17 299
1. 24 12
1. 26 19
1. 28–9 22
1. 52 21
1. 70 29
1. 82–4 160
1. 93–5 76 and n. 22
1. 103 299
2. 2 23 n. 89
2. 6 298, 300
2. 27 29
2. 41 111
2. 47 167 n. 3
2. 53 110
2. 53–6 22
2. 86 110
2. 86–8 206 n. 30
2. 94 281
3. 6 n. 68
3. 37 341
3. 40 n. 203
3. 43–4 341
4. 1 n. 203
4. 4–5 385
4. 15
5. 15 190
5. 23
6. 1–4 385
6. 3
6. 4–9 185
6. 6 185
6. 9
6. 12
6. 17–18 78
6. 44
6. 63 378 n. 4
6. 67
6. 74–6 32 n. 125, 58 n. 44
6. 87
6. 88
6. 98
7. 15 169 and n. 10
7. 22–3
7. 50–3
7. 69
7. 83–6 205
7. 87–8 299
8. 2 12
8. 10 19
8. 19 22
8. 20 21
8. 21–3 29
8. 22 160
8. 25 76 and n. 22
8. 26 299
8. 51 23 n. 89
8. 54–5 298, 300
9. 1–9 29
9. 4 111
9. 15 167 n. 3
9. 15–16 110
9. 35–46 22
9. 44–8 110
9. 65 206 n. 30
9. 82 298
9. 92 199 n. 3
9. 94 80
9. 95–9 299
9. 96 19. 111
9. 96–8 183
9. 99 298
9. 100–4 298
9. 100–7 110, 203 n. 18
9. 108–12 193
9. 111 284
10. 1–3 203
10. 20 n. 20
10. 22 223
10. 24–85 12
10. 34 111
10. 69–72 110
10. 72 26
10. 76 110
10. 77 273
10. 76–8 110
10. 103–6 203 n. 20
11. 16–17 208
11. 19 35
12. 1–19 193
12. 18 110, 192
13. 1 256
13. 1–23 92 n. 32
13. 3 187
13. 4 216 n. 20, 217 n. 22
13. 6–8 21
13. 13 196
13. 29 199 n. 3
13. 33 109 n. 77, 110
13. 35–45 295
13. 36 297
13. 40 182
13. 44–7 307
13. 48 297
13. 49–63 307
13. 65–9 203 n. 20
13. 98–100 144f.
13. 106–13 208
13. 108 182
28 298
18f. 199 n. 3
26 80
109 299
n. 77 19. 111
111 183
357 n. 63 298
110 298
217 n. 22 298
110 95–9
216 110, 96
n. 20 203 n. 18
262 96–8
110 193
226 284
202 99
110 203
151f. 100–4
110 n. 20
110 100–7
26 223
110 108–12
81 12
183 111
5 110
79 n. 32 10. 1–3
20 110
167 n. 3 10. 20
146 26
110 10. 22
298 110
80 10. 24–85
177–97 273
passim 10. 34
219 110
228 10. 69–72
228 203
298 10. 72
236 n. 20
239 10. 76
109 208
167 n. 3, 10. 77
199 n. 3 35
318 10. 76–8
2228 193
191 10. 103–6
230 110, 192
219 11. 16–17
228 256
12 11. 19
23 92 n. 32
219 12. 1–19
217 n. 22 187
216 12. 18
n. 20 216
13. 1 n. 20,
13. 1–23 217 n. 22
13. 3 21
13. 4 196
13. 6–8 199 n. 3
13. 13 109
13. 29 n. 77, 110
13. 33 295
13. 35–45 297
13. 36 182
13. 40 307
13. 44–7 297
13. 48 307
13. 49–63 203
13. 65–9 n. 20
13. 98–100 144f.
13. 106–13 208
13. 108 182
28 18f.
26
109
n. 77
111
357 n. 63
110
217 n. 22
110
216
n. 20
262
110
226
202
110
151f.
110
110
81
183
5
79 n. 32
20
167 n. 3
146
110
298
80
177–97
passim
219
228
228
298
236
239
109
167 n. 3,
199 n. 3
318
2228
191
230
219
228
12
23
219
217 n. 22
216
n. 20

13. 112
14. 15
14. 20–24
P.
1. 41–55
1. 71–80
1. 72
1. 75–80
1. 85–6
1. 90–2
1. 97–8
2. 13–20
2. 31–2
2. 56
2. 62
2. 67–8
2. 68–75
2. 86–8
2. 89–90
2. 96
3. 6–7
3. 23
3. 41
3. 68
3. 69–71
3. 71
3. 73–4
3. 74–5
3. 100–3
3. 114–5
4. 2
4. 8
4. 53–6
4. 65–8
4. 71–246
4. 138
4. 159
4. 220
4. 248
4. 258–9
4. 263–9
4. 277–9
4. 279–80
40
183
28
224
n. 43
283
280
10
203
n. 20
203
n. 18
209
201 n. 11
19 n. 70
110 and
n. 78
296
296
n. 49
29
5, 110
203
n. 20
193
25
185
29
185
298
299
219
171
311 n. 16
29, 92,
176
360
15. 360
27
219
311 n. 16
333 n. 155
23
111
206
n. 30
14
203 n. 17
224
n. 47
346f.
4. 294–6
4. 299
5. 19
5. 24
5. 34–42
5. 49–53
5. 52
5. 56–7
5. 60–2
5. 80
5. 88
5. 89–100
5. 93
5. 106
5. 110
6. 1
6. 7–8
6. 10
6. 10–14
6. 46
6. 53
7. 1–4
7. 18–21
7. 19–20
8. 1–2
8. 6
8. 25–7
8. 35–8
8. 36
8. 37
8. 65–6
8. 70
8. 73
8. 78–9
8. 95–7
9. 5–25
9. 73–5
9. 79–89a
9. 82
9. 102–3
9. 124
10. 1
10. 3–9
192f.
193
111
15
16
80
192
299,
301 n. 58
13, 27
15
188
15
13, 15
203 n. 18
110 n. 78
296
n. 46
277 and
n. 42
92
150
110
193
150 n. 30
218
203
n. 20
28
183
80, 111
292
n. 20
293
n. 26
109
n. 77,
110
307
299
110
217
n. 22
25
311 n. 16
17
17
19
17
190
309
309f.
10. 12–16
10. 20
10. 22–6
10. 23–4
10. 27–48
10. 49–90
10. 53
10. 55–59
10. 63–8
10. 64
10. 69–72
11. 1–6
11. 29
11. 39
11. 39–44
11. 41–2
11. 54
N.
1. 6
1. 7
1. 9
1. 16
1. 18
1. 19–23
1. 19–24
1. 25
1. 62
3. 2
3. 2–3
3. 3–5
3. 19
3. 22
3. 32–63
3. 40
3. 40–2
3. 68–70
3. 80–2
3. 83–4
4. 1–2
311
311
311
312
n. 19
311
261
167 n. 3,
168 and
n. 8
311f., 398
312
298
313
202
203
n. 20
296
296
200,
207 n. 31
203
n. 20
190
167 n. 3
110
111
223
204, 223
299
110
n. 78, 111
184
209, 300
297 and
n. 52,
300
284
n. 79
109
n. 77,
110f.
23
311 n. 16
110
226
202f.
206
n. 30
217 n. 22
204

4. 12
4. 13–16
4. 17
4. 21–2
4. 23
4. 32
4. 39–41
4. 46–68
4. 70
4. 73–9
4. 78
5. 1ff.
5. 8
5. 9
5. 9–13
5. 16–17
5. 19–39
5. 33
5. 39
5. 44
5. 44–6
5. 46–7
5. 48–9
5. 49
5. 53
5. 54–5
6. 23
6. 28–30
6. 30
6. 32
6. 35
6. 49–53
6. 64
6. 70
7. 43
7. 59
297, 300
209
62
217 n. 22
297
110
203 n. 20
311 n. 16
296
292f.
168 n. 5, 292
92, 109, 149, 230f., 290f., 295f. and n. 41, 301 n.59, 305. 306 n. 78
297
291, 295
311 n. 16
90
311 n. 16
297
110 n. 78
307
217 n. 22
111
141, 149
296
296 and n. 46. 297 n. 50
302
311 n. 16
287 n. 3
296
299
110 m. 78
7. 70
7. 74
8. 13–16
8. 21–2
8. 38
8. 44–8
8. 46–8
8. 51–3
9. 15
9. 31–47
9. 49–52
10. 5
10. 29–36
10. 33
10. 41–3
10. 42
10. 44–8
10. 49
10. 49–54
10. 55–90
10. 63
11. 8–9
11. 11
11. 19–20
11. 22
11. 36–7
I.
1. 4. 8
1. 11–12
1. 30
1. 34
1. 40
1. 42
1. 44
1. 50
1. 51
1. 56–8
1. 57
1. 58
1. 67
2. 1
2. 1–11
2. 6
297f.
110
150f., 202 and n. 15
203 n. 20
308
151 and n. 33
284 n. 79
146
30
223
204f.
12
229
111
219, 256
62
216 n. 20
299
229
229
184
299
110 and n. 78
217 n. 22
184
11
300
262
19
4
110
203 n. 18
203 n. 20
80, 111, 135
300
262
40
333 n. 155
189
146
207 n. 31
146
2. 6–8
2. 22
2. 23
2. 39–40
2. 43
2. 44–6
2. 46
2. 48
3. 8
3. 17
3. 17b
4. 12
4. 25–6
4. 29
4. 31–3
4. 36–45
4. 45
4. 54–65
62
216 n. 20
4. 61
4. 63–4
4. 69–70
4. 70
4. 71–2
5. 14–16
5. 24
5. 38–45
5. 48
5. 57
6. 10
6. 25–6
6. 48
6. 62–3
6. 63
6. 70
7. 10
7. 11
7. 12–14
7. 22
7. 39
8. 1–4
8. 6a
200
133
31
299
203 n. 20
149
92
209
193f.
110
203 n. 18
111
217 n. 22
20, 110, 203 n. 18
183
199f.
110 n. 78
20, 24, 306f.
305f.
35 n.135
262
217 n. 22
226
25
203 n. 20
311 n. 16
295
110, 203 n. 18
110, 203 n. 18
311 n. 16
111
292 n. 20
303
298, 301 n. 58
19
360 n. 81
12f.
109 n. 77, 110
199 n. 3
207f.
199 n. 3

8. 16a 11
8. 21–60 311 n. 16
8. 47 110
8. 61–5 152 n. 36, 163 and n. 70
8. 65a 193
8. 66 207
8. 67–8 217 n. 22
9. 6 298
9. 7 287 and n. 3

fr.
2–3 227 n. 55
4 293 n. 23
5 261 and n. 224
6 a–b 220 n. 32
29 19
39 182
41 183
52f (Paian 6) 123–6 287f., 297, 299f.
52l (Paian 10) 15 299
70c 239 and nn. 115 and 116
89b 288, 307
94b 35–39, 199 n. 3, 300
105ab 171 n. 20, 266
107a 311 n. 16
118 268 n. 12
119 268 n. 12
122 170 n. 15, 236, 300
124a, b 133, 222, 268 n. 12
124d 266
125 171, 266
126 266
129 60 n. 50
133
137
140b
156–7
169
214. 3
286

PINDAR SCHOLIA: see under SCHOLIA

PISANDER
7. 2 Bernabé 193

PLATO
Crit.
53d–e 327 n. 123

Euthyd.
291d 183

Ion
534c 167 n. 3

Laches
182a 80f.

Laws
680b 184
700a–d 168 n. 6
822b 167 n. 3

Lysis
205c–e 167 n. 3

Meno
70a–b 327 n. 123

Phlb.
43a 185

Protag.
339a–340e 317 n. 52

Republic
496d 187

Symposium
177a 168 n. 8

Timaeus
43c 187

PLINY *NH*
7. 47 159 n. 60
34. 59 131
35. 85 103
35. 105 103

PLUTARCH (and Ps.-Plut.)
Mor.
15c 327 n. 123
108f–109b 251
164a 236
194c 38
212ab 370 and n. 116
399e 236
760e–761b 318
1136f (*de Musica* 17) 174 n. 25

Alc.
19. 3 332

Kimon
14. 4 332
17. 2 259

Pericles
8. 7 288

Solon
21. 4 161

Them.
20 337

POLYAINOS
3. 5 51 n. 11

POLYBIUS
5. 64. 6 360 n. 75
9. 27. 7 21 and n. 81
11. 25. 5 191
18. 46. 1–2 63
27. 9. 7–13 374 and n. 131

POSEIDIPPOS (Austin and Bastiniani=AB)
39 367 n. 109
72 366
74 366f. and nn. 107–9
74, 12 372f.
76 365
78 363f., 371 n. 121
78. 5 364
78. 7–8 364
78, 11–12 348 and n. 15
78, 14 372 and n. 122
79 364
80 364, 371 n. 121
81 364, 371 n. 121

82 364
82, 3–6 366 n. 104
82, 5–6 348 and n. 16, 371 n. 121
87 364, 371
88 363f., 371 and n. 120
116 367 n. 109
119 367 n. 109

QUINTILIAN, *Inst.*
II. 2. 11–16 317 n. 52

SAPPHO
5 181

SCHOLIA ON AISCHINES
3. 189 99

SCHOLIA ON APOLLONIUS RHODIUS
3. 1244a 333 n. 154

SCHOLIA ON PINDAR (Drachmann refs. in brackets)
O. 6. 96 (I. 192) 284 n. 78
O. 7 inscr. (I. 195); and see under GORGON 200 n. 13
O. 7. 83 (I. 230–1) 256 and n. 199
O. 9. 1 (I. 266–8) 145 and n. 13
O. 13. 40 (I. 367–9) 230 and n. 63, cf. 245f.
P. hypoth. a–d (II. 105) 47–51, 66–68
P. 2 *inscr.* (II. 31, lines 10–14) 171f.
P. 2. 69 (II. 52) 268
P. 8. 65–6 (II. 215) 307
P. 10 *inscr.* (II. 242) 309 n. 4
P. 10. 5 (II. 242)
P. 10. 55 (II. 251 (85c))
P. 10. 64 (II. 251f.)
N. hypoth. a–e (III. 1–3)
N. hypoth. c–d (III. 3–5)
N. hypoth. d (III. 5 line 5)
N. 5. 1 (III. 89)
N. 5. 50 (III. 99)
N. 6 *inscr.* (III 6)
N. 9 inscr. (III. 149)
I. Proem a (III. 92)
I. 1. 58 (III. 209 (83))
I. 2 (III. 214)

SIMONIDES
fr. 22W (*IEG*²)
fr. 25. 6W
fr. 1 (506 *PMG*)
fr. 2 (507 *PMG*)
fr. 6 (511 *PMG*)
fr. 9 (514 *PMG*)
fr. 11 (516 *PMG*)
fr. 12 (518 *PMG*)
fr. 14 (519 *PMG*)
fr. 148. 1
fr. 76 (581 *PMG*)
SLG 340
SLG 399
FEG XV

310 and n. 8
312 and n. 22
310 and n. 8
48 n. 6, 62
259 and n. 212
60 n. 52
101f. , 149 n. 27, 230 n. 67, 301 n. 59
303 and n. 66
223 and n. 42
51 n. 11, 223 and n. 42
48 n. 7
146 n. 18
220 n. 32
193
145
293 n. 24
224 n. 48, 331 n. 142
249 n. 162
185
41
333 n. 52
151
228
229
182

XXXI 227 and n. 55, 346 n. 8

SIMONIDES (the genealogist, *FgrHist* 8)
fr. 3 174 and n. 26

SOLON
fr. 4W (*IEG*²) 143 n. 8
fr. 5W 147
fr. 6W 147

SOPHOCLES
Ajax
352 187
1419 186
Antigone
1218 183
Electra
698ff. 366
743–56 80
Trach.
634 193
fr. (*TrGF*)
148 185
271. 5 185
911 189

STESICHOROS
S23. 2 185
222b.227 Davies 186

PMGF

STRABO
7. 7. 6 385
8. 3. 30 74
8. 3. 33 32
8. 6. 16 288
8. 6. 23 257 n. 203
9. 5. 21 312 n. 22

SUETONIUS
Aug.
45. 1, 3 385
98 388
Claud.
11. 2 388
Nero
12. 3 389
Dom.
4. 10 383
Suppl. Hell.

254
255–268C
958
969
TACITUS
Annals
14. 20
TELECLIDES
1. 8
THEOCRITUS
Id. 16
26
36
34–47
THEOGNIS
189
539
373
916
THEOPHRASTUS
Caus. plant.
3. 13. 3
5. 15. 7
HP
3. 5. 5
Sign.
39
THEOPOMPOS
(*FgrHist* 115)
fr. 49
fr. 162
THEOTIMOS
(*FgrHist* 470)
F 1–2
THUCYDIDES
1. 6. 6
349f.
and nn.,
364
349f and
nn., 364
348
n. 13,
370
348
n. 13, 352
and n. 37
118
n. 102
185
317 n. 52
317 n. 52
224f.,
327
n. 123
184
182
183
182
184
186
187
189
327
n. 123
327
n. 123
16 and n.
89
90
1. 13. 5
1. 20
1. 102. 4
1. 105–6
1. 111
1. 197
1. 107. 2
1. 113. 2
1. 140
1. 143. 2
2. 11. 9
2. 71
2. 89
2. 99. 3
3. 5. 1
3. 14
3. 56. 2
3. 64. 3
3. 82–83
4. 78–9
4. 91–3
4. 118. 1–2
4. 133
5. 1
5. 18. 2
5. 49
5. 80
5. 116
6. 3. 1
6. 4. 3
6. 16. 1
6. 55. 1
6. 69. 2
7. 30. 3
7. 47. 4
8. 9–10
8. 35. 1
8. 44. 2
7, 236
318 n. 63
332
n. 150
239
338
338
337
n. 177
36
n. 142
186
302
28 and
n. 109
182
184
256
33
33
33
11
191
338
35 and
n.138
31
254
n. 182
32 n. 123
31 n.119
32 n. 123
11 n. 44,
256
n. 201
33
13, 27,
272
12
28
318
n. 63
26
35
12
32
99
304
n. 70
8. 84. 2
TIMAIOS (*FgrHist* 566)
fr. 39
TRAGICA ADESPOTA
348g
668. 6
TYRTAIOS
fr. 12W, 1–14
VALERIUS MAXIMUS
9. 10 ext. 2
VELLEIUS
PATERCULUS
2. 123. 1
VIRGIL
Aeneid
3. 278–83
XENOPHANES
(D/K 21)
B2
XENOPHON (and
Ps.XEN.]
Ages.
1. 6
9. 6
Anabasis
7. 1. 17
6. 5. 21
Apol.
13
Ath. Pol. ('Old Oligarch')
2. 14
Cyropaedia
1. 1. 5
Hellenica
1. 1. 26
1. 5. 19
4. 5. 4
6. 1. 19
6. 4. 30
7. 4. 28–32
Mem.
1. 1. 3
Oec.
5. 9
99
21
n. 81
183
185
147
339
389
385
III
n. 79
370
n. 118
370 and
n. 116
189
26
185
302
183
7
99
247
312
339 and
n. 192
30
185
193

GENERAL INDEX

Entries in italic denote illustrations. For individual athletes and victors, see 'athletes, named', and 'equestrian victors, named'.

Achaia:
  colonies of 274 n.34
  games and victors 216
  see also athletes, named
Actian games, *see* Augustus
Adrastos 260
Aegina 64
  Aiakos, heroon of 202, 307
  Aphaia, cult and temple of 230–1, 288–9, 306–8
  Apollo Delphinios, cult of 287
  and Athens 294, 302, 308
  Bassidai 296
  choruses 206
  cosmopolitan nature 301–2
  Delphinian games 307
  Euxenidai 299
  families celebrated 291
  favoured by Pindar 294–5, 301
  geography of 288, 302
  history 289
  hospitality of 297–301, 308
  hydrophoria 349
  Isthmia and Nemea favoured by 225, 293, 302
  Krios 'the ram' 210, 303–4
  Lampon, son of Pytheas 303–4
  maritime strength of 295–7
  Meidylidai 308
  metalworking in 231
  mythology of 289, 293
  nature of epinikia commissioned 225–7, 293–4
  non-epinikian commissions 292
  number of epinikian commissions 201, 205, 216–17, 265, 288, 293
  oikos, importance of 163, 227, 303
  overseas settlement 290
  patra, importance of 163, 227, 292, 303
  preferred sports 226–7, 290
  prosopography of 302–5
  Psyalchiadai 303
  Pytheas, son of Ischenoos 304
  sculpture in 149, 230–1, 288–9, 291 n.16, 296, 305–6, 308
  stasis in 288
  Theandridai 292
  and Thebes 11, 294
  trade and traders 289–91, 295–7, 300–2
  victory monuments 304
  warfare 291, 295–6
  see also athletes, named; boy contestants; Kleisthenes of Sikyon; sculptors; statues; trainers
Aeschylus:
  Isthmiastai 91
  Oresteia 3
  Aitniai 267
afterlife 28–30
Agrippa, Marcus 386–7, 389
  see also Augustus
agones, see games
Agylla:
  treasury at Delphi 281–2
Aioladai of Thebes 35–39
Aioladas of Thebes, *see* Aioladai
Aitna 266, 267, 284
  see also equestrian victors, named; Etna, Mt.; Sikyon
Akragas:
  Emmenidai, *oikos* of 292
  Midas, aulos victor 267, 268
  Olympieion 9
  Pindar and 267–8
  Rhodian foundation 21
  sack, debris of 133–4
  See also Motya charioteer; Theron of Akragas; Xenokrates of Akragas
Alcibiades of Athens 8, 28, 59, 165
Aleuads of Larisa 5, 201, 224, 309–13
  Aleuas the Red 316
  medism of 337–8
  see also Larisa; Thorax of Larisa
Alexandria 372
  Ptolemaia at 350, 358
  see also Ptolemies, courtier-victors

Alkmaionidai 154, 156
Antandros 7
Aphrodisias:
  honorific inscription from 381, 383
  victor statues at 87
Archemoros, *see* Opheltes
Archilochos, *see* lyric poetry, *kallinikos*
Argive Heraion:
  building at 251–4, *50*, *51*
  bronze prizes 255–7
  in epinikian 255, *see also* Argos, *Nemean* 10
  festival, origins of 250–1
  finance 254–5
  Heraia/Hekatomboia 12, 41, 228–30, 249–51
  Hyssematas' monument 163 n.69, 249–50, 254
  procession 250–1
  victor dedications 233
  see also Theaios of Argos
Argos
  Aliaia 254
  building programmes 251–4, *48*
  and colonisation 11–12
  Corinth, relations with 237–8, 259–60
  and Delphi 234, 250–1
  democracy 251, 254–5, 263
  Epigonoi, monument of 254
  equestrian tradition 360–1
  Hera, cult of 11, 249
  inscriptions, public 254–5
  Kleobis and Biton 250–1
  Lykaia 42
  and Nemea 62–3, 230, 257, 259
  Pi. *Nemean* 10 and 229, 249, 254
  Pindar and 219, 228
  sculpture 230
  Sepeia, battle of 251, 254
  servile interregnum 250, 254
  state chariot victory 201 n.7, 262–3
  theatre 254, *49*
  victor dedications 230, 233
  see also Adrastos; Argive Heraion; athletes, named; Nemea; Theaios of Argos; sculptors
Aristagoras of Tenedos 11, 227, 292
aristocracy, *see* athletes, social status; elites
Aristophanes, comic poet 210
Arkadia:
  early dedications at Olympia 282
  games in 216
  Lykaia 363
  victors 216
  see also athletes, named; Iamidae; Kleitor; Mantineia; Pellana; Pheneos; Tegea; Stymphalos
Arkesilas IV of Cyrene 15–17, 201, 219, 221, 224, 346–7
  see also chariot racing; Cyrene
Artemision, battle of 304
Aspendos, Pamphylia 11–12
Atabyrion, *see* Rhodes
Athens 64
  ancestry in epinikian 227
  attitudes to competition 8
  Chabrias, feast of 204
  City Dionysia 206
  choregia 202–3, 207
  choruses 206–8
  and Delphic tradition 50–2
  Kimon 128, 143–4, 332
  Kylon 143
  Megakles, son of Hipponikos 112, 154, 218, 227, 348 n.16
  Miltiades 143, 280–1
  Oschophoria 75
  parody of epinikian 210
  Peisistratids 128, 143–4, 318
  Piraeus, 'tomb of Aspasia' 255–6
  public commemoration 100, 214 n.8, 234
  rewards to victors 201
  shortage of epinikia 143, 165–6, 206 n.29
  statue dedications 94, 95, 102, 153, 154, 155, 157, 234
  see also Aegina; Alcibiades of Athens; Alkmaionidai; athletes, named; Attalids; Corinth; democracy; elites; equestrian victors, named; Marathon, Herakleia; Panathenaia, Great; Ptolemies; Ptolemies, courtier-victors; sculptors; Solon of Athens; statues; Thessaly; trainers
athletes:
  attractive to women 359, 398
  Hellenistic and Roman 87
  heroized 24–6, 100, 159–60, 165–6, 218, 250, 305, 334
  mobility, political 100, 159, 181, 267
  motivation of 59–61, 165–6, 392–3
  and *patris* 99–100, 158, 159, 262, 349, 373, 400–1
  political careers of 354–9
  political role of 100–1, 165–6, 217–18
  under Roman empire 381–2

social status of 60–1, 74–5, 94–5, 110, 135, 400–1
see also boy contestants; inscriptions; nudity; Pindar; Sparta; statues; travel; truces, sacred; women victors
athletes, named:
Agatha[rchos] of Sikyon 260
Agias of Pharsalos 331, 339–40
Aigletes of Sparta 215
Ainetos of Sparta 215
Aischylos of Argos 233
Alkidimas of Aegina 302
Alkimedon of Aegina 304–5
Alkmaionides of Athens 154, 156, *41*
Anochos of Taras 156
Antenor of Miletos 359
Aristis of Kleonai 154, 259
Aristokleidas of Aegina 226
Aristomenes of Aegina 305, 306, 307
Aristonikos of Egypt 374
Arrachion 97
Astylos of Kroton 99–100
Automedes of Phlius 260
Chionis of Sparta 99
Daippos of Kroton 274
Dameretos of Heraia 99, 156
Damnippos of Crete 159
Damotimos of Troizen 162–3, *42*
Dandis of Argos 158, 163, 230
Dorokleidas of Thera 357
Epharmostous of Opous 226
Ergoteles of Himera 100, 159, 163, 180–1, 193–5, 219, 267
Euthymos of Lokroi 100, 120, 159–60, 218
[G]laukat[ias] of Sparta 215
Glaukos of Karystos 41 n.166, 99, 118, 145, 154, 305
Glycon 385
Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Lokroi 226, 265, 267
Hagesistratos of Rhodes 357
Kallias of Athens 159
Kasmylos of Rhodes 227
Kleandros of Aegina 163
Kleitomachos of Thebes 374–5
Kleombrotos of Sybaris 274
Kleomedes of Astypalaia 160, 218
Kyniskos of Mantinea 98, *6*
Melissos of Thebes 207, 226
Milon of Kroton 100, 153, 156
Nikokles of Aegina 163
Nikomachos of Miletos 345–6
Oibotas of Paleia 99–100, 158–9
Pherias of Aegina 294
Philip of Egesta 160
Philon of Kerkyra 156, 158
Phylakidas of Aegina 226, 303
Pytheas of Aegina 291, 303
Polemaios of Kolophon 354
Poulydamas of Skotoussa 101, 331, 339–40
Polykles 349
Praxidamas of Aegina 97, 156
Pythokles of Elis 98, 106, 108, *7*
Rhexibios of Opous 97, 156
Theognetos of Aegina 158, 294, 305–6
Timasarchos of Aegina 292
Timasitheos of Delphi 100, 156
Timodemos of Acharnai 227
Timokles of Argos 41 n.169, 233
see also Alkmaionidai; Argive Heraion; Arkadia; Aristagoras of Tenedos; Chalkis; Damonon of Sparta; Diagoras of Rhodes; Eretria; Hippokleas of Pelinna; Oligaithidai; Telesikrates of Cyrene; Theagenes of Thasos; Thessaly
athletics, language of 217–18
athlophoros, see Ptolemies
Attalids 348
and Athens 361–2, 373–4
Attalos, charioteer 346, 366–7, 373
Attalos I, sons of 362
Attalos II 362
Eumenes II 362
Philetairos 346
see also Pergamon
Augustus
Actian Games, Nicopolis 378–9, 384–6
Greek games in Italy 385, 388–90
and Greek culture 384
Sebasta, Naples 388
autochthony 18–19

Bacchylides
and Aegina 226–7
and Argos 11
classification and ordering of works 170–1, 173–4
commissioning of 219–20
and Kea 5–6, 12
reputation 210
and Thessaly 327, 332
and western Greece 224, 267–8
Battos, *see* Cyrene; hero cult

Boiotia:
festivals 34–35, 40;
Ptoion 154–5
see also Thebes; Thespiai.
body styling, *see* statues
boy contestants 38, 265, 355
from Aegina 226–7
Hellenistic events for 358
praise of 5, 225, 267, 309–13
Brasidas 338
Bundy, Elroy 3–4, 195, 196, 204–5
Burnett, Anne Pippin 287–8, 291 n.16

Caere, *see* Agylla
Caria 7–8
Carthage 9, 133–4, 273
treasury at Olympia 283
Chalkis:
Herakleia victor list 355
Hermaia 355
Theokles of Chalkis 355–6, 358
chariot racing:
cost of 37
origins of 80
prestige of 8, 16, 60, 76, 143–4, 224, 268–9, 346–7, 350–1
victory monuments 23–35, 155–6, 157–8, 268–9
see also equestrian victors, named; Motya charioteer; Polyzalos of Gela; women victors
cheating 398
Chios
foundation of 14
games on 368
chorus, *see* performance
citizenship, 6–7
city 42, 361
household and 346–7
see also athletes; elites; Ptolemies
Claudius, emperor 388
at Olympia and Delphi 389
coin imagery 120, 126, 269, 355–6, *22*, *29*
colonisation 18, 271–2, 399–400.
See also Bacchylides; epinikian poetry; oikist cult; Pindar
Corinth 64
Athena, cult of 23
Athens, war with 239
athletics and civic image 243–9
building programmes 244–7, 249
burial evidence 236, 237–8
Corinthian War, impact of 247
and Delphi 47, 236
Demeter and Kore, sanctuary of 232, 237, 240–3, *43*
dining, *see* sacral economy (below)
Dionysos, cult of 240
epinikian commissions 237, 263
Hellotia 230, 245–6
hero cults 246
inscriptions, shortage of 231, 237
Kotyto, worship of 246
and Nemea 259–61
and Olympia 233
Penteskouphia 230, 260
Peraion, games at 230
Pindar's image of 12, 228, 239
poetry, commissions 236
Poseidon, cult of 23
prostitution, sacred 236, 300
racetrack 232, 244–6, 249, *45*
Roman looting of 257 n.203
sacral economy 237, 240, 242–3
Sacred Spring shrine 246, *45*
Simonides, commissions of 238–9
stasis at 239–43, 263
statues 231–3, 242–3
vase-painting 244
victory, commemoration of 230, 236
victor monuments 233, 246–7
warfare 237–9, 249
wealth of 236–7
See also Argos; athletes, named; equestrian victors, named; Isthmia; Oligaithidai; Palaimon; Perachora; Simonides; torch-races
Crete:
and colonisation 10, 21
Delphi 67–8
exiles from 159
statis in 190, 191, 194
victors 190
see also athletes, named; Knossos
crowns 58, 61–2, 69, 350
in the Hellenistic period 345, 354–6
chthonian gods 23–24
Cumae 256
battle of 266, 280, 281, 283
Cyprus *see* Paphos; Ptolemies, courtier-victors
Cyrene:
athletic competition 224

city 15–16, 299–300
equestrian tradition 360–1
Pindar and 13–17, 265, 293
treasury at Delphi 277
See also Arkesilas IV; athletes, named; equestrian victors, named; Ptolemies, courtier-victors; women victors

Damonon of Sparta 41, 215
Deinomenids, *see* Gelon; Hieron; western Greece
Delos 64, 86
Delphi:
and Cyrene 16
Daochos monument 116, 340
encomium contest at 380
oracle 26–7
Pythian games, influence on Roman agones 387–9
Pythian games, origins of 49–52, 64–9
Roman emperors at 389
sanctuary development 52–4
Soteria 345
and western Greece 9–10, 65, 224, 273–4, 277, 283–5
see also Argos; athletes, named; Corinth; Etruria; music; Polyzalos of Gela; Sacred War; Thessaly; weapons dedications; western Greece,
democracy:
athletics and 214–15, 262–3
elites and 141–4, 147–8, 164, *213*–14, 358
Diagoras of Melos, poet 196
Diagoras of Rhodes 39, 99, 100, 201 n.13, 210, 227
Dionysos 29
Dioskouroi 215 n.14, 229, 250, 256, 261, 267
hospitality shown to 299
divination 26–7
see also Dodona
Djemila, Tunisia 86
Dodona 8–9, 14, 277
Domitian, emperor:
and Greek athletics in Rome 383, 388–90
at Olympia and Delphi 389

eidos, see epinikian poetry; lyric poetry
elites 4–10
competitive ethos 59–61, 73, 141, 165–6
court circles, Hellenistic 347–9, 360–8
mobility and networks 6–8, 63–5, 273–4, 304, 399–400
and the polis 141–2, 147–9, 400–1
identity under the Roman empire 381–2, 389–90
see also athletes; victors; victory
Elis 32, 34, 74, 380–1
see also athletes, named;
Emmenids, *see* Akragas; Theron of Akragas; Polyzalos of Gela
Epidauros 42, 64
Asklepeia 42, 388
epigrams, *see* inscriptions; Kallimachos of Cyrene; Poseidippos of Pella
epinikian poetry:
classification/taxonomy of 145, 172–6
colonial themes in 11–19
genre 167–72, 291–2
for non-Panhellenic victories 174, 175, 249
origins of 10–11, 144–52, 163–6
parodied 210
survival of 1, 176, 206–7
values expressed in 141–3
see also inscriptions; funerals, display; Kallimachos of Cyrene; lyric poetry; Pindar; Poseidippos of Pella; statues, victory.
equestrian victors, named:
Alcibiades I 156
Aristoteles of Larisa 225
Chromios of Aitna 174, 223, 284, 299, 347
Diotimos of Sidon 347, 353 n.42, 374–5
Hagesias of Syracuse 223, 267, 277, 284
Karrhotos of Cyrene 133
Kratisthenes of Cyrene 124
Pheidolas of Corinth 123, 155, 233
Pronapes of Athens *40*
Psaumis of Kamarina 267, 298
Kleoptolemos of Thessaly 299, 333
Kleosthenes of Epidamnos 124, 130, 155
Nikomachos of Athens 276
Pantares of Gela 155
see also Alcibiades of Athens; Arkesilas IV of Cyrene; Athens; Attalids; Gelon; Herodotos of Thebes; Hieron; Kyme; Mastanabas of Nubia; Ptolemies, courtier-victors; Ptolemies, royal victors; Theron of Akragas; Seleukids; Sparta; Stymphalos; Thessaly; Xenokrates of Akragas

Eretria:
  Eualkides of Eretria 41
  Herakleia 41, 256
  see also Euboia
Etna, Mt. 210, 267
  see also Aitna
Etruria:
  dedications at Delphi and Olympia 281–2
  trade 291
  treasuries at Delphi 281–2
  warfare 281
  weapons dedications 77–8, 280
  see also Lipari
Euboia:
  presence in Bay of Naples 281
  games 40–41
  horse racing on 40
  Simonides 145
  see also athletes, named; Chalkis; Eretria
Euesperides 16, 224
Eupolis 210, 246 n.143
Euripides:
  epinikian attributed to 8, 165, 176
events:
  boxing 118
  chariot and foals 365
  diaulos 78–9
  discus 79, 120
  dolichos 78–9
  euexia 358
  eutaxia 355
  hoplite race 118
  horse race 123
  javelin 79, 120
  long jump 81–2, 120
  mule-cart race 82, 126
  Olympic programme 73
  pankration 118, 227
  pentathlon 120
  philoponia 358
  Pythian programme 68–9
  race in armour 78, 118
  stadion 77–9
  wrestling 118, 120
  see also games

Fano 134
Francavilla Marittima 274
funerals:
  display at 160–63
  games 58, 75–7
  monuments 94, 161–2
  see also hero cult; inscriptions

gambling 398
games:
  circuit 41–42, 69, 216–17, 262, 391
  Hellenistic innovations 345–6, 358–9
  management 61–2
  origins of 56–65
  Roman creations 378–9, 387–9
  under Roman Empire 378, 380
  see also crowns; events; Imperial Cult; prestige; prizes
Gela 12, 21, 155
  Hippokrates, tyrant of 265
  see also equestrian victors, named; Gelon; Hieron; Polyzalos of Gela
Gelon of Gela and Syracuse 9–10, 223
  career of 265–6
  chariot monument 99, 124, 130, *27*
  dedications by 283–5
  epinikian commissions of 266–7
  victory monuments 305
  see also chariot racing; coin imagery; Gela; Hieron; Syracuse
genealogies 13–14
genre, *see* lyric poetry
Golden, Mark 235, 358
Gordian, emperor 379

Hadrian, emperor 379–80
healing, *see* athletes, heroized.
Herakles 23, 24, 27
hero cult 23–6, 55–6, 75–7, 218, 243, 273
  see also Adrastos; athletes, heroised; Opheltes; Palaimon; Pelops
Herodotus of Thebes, charioteer 133, 135, 227, 333
  see also Thebes
Herodotus, historian:
  on hero worship 23
  Theban victory inscription 154
  See also Aegina, prosopography
Hieron of Gela and Syracuse 123, 124, 125, 127–8, 130, 157–8, 205, 219
  career of 265–6
  chariot monument at Delphi 268 n.13
  dedications at Delphi and Olympia 281, 283–5
  Deinomenes, son of 284
  hospitality of 298–9
  patronage of Pindar 222–3, 267, 293

see also Aitna; chariot racing; Cumae, battle of; Gela; Gelon; Syracuse
hieronikes, privileges of 354
Himera:
battle of 9–10, 266, 267, 276, 281, 283
city 9, 159, 163, 181, 193–5, 267–8
see also athletes, named
Hippokleas of Pelinna 5, 201, 225, 309–13, 398
Phrikias, father of 310–11
Hipponion 281
Homer 144, 179–80, 184, 191, 200, 214, 229
statue in Pharsalos 340
hospitality 298–300
see also Aegina; Thessaly

Iamidae 9, 223, 284, 292
Ibykos of Rhegion:
ordering of works 170
origins of epinikian genre 11, 146, 151, 163–4, 167,
and Sparta 215
Imperial cult 378
initiation 27–8
inscriptions:
funerary 161–3, 250, 369
Hellenistic victory epigrams 346–7, 353, 357–8, 366–7, 371, 374–5
honorific inscriptions 353–5, 356–7, 381, 383
Roman imperial 377–83, 386–7
on victory dedications 154–66, 181, 231, 370, 377–8
see also Argos; prizes; statues; victor lists; victory
Isthmia:
building programmes 247, *46*
dedications at 40, 232 n.78, 238
dining at 237, 243
games 32, 63–4
origins of festival 52, 62
Persian War commemorations 238–9
sanctuary development 54, 55
stadium 244, 247, *47*
statues at 231–3
Temple of Poseidon 247–9
victory monuments 135
see also Palaimon; Panathenaia, Great; weapons dedications

Kallimachos of Cyrene, poet 347, 349–53, 364, 369, 372
Kamarina 99, 267
see also coin imagery; equestrian victors, named
Kea 5–6, 12
Kerkyra:
treasury at Delphi 277
see also athletes, named;
kingship, Hellenistic 348
Kleisthenes of Sikyon 51, 60, 68, 260, 289, 318
Kleitor, games at 233
Kleonai 42, 60, 62–3, 259–61
see also athletes, named; Nemea and Kleonai
kleos 83, 109–10, 160, 163, 200
Knossos 7–8, 100, 181, 191, 267
Krannon 312, 317, 324, 327, 328–9, *61*
Diaktorides of Krannon 318
see also women victors
Kroisos of Lydia 224, *see also* Solon of Athens
Kroton 274, 281
see also athletes, named;
Kurke, Leslie 1 n.3, 141–2, 150–1, 196, 203 n.20, 213, 310, 327–8
Kyme 134, 369
Damodika of Kyme 369

Lakedaimon, *see* Sparta
Lampsacus, games at 256
Larisa 310, 329, 336, *66*
Aristoteles of Larisa 332
and Brasidas 338
Eleutheria 335, 368
games at 335
see also Aleuads; Thessaly
lawgivers 25–6
Lipari 281, 283
Lokroi:
Epizephyrian Lokroi 19, 218, 298
mythology 18–19
Ozolian 7
see also athletes, named;
ludi, *see* Rome
lyric poetry 172
classification and ordering of genres 167–76
encomium 167–9, 176, 292, 380
kallinikos 144–5, 164
partheneion 199
Proclus *Chrestomathy* 169
Sappho 170
scolium 168, 169
Stesichoros 170

lyric poetry (*cont.*)
see also Bacchylides; epinikian poetry; Ibykos of Rhegion; inscriptions; Kallimachos of Cyrene; performance; Pindar; Plato; Poseidippos of Pella; Simonides

Macedon:
coin imagery 355
dedications 103
rulers and panhellenic festivals 5, 60, 347 n.11
Temenid descent 11–12, 256, 392
and Thessaly 339, 341
Tomb of 'Philip', Vergina 255–7
see also Ptolemies
Mantineia:
games for Antinous 379
see also athletes, named
Marathon, Herakleia 41, 256
see also Athens; prizes
Massalia, treasury at Delphi 277
Mastanabas of Nubia 362
Medma 281
megaloprepeia 150, 213
Megara 64
Corinthian invasion of 239
Pindar's ode for a Megarian 220 n.32, 265
Megara Hyblaia 271
melic poetry, *see* lyric poetry
Melikertes, *see* Palaimon
Messapians 10
Metapontum 7, 18, 224 n.45, 271
Miletos 359
see also athletes, named;
mobility, *see* elites
Motya charioteer 130–5, 276, *37–39*
music:
contests 52–53, 61, 64, 66–9, 335–6, 380
Dicaearchus *On Musical Contests* 169
musicians 68, 208, 267–8
'New Music' 168–9
see also lyric poetry; performance
Mycenae 251, 254
mythology, and colonisation 18

Naples, *see* Augustus
Naukratis, 290–1, 304
Naxos, Sicily:
Altar of Apollo Archegetes 272–3
Nemea *52*, *53*
access to 259
coin finds 398
control of 62–3, 230, 257, 259
development of 257, 259
games 32
and Kleonai 257, 259
and Olympia 257, 259
sanctuary 54–56
stadium, Hellenistic 234
statues 233–4
victory dedications at 155–6, 259, 260
see also Adrastos; Opheltes
Nero, emperor 388–90
Nicopolis, *see* Augustus
Nile, river 372
nudity, 107–8, 382, 402–4
see also Rome; statues

Octavian, *see* Augustus
Oenoanda, *Demostheneia* 380
oikist cult 14, 15, 24–25
Oligaithidai of Corinth 40–1, 219, 298
Erotimos 228
Namertidas 228
Ptoiodoros 228
Simonides' ode for 228, 237
status in Corinth 228, 243
victories of 228
Xenophon 228
see also Corinth
Olympia 64
Alpheios 284
dedications at 238
participation at 269 n.17
Roman building at 386–7, 389
sanctuary development 34, 54–5, 282
Temple of Zeus 126
victor statues at 94–101, 137–9, 155–6, 157, 159, 227, 276
and western Greece 8–10, 82, 223, 271–4, 276–85
see also chariot racing; Pelops; Syracuse; western Greece
Olympic games:
early victors at 274
influence on Roman agones 383–90
origin of 73–82
Roman management of festival 380–1
see also cheating; Thessaly; truces, sacred
Opheltes, cult of 48, 55–6, 75, 257, 260–1
Opous 18–19
see also athletes, named
oracles, *see* Delphi; Dodona

Oropos, *Amphiaraia* 368, 369
Orphism 29
Ortygia, *see* Syracuse

Pagondas, *see* Aioladai
Palaimon, cult of 48, 55–6, 75–6, 243, 261
Panathenaia, Great 58–9, 63 n.58, 276, 318, 327 n.121, 336, 350, 358
  prize amphorae 5, 16, 40, 72, 216, 224, 232, 243 n.133, 336
  see also Attalids; Ptolemies; Seleukids; women victors
panhellenism 20, 56–7, 391–2
  in Roman world 377–8, 380–1
Paphos:
  Polykratean statue groups 360, 361
patronage 203–4, 205–6, 219–30, 262, 398, 401
Pausanias:
  at Olympia 95–8, 181
  earliest statues 156
  Greek games under Roman rule 381
Pelinna 309–10
  See also Hippokleas of Pelinna; Thessaly
Pellana, games at 233
Pelops, worship of 55–7, 76, 257, 259
Perachora 64, 278 n.48
  dining at 243
Pergamon:
  Herakleia *Soteria* 345
  Nikephoria 359
  paides, division of 358
periodos, *see* games
performance:
  appearance of 199
  chorus 35, 199, 205–8, 284, 311–12
  cost 204
  event 166
  of Hellenistic encomia 349–52
  impact of 235
  location of 15, 17, 199–203, 231, 306–7, 312
  partheneion compared with 199
  reperformance 199, 200, 209–10, 284
  at shrines 201–2
  state involvement 200–3
  written texts 200 n.5
  see also music; patronage; statues
Persian empire:
  and Greek statuary 91
  Poulydamas of Skotoussa in 101
Persian wars, commemoration of 9–10
personification 28
Pharsalos 317, 323, 328–9
  and Brasidas 338
  at Delphi and Olympia 339–40
  Kleomachos of Pharsalos 318
  Meno of Pharsalos 332
  See also athletes, named; Delphi, Daochos monument; Thessaly
Pheneos, games to Dioskouroi 256
Pherai: 316, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 330
  Jason of 339
  prominence of 338
Phlius 260
  see also athletes, named
phthonos 203, 208, 217–18, 311
Pindar:
  career 214
  classification and ordering of works 170–4
  and colonisation 11–19, 34, 402
  commissioning of 200, 209, 213–14, 219–21, 262, 309–10
  epinikia, quantity of 171
  epinikian, development of 163–6, 196, 292
  fragments, classification of 220
  idiom 179–80
  language and imagery 179–80, 181–94
  and money 22, 152, 200, 301
  and myth 21–3, 293
  and political constitutions 5–6, 19–20, 142, 213, 262–3
  portrait 112
  regional variation 221–9
  religion 19–30, 34, 262
  scholiasts, use of 16, 47–8, 76
  and tragedians 3, 188–9
  and visual art 90, 109, 150–1, 229–31, 250, 276, 277, 284
  see also Aegina; Argos; Bacchylides; elites; Homer; Simonides; statues; Thebes; *threnos*; truces, sacred
Plataia, battle of 10, 37, 182, 238, 267, 283
  serpent column, Delphi 9
  see also Simonides
Plato 168 n.6, 210, 293
polis, *see* athletes; city; democracy; performance; Pindar
political constitutions 5–6, 42
pollution 19–20
Polykrates of Samos 146, 151
Polyzalos of Gela 265–6
  chariot group at Delphi 10, 126–30, 157–8, 268 n.13, 276, *30–35*
Pompeii 255, 256, 257

Poseidippos of Pella 348, 350–2, 363, 364, 365–6, 369
prestige systems 393–8, 402, 407–8
prizes 58, 61–2, 72, 215 n.14, 225, 255–7, 333–4, 392, *71*
  recycling of 256–7
  see also crowns; Panathenaic amphorae
prosopography 4, 35–9
Ptolemies:
  and Athens 360–3, 373–4
  athlophoros 361, 364
  court of 348–52, 361
  and Cyprus 360–1
  equestrian enthusiasm 360–1, 365–8
  'Macedonian' identity 372–4
  military celebrations 370
  queens at Panhellenic games 369–72
  see also Kallimachos of Cyrene; Poseidippos of Pella
Ptolemies, courtier-victors:
  Agathokleia daughter of Noumenios 362
  Belistiche/Bilistiche 365
  Eirene of Alexandria 362
  Etearchos of Cyrene 365
  Eugenia, daughter of Zenon 362 n.91
  Eukrateia of Argos 360
  Glaukon of Athens 364–5
  Hermione of Argos 360
  Kallikrates of Samos 365, 366–7, 372–3
  Kallikratos of Samos, admiral 347–8
  Molykos 366
  Olympio of Lakedaimon 362
  Polykrates of Argos 360–1
  Sosibios, minister to Ptolemy IV 347, 349–50, 353, 358, 365, 372
  Tlepolemos of Xanthos 364
  Zeuxo of Argos 360
  Zeuxo of Cyrene 360–1, 373
Ptolemies, royal victors
  Alkemachos of Epeiros 362
  Arsinoe Philadelphos 369
  Arsinoe I 363
  Berenike the Syrian 348, 364, 369
  Berenike I 369, 371–2
  Berenike II 349, 361, 364, 369
  Demetrios of Epeiros 362
  Kleopatra II, wife/sister of Philometer Ptolemais 362
  Lagos, son of Ptolemy I 362
  Ptolemy I Soter 363
  Ptolemy II 371
  Ptolemy V Epiphanes 362, 374 n.131
  Ptolemy Philadelphos 363
  Ptolemy VI Philometor 362
Pytheas, *see* Aegina, traders
Pythian games, *see* Delphi

religion, and physical experience 405–6
Rhodes:
  and colonisation 12, 21
  cult of Zeus Atabyrios 20–1
  Halieia 256
  Lindos 278 n.48, 291, 304
  Pindar and 227, 265
  statue makers 92 n.32
  and victors 201 n.13
  see also athletes, named
Rome:
  attitudes to Greek sport 382–4, 402–3
  Capitoline games 383–4, 388
  ludi 382–3
  Neronia 388
  stadia in 383, 385
  see also Actian games; Agrippa, Marcus; athletes; Augustus; games; Imperial cult; inscriptions
Rose, Peter 142, 147–8
rubbish theory 395

sacred laws:
  Delphi (Labyadai) 161
  Ioulis, Kea 161
Sacred War, First 47, 50–1, 53, 62, 64, 317
sacrifice 23–4
Salamis, battle of 9–10, 218, 238, 267, 283
  Aeginetans at 291, 295, 303
Samos 182
  Heraion, dedications at 277, 280
  see also Polykrates of Samos
sanctuaries, federal 20–1
sculptors 101–2, 137–9
  Ageladas of Argos 124
  Apelleas 124
  Aristion of Paros 101
  Glaukias of Aegina 99, 124, 305, *27*
  Hageladas 10
  Kalamis of Athens 101, 124
  Lysippos 101, 339–40
  Myron 99, 101, 106, 118, 120
  at Olympia 97, 137–9
  Onatas of Aegina 10, 101, 124
  Polykleitos of Argos 98, 101, 105, 111, *6*, *7*
  Ptolichos of Aegina 305–6

Pythagoras of Rhegion 101, 120, 124, 131
Workshops 102–3
Seleukids:
Alexander Balas 362
Macedonia as *patris* 373
and Panathenaia, Great 362
Sicily, *see* western Greece
Sidon 347
see also equestrian victors, named
Sikyon 59, 64
Chromios' victory at games 223, 249
games, foundation of 260–1
horsebreeding 260
Myron, tyrant of Sikyon 260
and Nemea 62–3, 260–1
prizes 256
treasury at Delphi 261
victory dedication 260
see also athletes, named; Dioskouroi; Kleisthenes of Sikyon; sculptors
Simonides:
classification and ordering of works 174–5
epigrams 158
epinikia 145–6, 163–5, 175, 249
historical elegies 174–5
Plataia elegy 174, 220, 238
reputation 210
Rhodes 227
victory commemoration 156
and western Greece 222, 267, 268 n.12
see also Aegina; Corinth; epinikian poetry; Oligaithidai; Thessaly
Sinop 255–6
Solon of Athens 52, 143, 161,
and Kroisos of Lydia 250–1
song, *see* epinikian poetry; performance
Sophokles, *Elektra* 366
Sostratos of Aegina, *see* Aegina, traders
South Italy, *see* Western Greece
Sparta 12–13
Athena Chalkioikos, sanctuary of 215
attitudes to athletics 215–16, 404
chariot victors 123–4 n.111, 126
choruses 208
and epinikia 215
Euryleonis, Olympic chariot victor 368
figurines, athletic 231
Geronthrai, games at 215
hair styling 112
Karneia 75, 215
Kyniska, chariot victor 99, 124, 130, 370–1
Lichas 8
local festivals, preference for 332
Olympic victors 74, 215
prizes 215 n.14
and Thessaly 309, 328, 337–8
victory dedications 98–100, 135, 251–6, 370
see also athletes, named; Damonon of Sparta; women victors
Spina, treasury at Delphi 281–2
sport, Greek 71–2, 77
see also athletes; events; games
sportsmanship 404–5; *see also* cheating; gambling
statues:
bases 98, 103, 125, 153, 231–2, 296, 353
body styling 88–9, 104, 108–11
cost 101–3, 306
eikon 91
equestrian monuments 123–35, 155
evidence for 103–7
fifth-century styles 88–94, 235
hair styles 112–16
in literature 84, 86
Pindar and 92, 109, 149–52, 156–7, 230–1, 290–1, 296, 305, 401–2
poses 116–22, 131–4, 405
positioning of 96–100
posthumous 100–1, 116, 339–40
role of dedications 84–7
sema 91, 94, 107, 151–2
technology 91–2
victor 87–8, 94–101, 116–39, 134, 152–9, 231, 360;
see also Aegina; Corinth, Isthmia, Argos, Argive Heraion, Athens; Delphi; events; funerals; inscriptions; Motya charioteer; Nemea; nudity; Pausanias; Polyzalos of Gela; Sicily; Thessaly
Steiner, Deborah 1 n.3, 87 n.10, 109 n.77, 150–2, 184, 230 n.67, 231, 276, 296
Stymphalos:
Aineias of Stymphalos 35
see also Iamidae; Syracuse
Sulla 384
Sybaris:
treasury at Delphi 277
see also athletes, named; Francavilla Marittima

Syracuse 265–7
Arethusa as source of the Alpheios 284
Athenaion, Ortygia 9
chariot racing 126, 227, *29*
city 9–10, 279
Hagesias of Syracuse 223
and Olympia 284–5
patronage 222–4, 266–7
Temple of Apollo 273
treasury at Delphi 277
treasury at Olympia 276
see also Antandros; coin imagery; equestrian victors, named; Gelon; Hieron

Taras 5, 10, 278
victory over Thurii 281
see also athletes, named
Tegea 156 n.50
games at 233
Telesikrates of Cyrene 17, 39, 221, 294
see also Cyrene
Tenedos:
Zeus Xenios worshipped 298
see also Aristagoras of Tenedos
tenella, *see* lyric poetry, *kallinikos*
Theagenes of Thasos 25–6, 100, 120, 250, 305, 334
Theaios of Argos 228–9, 262, 299
Thebes 17
agonistic catalogue 355 n.56
Aspodoros of Thebes 4
ancestors in epinikian 227
and colonisation 11, 12–13, 19
Echembrotos of Thebes, song victor 68
Ismenion 202
Herakleia 306–7, 388
Kabeirion 40
Kleonymidai 20
mythology 19, 374–5
Pindar and 39–40, 227, 265, 306–7
sanctuaries and festivals 17, 24, 40, 256
victors 37–40
See also Aegina; Aiolidai; athletes, named; Herodotos of Thebes
theoroi 42, 206, 354
theoxenia 229, 267, 272
Thera, *see* athletes, named; Cyrene
Theron of Akragas 29, 52, 111, 133, 221–2, 265–7, 293,
Damarete, daughter of 265–6
hospitality of 298–300
Thrasydaios, son of 266
See also Motya charioteer
Thespiai 7
Herakleia 256
victor from 40
Thessaly 5, 6–7
Ahippodromas 335
aid to *xenoi* 318–9
Anthela, amphictyony 315, 317
aristocratic government 225, 309, 310, 313, 315, 316–17, 341
Athena Itonia, games of 334–5
and Athens 318, 332, 336, 338
burial customs 316, 319–20, 323, 328–30
cities in 315–17, 321, 323
and Delphi 65, 67, 224–5, 315, 317, 332, 337, 338, 339, 341
Echekratidai 224, 317, 329
Ephyraeans 312
external relations 315–16, 320, 337
families and patronage 311 n.16, 327–8, 339
festivals of 39 n.157, 225, 332
funerary monuments 162
geography of 313–15
good fortune of 309–10, 313
horses 224, 333, 335
hospitality 312, 327, 332
Kineas of Thessaly 318
luxury 327
medism 332, 337
monumental art 323–7, 338
Moschato, Temple of Apollo 320–1, 324
musical contests 335–6
mythology 225, 309, 311–12
Olympic victors from 331
and panhellenic sanctuaries 330–3, 337, 338, 339, 341
patronage of poets 327–8, 331–2
penestai 315
perioikoi 314–15, 317
Petraia 225, 249, 333
and Phokis 317
political organisation of 315–17
Protesilas, games for 225, 333–4
prizes 256
sanctuaries and temples in 316, 319, 321, 324, 327, *58–60*
Simonides and 145, 224, 327, 331 n.142
Skopads 145, 224, 312, 317, 318, 327, 329
Taurotheria 335
use of the past 328–30

victory dedications 336
victor monuments 116, 332
warrior elite 318–20
see also Aleuads; athletes, named; Delphi; equestrian victors, named; Krannon; Larisa; Pharsalos; Pherai; Thorax of Larisa; Sparta
Thorax of Larisa 5, 225, 298, 312–13
see also Aleuads; Larisa
threnos 161
Thucydides, historian 12, 28, 35–39,
ignores religion 262
on tyranny 289–90
see also afterlife
Tiryns 251
Titus, emperor 388
torch-races 75 n.17, 244–6
trainers 60, 110
on Aegina 226
Melesias, trainer 60
Menander of Athens 227
Ptolemies as 374 n.131
training 94–5, 110, 118, 132–3, 135, 148–9, 398
travel 6–7, 64, 399–400
truces, sacred 30–4
Tyndaridai, *see* Dioskouroi
tyrants 142–3, 147–8, 263, 289–90
see also Gelon; Hieron; Kleisthenes of Sikyon; Polykrates of Samos; Theron of Akragas; western Greece; Xenokrates of Akragas

Valerian, emperor 388
Vergil, *Aeneid* 384–5
Vergina, *see* Macedon
victor lists 41–2, 51–2, 66–8, 74, 215, 250, 355
victors, qualities of 109–11, 356–8
see also athletes, heroised; chariot racing; hero cult
victory:
commemoration of 94, 144–66, 205, 268, 401–2
feasts 202, 204–5
Hellenistic attitudes to 348–54
use of 17, 42, 74–5, 88, 148, 261–2
see also *kleos*; statues

warfare:
and athletics 78–82, 94–5, 111, 160, 214–15, 239, 392, 404–5
and sanctuaries 9, 31–4
wealth 110, 135
see also athletes, social status; elites
weapons dedications 33–4, 237–8, 277–83
western Greece:
and Italian elites 277–83
lyric genres favoured 265 n.1
monumental building 9
monumental dedications 9–10, 99, 126–35, 274, 281
and panhellenic sanctuaries 268–73, 282–5
and Pindar 221–4, 265–8, 273–4, 283–4
sanctuaries in 270–3
treasuries at Delphi and Olympia 273, 276–7, 283–5
tyrants 4, 82, 222
warfare 273
see also Akragas; chariot racing; Delphi; Dodona; Gelon; Hieron; Himera; Olympia; Polyzalos of Gela; Syracuse; Theron of Akragas; Xenokrates of Akragas.
women in lyric poetry 37
women victors:
Hellenistic, 368–72
see also Sparta; Ptolemies, courtier-victors; Ptolemies, royal victors.

Xanthos, *Romaia* 359 n.72, 369
xenia 6–7, 283, 318–19, 332
Xenokrates of Akragas 221–2, 265–6, 268, 299
Thessalos, father of 318
Thrasyboulos, son of 133, 222, 268, 276
See also Moyta charioteer
Xenophon of Corinth, see *Oligaithidai*